THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND;

OR, A

COMPLEAT HISTORY,

CIVIL, MILITARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL,

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITONS AND SAXONS,

FROM THE

LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR IN BRITAIN, TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

WITH A

COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ARTS, HABITS, &c. OF THOSE PEOPLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH STRUTT.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY JOSEPH COOPER, FOR T. EVANS IN PATER-NOSTER-ROW, AND ROBERT FAULDER, No. 42. NEW-BOND-STREET.

M DCCLXXIX.

PRINTED BY JOSEPH COOPER, FOR J. EVANS IN PATER-NOSTER-

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FANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR'S INVASION TO THE

NORMAN CONQUEST:

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

ANCIENT BRITONS, SAXONS,

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CIVIL, MILITARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL

COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND:

OR

CHRONICLE

THE

TO THE READER.

IT has long been lamented by all who are converſant in the hiſtory of this country, that the more early parts of it are involved in the greateſt obſcurity. It is true the materials are ſo very imperfect (at leaſt ſuch as are authentic) that it is impoſſible to arrange them in ſuch order as to furniſh a regular hiſtory of the firſt ſix or ſeven centuries. This was the cauſe which induced our beſt authors, either entirely to neglect the annals of thoſe times, or elſe to hurry through them as haſtily as poſſible, in order to get forward to the Norman conqueſt, from which period the materials are more copious, clear and authentic; and hence it is, that our hiſtories of the latter ages are ſo much more compleat and ſatisfactory: for few men of great abilities are poſſeſſed of patience equal to the taſk of turning over ſo many dry prolix records of barbariſm and ſuperſtition as are abſolutely neceſſary for the compleating a hiſtory of the early ages.

Another very material object of complaint (particularly with reſpect to the hiſtories of the ancient Britons and Saxons) is the little attention which has been paid to the delineation of the manners, cuſtoms, habits, &c. of the people; and to this neglect is owing the prevalence of the general opinion, that nothing can be found either amuſing or inſtructive in thoſe remote ages; but this is ſurely a great miſtake; for a careful inveſtigation of theſe important particulars will not only be

pleaſant, but even uſeful to the generality of readers. And it is the chief object of the preſent work to ſupply as much as poſſible this defect.

The following work is divided into three general parts: namely, firſt, the Civil and Military Hiſtory; ſecondly, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; and thirdly, the Hiſtory of the Manners, Arts, Habits, Genius, &c. of the People; and this laſt part is ſubdivided into ten or more chapters, ſo that any particular ſubject may be eaſily referred to.

In order to convey a clearer and more lively idea of the manners, &c. of the people, a variety of engravings (two and forty in number) are given in the courſe of the work, collected from the moſt authentic materials. All the drawings for theſe engravings, whether they conſiſt of copies from ancient delineations in manuſcripts,* or are real views of buildings, earth-works, monuments, or the like; are taken from the things themſelves with the greateſt exactneſs. Alſo, the plates are all of them executed by, or under the immediate inſpection of, the author; and at the end of each volume, by way of appendix, is printed an account of the plates, which refers the reader to the originals from whence they are copied.

* If any of our readers ſhould doubt the authenticity of the drawings in ancient manuſcripts, they are wiſhed to examine the three volumes the Hoṛda Anzelcynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, where this ſubject is largely treated upon, and near one hundred and fifty plates are given, which contain faithful copies of original manuſcript delineations, in their rude and uncorrected ſtate. In the preſent work, almoſt all the figures taken from the ancient MSS. are put into better proportion, and higher finiſhed than the originals, though at the ſame time the poſition of the figure, the folds of the drapery, &c. are cloſely attended to; and ſome will be given exactly copied, to diſplay the taſte of the times in which they were done.

Thus much, the author hopes, will be thought new and intereſting to the public; as it is preſumed a view of the very ideas of our anceſtors muſt give an additional pleaſure in the peruſal of their hiſtory.

With regard to the hiſtory civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical, which compoſes the two firſt parts of the work, the author can ſafely declare that no pains have been ſpared to render them as complete as poſſible, though as conciſe as they could conveniently be made, in order to confine the whole work within the bounds propoſed.

Concerning the civil and military hiſtory of the Britons, little new and authentic matter could be collected; however, every ancient record has been examined with the utmoſt care, and the various authors regularly referred to at the bottom of the page. The hiſtory of the heptarchy the author hopes will be eſteemed more regular, if not more complete, than any hitherto publiſhed; and by means of the table at the end of this volume, all the ſeveral Saxon kings, who ruled in the different kingdoms, may be at once referred to.

Thus much the author has thought neceſſary to be declared concerning the novelty of the work, and the advantage ariſing to the reader, who, without the trouble of turning over a multitude of books, may at one view behold the hiſtory and manners of his countrymen, in their moſt early ſtate, diſtinctly arranged under their proper heads. It now remains to beg the indulgence of the public, that they would excuſe the errors which they may find in the proſecution of this laborious taſk.

Duke-ſtreet, Portland-chapel,
February 1779.

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CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART I.

From the Invaſion of Julius Cæſar to the Arrival of the Saxons.

Cæſar's account of Britain the firſt that are authentic.

THE firſt authentic accounts that we have of the ancient ſtate of Britain and its inhabitants are from Julius Cæſar, who having extended his conqueſts through great part of Gaul, attacked the territories of the Britons, a people till then almoſt unknown to the world in general.

If there ever exiſted any earlier accounts of Britain than the Commentaries of Cæſar, they are now unhappily loſt; for though it is true, that the Phœnician and Greek merchants carried on a conſiderable traffic with the Britons long before the arrival of Cæſar, yet it is certain, and that for political reaſons, they forbore to give any true deſcription of the people, and even kept the ſituation of the iſland itſelf a ſecret.

Lamenting then the want of more ancient records, proceed we to a faithful examination of thoſe which we are poſſeſſed of, at leaſt ſuch of them as may be deemed authentic.

A. A. C. 55. Julius Cæſar, whoſe unbounded ambition led him to ſeek freſh laurels in remote climates, and to ſet up the Roman ſtandard in unknown regions, deſirous of adding to the glory which he had already acquired in Gaul; meditated the conqueſt and ſubjection of the diſtant inhabitants of Britain, who in their ſecret receſſes had ſo long remained ſequeſtered from the world, and undiſturbed by any foreign war.* The reaſon which he himſelf has been pleaſed to aſſign to us for his undertaking, was, that the Britons had aided their neighbours, the Gauls, in their wars againſt him; therefore, he thought himſelf ſufficiently juſtified in commencing hoſtilities with ſuch an unfriendly people.†

Cæſar's firſt expedition.

Voluſenus ſent to explore the coaſt of Britain.

His firſt ſtep was to enquire of thoſe merchants who traded to Britain, concerning the ſize of the iſland, its inhabitants, their cuſtoms, and military diſcipline, and alſo particularly what havens they might have for the reception of large ſhips; but the accounts he received from them were ſo very uncertain, that he was obliged to ſend Caius Voluſenus with a galley to coaſt about near the ſhore, in order to make the beſt diſcoveries that he could, and return to him again as quickly as poſſible; whilſt he himſelf, commanding his navy to aſſemble together, marched towards the territories of the Morini,‡ as conjecturing that province to lie the neareſt to Britain.

The Britons ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar.

In the mean time, this purpoſe of Cæſar's was not ſo ſecretly conducted, but that the Britons received intelligence thereof from the Gauliſh merchants: upon which, they ſent ambaſſadors immediately from ſeveral of their cities to Cæſar, offering him hoſtages, and making proffers of peace. Theſe meſſengers he received very graciouſly, promiſing them fairly, and encouraging them to continue in the ſame quiet reſolutions. Thus were they diſmiſſed, and with them he ſent Comius, king of the Atrebatians,§ who was commiſſioned to go to as many of the ſtates as he could, and perſuade them to ſeek alliance with the Romans, and to inform them that Cæſar himſelf would ſhortly come thither. Cæſar the rather choſe this man to execute his commiſſion, becauſe he approved of his bravery and conduct, and alſo ſuppoſed he would be faithful to him; beſides, he was thought to have great intereſt amongſt the Britiſh ſtates: yet, upon the return of the ambaſſadors, the aſſembly of the Britons (whether becauſe they ſuſpected the ſmooth promiſes of Cæſar, or apprehended that Comius was ſent as a ſpy) ſeized upon him immediately, and threw him into priſon.‖

Voluſenus returns.

Now C. Voluſenus returned to Cæſar on the fifth day, having made all the diſcoveries he could by ſailing near the ſhore, for he did not dare to land, nor truſt himſelf amongſt the people.

Cæſar's embarkation and landing in Britain.

Cæſar having prepared eighty ſhips of burthen, embarked two of his legions; when giving the neceſſary orders to the chief officers whom he

* Sueton. in Vita Jul. Cæſ.

† Cæſ. Com. de Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 18.

‡ The *Morini* inhabited the ſea-coaſts about Calais and Boulogne.

§ The Atrebatians were an ancient Belgic nation, who inhabited *Artois*.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal.

left behind him in Gaul, he ſet ſail about the third watch of the night, A. A. C. 55.
commanding his horſemen to go to the reſidue of his ſhips, which lay further off within eight miles, and had been kept back by the wind, that they might there embark and follow him. He himſelf with his foremoſt ſhips reached the Britiſh coaſts about ten o'clock in the forenoon, the 26th day of Auguſt, and fifty-five years before Chriſt,* where he found the hills covered with armed men, and the place alſo very incommodious for their landing; therefore, he ordered his navy to caſt anchor, and waited 'till three o'clock for the arrival of his horſemen: but when he found that they did not make their appearance, he called a council of his lieutenants and tribunes, and declared to them the information he had received from Voluſenus, and alſo what he was reſolved to do; deſiring them in all things to obſerve his nod, and to be careful that his orders ſhould be duly performed in exact and proper time. This done, he cauſed them to weigh anchor, and with his fleet came to a plain and open ſhore, which is commonly thought to be Deal, in Kent.† But the Britons perceiving his intention, ſent their forces thither to prevent his landing. Cæſar's ſhips being too large to come up cloſe to the ſhore, his ſoldiers, to their great diſadvantage, were obliged to leap into the waves, and wade to the land; which the Britons obſerving, entered the water a little way, and gave them ſuch a warm reception, that, as Cæſar himſelf confeſſes, they were greatly terrified. To remedy this inconvenience, he cauſed the gallies to advance, in which were ſet up the ſlings and other inſtruments of war; a ſight ſo unuſual diſmayed the Britons, and they began to give back, notwithſtanding the Roman ſoldiers ſeemed unwilling to leave their ſhips, until the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, making earneſt ſupplication to the gods, threw himſelf from the ſhip wherein he was embarked, and advanced towards the Britons, calling to his fellows to follow him if they wiſhed to prevent their ſtandard from falling into the hands of their enemies. Fired at his words, and animated by his bold example, the ſoldiers preſently leaped into the water, and advanced, leſt they ſhould loſe their enſign. The encounter was ſharp and fierce on both ſides; for the Romans jumping confuſedly out of their ſhips, could neither get firm footing nor keep in proper array; and the Britons watching their opportunity, came down upon them in companies, and where but few were aſſembled, made a violent attack, throwing their darts with vaſt reſolution and courage, to the great annoyance of the Romans. Cæſar ſeeing this, cauſed all his ſmall boats to be filled with ſoldiers, and where any of his companies were oppreſſed, he ſent them ſuccour; by this means the chief of the foot were landed, which was no ſooner done than they charged fiercely upon the Britons, and put them to flight.‡ Yet this victory was by no means compleat, for the want of the horſemen to purſue them.

* Philoſophical Tranſactions. No. 193. Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. chap. i.

† Vide Speed's Chron. and Lambardes' Peramb. of Kent.

‡ Dion. Hiſt. Rom. lib. 39.

A. A. C. 55. Cæſar having landed his army, and repulſed the opponents, encamped near the ſhore; but the Britons were ſo dejected and diſmayed, that they concluded amongſt themſelves, the beſt method which they could purſue would be to ſubmit to Cæſar: therefore, they ſent ambaſſadors to him a ſecond time, with Comius of Artois, whom they had now releaſed from his confinement; and excuſed themſelves for having put him in bonds, laying all the blame of that tranſaction upon the fury of the common people; they alſo ſued to Cæſar for peace, and proffered to give him hoſtages. He gently reproving them, conſented to take their hoſtages; part of which were immediately delivered, and the reſt promiſed to be ſent in a few days. After this, the Britiſh chiefs reſorted from every quarter, and ſubmitted themſelves and their cities to Cæſar.*

Britons ſue for peace.

The loſſes ſuſtained by the Romans.

The fourth day after the arrival of the Romans in Britain, the ſhips in which the Roman cavalry were embarked, were diſperſed, and driven back by a great tempeſt; and alſo, by the ſpring tides, Cæſar's ſhips and galleys, which were near, and upon the ſhore, were broken and ſpoiled. The Britons perceiving theſe unfortunate accidents to have happened to the Romans, began by degrees to withdraw from the camp, and privately to aſſemble their men out of the country. Cæſar ſeeing the delay of the Britons in the delivery of the remainder of the hoſtages, ſuſpected their deſigns, therefore he quickly made every proviſion neceſſary for the camp, and repaired his ſhips with the loſs of twelve, which were broken up and uſed.†

The Britons again begin the war.

The Britons now broke out into open hoſtilities with the Romans, and made a fierce attack upon one of their legions, which was foraging; but Cæſar, with the reſt of the troops, coming timely to their aid, they re-recovered their camp again without much loſs: theſe accidents were followed by many ſtormy days, which confined the Romans to their camp. In the mean time, the Britons carefully publiſhed abroad the ſmallneſs of the numbers of their enemies; and invited all their neighbours to join with them in making a noble ſtruggle for the recovery of their liberty; the thoughts of ſhaking off the threatening oppreſſion glowed in their breaſts, and they joyfully flocked from every quarter: and aſſembling together a numerous hoſt, they reſolved immediately to attack the Roman entrenchment; but Cæſar, as ſoon as he was informed of their intentions, brought his men out of the camp, and drew them up in battle array before the entrance; a fierce engagement enſued, but in the end the Britons were totally overcome; and the Romans purſuing them, made a prodigious ſlaughter, and burnt their houſes on every ſide.‡

Cæſar returns to Gaul.

The victory obtained, Cæſar withdrew into his camp; and the ſame day the miſerable remnant of the Britons ſent their ambaſſadors to him again to pacify his anger, and ſue for peace. Reproving them for their diſingenuity, he charged them with a double number of hoſtages, and

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 25.
† Ib. c. 26. et Dion. Hiſt. Rom. l. 39.
‡ Cæſ. cap. 30, 31.

com-

commanded them to be brought over into Gaul to him. Cæſar having thus ſettled his affairs in Britain, took the firſt fair opportunity of departing thence; and a little after midnight weighing anchor, he returned into Gaul, leaving the Britons to the performances of their promiſes.* A. A. C. 55.

This was the end of Cæſar's firſt expedition, according to his own account of it: yet we find a very ſhort ſtep made towards the conqueſt of the iſland: and indeed his precipitate departure, not even waiting for the delivery of the hoſtages which were demanded, and forſaking entirely thoſe advantages which he had gained, ſeem ſtrong indications of his having met with a much warmer reception from the Britons than he had expected. Yet ſo greatly did he extol this performance, in the letters which he ſent to Rome, that the ſenate decreed a ſupplication of twenty days to his honour. But all that was gained by this exploit, either for his own advantage, or public benefit, was the glory of the undertaking.†

Prepares for a ſecond expedition.

No ſooner was Cæſar ſafely arrived in Gaul, than he iſſued forth his orders for preparations to be made, neceſſary for a ſecond invaſion of Britain; and commanded his lieutenants to build him as many new ſhips as they could during the courſe of the winter, and to repair ſuch of the old ones as were damaged; but he cauſed ſome neceſſary variations to be made in thoſe ſhips which were new built, from the uſual method adopted by the Romans. In the firſt place, they were made lower, for the conveniency of loading; and again, they were made broader, the better to contain the horſes, and things of great weight. Theſe orders were ſo punctually complied with, that on Cæſar's return to Gaul in the ſpring, he found ſix hundred ſhips and twenty-eight gallies, all ready to be ſet afloat in a few days.

A. A. C. 54.

Cæſar ſails again to Britain.

The ſpring advancing, Cæſar ordered his fleet to meet him at Calais,‡ from whence he knew was the ſhorteſt cut into Britain; which order was carefully obeyed by all his fleet; forty ſhips excepted, which were driven back again by a violent tempeſt. Cæſar embarked with five legions of foot, and two thouſand horſemen, ſetting ſail at ſun-ſet; (probably about the month of May, or June) and at noon he reached Britain, where he landed without the leaſt oppoſition; for the Britons, diſmayed at the appearance of the Roman fleet, which ſeemed ſo numerous, had left the ſhore, and retired higher up into the country.§ When Cæſar had landed his troops, he learnt, from certain fugitives, where the chief forces of the Britons were poſted. He reſolved inſtantly to purſue them; therefore, having fixed on a proper place for his camp, he left his ſhips at anchor, with ten cohorts and three hundred horſemen to guard them; ſetting forward about the third watch with the main body of his army towards the enemy. When he had marched about twelve miles, in the night, he came in ſight of the Britons, who had taken poſt by a river's ſide,‖

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 32.
† Dion. Hiſt. Rom. lib. xxxix.
‡ Portus Itius.
§ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 7.
‖ Thought to be the Stour, in Kent.

and

A. A. C. 54. and were poſſeſſed of the riſing grounds, from whence with their chariots and horſemen they made a vigorous attack upon the Romans; but being at laſt repulſed by Cæſar's cavalry, they retired into the woods, where they occupied a ſtrong place, well fortified both by nature and by art;* for with timber which they had cut down, they had cloſely barricadoed all the paſſes; themſelves ſallying out in ſmall parties to defend the entrenchment, and prevent the Romans from poſſeſſing the entrances. But the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion having raiſed a mount, marched (firmly knit together) under the covert of their ſhields, and without the loſs of much blood, took poſſeſſion of the fortification, and drove the Britons from the woods. But Cæſar would not permit his ſoldiers to make any long purſuit, becauſe the day was far advanced, and he knew they were unacquainted with the nature of the country. The reſt of the evening he ſpent in fortifying his camp.†

Cæſar's ſhips damaged.

Early the next morning Cæſar divided his army into three bodies, and ſent them out in purſuit of the fugitive Britons; who, however, were not gone far, for their rear was deſcried by the Roman ſoldiers when they had proceeded but a ſmall diſtance from their camp. All things being thus diſpoſed, a ſudden accident put a ſtop to the purſuit; Cæſar received the diſagreeable news from Q. Atrius (whom he had left to guard the fleet) that in the night, by means of a dreadful tempeſt, his ſhips had all of them ſuſtained great damage, and many of them were quite deſtroyed. On the reception of this alarming account, Cæſar recalled his troops, and with his whole force haſted back to the camp, where he ſoon beheld the miſerable devaſtation. However, not diſmayed with this unexpected ſhock, he immediately cauſed thoſe ſhips which were left to be repaired; and ſuch was the activity of his ſoldiers, that in ten days the navy was again put into good order, with the loſs of forty ſhips only. This done, with great labour they were drawn upon the ſhore, and incloſed within the camp. Having thus made them ſecure, he left the ſame guard as before in the entrenchment, and with his army returned again to the place where he had defeated the Britons.‡

The Britons elect a general.

It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange that the Britons ſhould have let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of diſtreſſing the Romans as appears now to have offered; for whilſt they were attentively buſy in the reparation of their fleet, they might have been attacked with great probability of ſucceſs. But it ſeems that they were employed in a different manner during this interval, as in the electing of a general, the ſtrengthening their confederacy, and increaſing their power. Convinced, as they were, of the ſuperior force of the Roman legions, they now reſolved to enter into a ſtrong combination, and for a time to ſacrifice their private animoſities to the public good. Happy if theſe reſolutions had been as faithfully followed as they were prudently made! The public choice fell upon Caſi-

* Writers in general have ſuppoſed this entrenchment was made ſomewhere about the ſpot on which Canterbury now ſtands.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 8.

‡ Ibid. cap. 9.

bellanus,

bellanus, prince of the Caſſi, or Cativellauni,* who was accordingly elected general. He was a man of approved valour and experience, who had long before the arrival of Cæſar been buſied in continual wars and diſcords with the neighbouring cities; nor muſt we here paſs over a very important ſubject, which offers to view:——the death of Imanuentius, the king of the Trinobantes, whom Caſibellanus had ſlain, and uſurped the government of that dominion. Mandubratus, the ſon of Imanuentius, in order to ſecure his own life, fled from Britain into Gaul, ſeeking the protection of Cæſar; and with the view of revenging himſelf on Caſibellanus, he is thought to have perſuaded Cæſar to undertake this war againſt the Britons.† A. A. C. 54.

Caſibellanus placed at the head of the Britiſh forces, endeavoured in the firſt place to hinder the licentious marches of the Roman troops, ſallying out upon them, when an occaſion ſerved, with his chariots and horſes, and ſkirmiſhing fiercely with them; but finding he was not able to cope with them, he made his retreat to the hills, and the Romans too eager in their purſuit, had a conſiderable number of their detachment cut off by the flying parties of the Britons. After this time the Britons retired, and lay cloſe in the woods, waiting a proper opportunity of attacking the Romans; which they did in a ſudden manner as they were fortifying their camp, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger; for the Britons iſſuing with great impetuoſity from the woods, fell furiouſly upon the party ſet to guard the trenches, and a fierce engagement enſued. Cæſar alarmed for their ſafety, ſent out two cohorts to their ſuccour, but before they joined their fellows, the deſperate Britons ſeeing their danger, broke through the midſt of the two parties, and retired, with little loſs, to their ſecret receſſes.‡ On the part of the Romans, (amongſt others) Q. Laberius Durus, a tribune, was ſlain.§ The next day after this encounter, the Britons appeared at a diſtance upon the hills in ſtraggling parties, ſhewing themſelves but ſeldom; nor did they make their attacks ſo often, or ſo ſharply, as they had done the day before. Cæſar preſuming from theſe circumſtances, that they would not venture another engagement with his troops, ſent out three legions, and all the horſe, with Caius Trebonius, a lieutenant, to forage: when on a ſudden the Britons iſſued from the woods with great impetuoſity, and fell upon the Romans on every ſide. But the horſemen of the Romans bearing down cloſely upon them, ſupported and followed by the foot, ſlew a great number, giving them no time to rally again, or leap from their chariots to oppoſe them.‖ Caſibellanus's conduct.

This diſcomfiture ſo damped the ſpirits of the Britons, that they diſbanded themſelves, and no more united their whole power to oppoſe the Romans. Caſibellanus, their general, alſo diſcouraged by the defection of his allies, and their continual murmurs, ſeeing that his troops were Caſibellanus retires from Cæſar.

* The ancient inhabitants of Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 16.

‡ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 11.

§ Stow, quoting the Chronicle of Wygmore, ſays, this action happened at Cheſton wood, near where Rocheſter now ſtands.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 13.

not

A. A. C. 54. not an equal match with the Romans in a pitched battle, reſolved to retire into his own territories, and to act only on the defenſive. Cæſar purſued the Britons along the banks of the Thames, and at laſt reſolved upon entering the dominion of Caſibellanus. This crafty general ſuſpecting that the Roman chief would moſt probably form ſuch a deſign, cauſed ſtrong ſharp ſtakes to be ſet down into the bottom of the river, in the only place where it was fordable, which was ſo artfully performed that they were entirely hid by the water from the ſight of the Roman ſoldiers;* and this ſtratagem would doubtleſs have been productive of a happy effect, but that Cæſar getting intelligence thereof by the means of ſome fugitives, his troops were as careful as poſſible to avoid them. Cæſar being come to the brink of the river, found the oppoſite bank was poſſeſſed by a great army of the enemy, who ſeemed prepared to reſiſt his troops: he then ſent his horſes firſt into the river, and commanded the foot to follow; and ſo ſudden were they in paſſing the ſtream, (although they could but juſt keep their heads above the water) and ſo violent was their attack upon the Britons, that they ſoon gave back, and retired further up into the country.†

Various ſtates ſubmit to Cæſar.

Whilſt Cæſar was upon his march, the Trinobantes, one of the chief provinces of Britain, through their diſlike to Caſibellanus, who had ſlain their king, took this opportunity of revenge; for, finding that Mandubratus, their prince, was with Cæſar, and under his protection, they ſent ambaſſadors to him, ſubmitting themſelves to his direction, and offering him hoſtages; at the ſame time intreating him to protect their prince from the injuries of Caſibellanus, and ſend him back to take the government of their ſtate upon him. Cæſar willingly complied with their requeſts, ſending Mandubratus to them, demanding only forty hoſtages, and a certain quantity of proviſions for his army; which demand they inſtantly complied with. Their example was followed by the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and the Caſſi. Cæſar derived great advantage from the ſubmiſſion of theſe ſtates, becauſe from them he received ſuch information as he deſired concerning Caſibellanus, and alſo was directed to his city, which was ſtrongly fortified about with woods and marſhy grounds; in which, he was informed, there was placed a great number of men, and much cattle. He therefore determined to march thither, and attack the Britons in their fortreſs, in hopes either to kill or take Caſibellanus, and to diſperſe his allies.‡

Caſibellanus diſbands part of his army.

Caſibellanus, in the mean time, well knowing that it would be impoſſible with open force to oppoſe the paſſage of the Romans, diſbanded the greater part of his army, retaining only about four thouſand chariots, and under covert of the woods watched carefully the route which Cæſar and his army took; he alſo drove away the cattle and the people

* Two ancient authors affirm, that theſe ſtakes were to be ſeen in their days: they are ſaid to have been of the bigneſs of a man's thigh, bound about with lead, and driven into the bed of the river. Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 2. & Ann. Aſſer.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. cap. 14 & 15.

‡ Ibid. cap. 17.

from

from thence into the woods, and haraſſed the Romans in their marches, A. A. C. 54.
ſetting furiouſly upon all ſuch as were ſent out to forage; ſo that Cæſar, to enſure his own ſafety, was obliged to reſtrain his men from ſtraggling far from the main body, and to confine their plunders within the limits of their march.

Cæſar takes the city of Caſibellanus.

Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, Cæſar reſolutely marched up to the city of Caſibellanus,* and commanding his army to ſtorm it in two places at once, they ſoon gained an entrance, and put the Britons to flight, great numbers of them were ſlain, the reſt eſcaped at the oppoſite ſide, hiding themſelves in the deep receſſes of the woods, whilſt Cæſar plundered the town, and found great ſtore of cattle and proviſions. Caſibellanus, like a brave and noble general, not yet caſt down with theſe repeated ſhocks of evil fortune, formed an excellent and truly political ſcheme; for, recollecting how far the Romans were come from their ſhips, and being informed how ſmall the numbers were which were left to guard them, imagined that a favourable opportunity offered to deſtroy the fleet; therefore, he diſpatched ſpeedy meſſages to the four kings of Kent, Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taxamagulus, and Segonax, exhorting them to gather all the forces together that they could, in order to make an attack upon the Roman ſoldiers left behind in the camp, and to burn the fleet. Theſe orders they inſtantly obeyed, but indeed with ill ſucceſs; for the victorious Romans beat them from the camp, with great ſlaughter, and took Cingetorix priſoner.†

Caſibellanus ſubmits to Cæſar.

This laſt effort of the unfortunate Caſibellanus ſucceeding ſo ill, together with the diſſentions and controverſies of his allies, and the faithleſſneſs of the Britiſh ſtates, at laſt reduced him to ſuch ſtraights, that ſeeing no hopes of defending his territories any longer, and having performed all the duties of a true patriot and a valiant ſoldier, he ſubmitted himſelf to the ſevere decrees of fate, ſending ambaſſadors to Cæſar to ſue for peace; alſo, the better to gain his favour, he ſent with them Comius of Artois, Cæſar's friend. This ſubmiſſion of Caſibellanus was a moſt fortunate event for Cæſar; for, as he had determined to winter in Gaul, and the ſeaſon was now advancing, he by this means put a much quicker end to the war, than could have been expected. However, he received the ambaſſadors with the air of a conqueror, and demanded a certain number of hoſtages to be delivered up, and ſtipulated a tribute to be annually paid to the Romans; he alſo ſtrictly commanded Caſibellanus, in no manner of ſort to oppreſs Mandubratus, or the people of his dominion. This done, Cæſar taking the hoſtages, marched back to his fleet, and at two embarkations returned again with his army into Gaul.‡

Obſervations on Cæſar's expedition.

We ſhould be very glad to have known how great the annual tribute was, which Cæſar laid upon the Britons.§ It ſeems, indeed, to have

* Suppoſed to ſtand on the very ſpot where Verulam was afterwards built.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 18.

‡ Ibid. cap. 19.

§ Speed, quoting an old anonymous Chronicle, ſays, it was eſtimated at three thouſand pounds yearly. Vide Speed's Chr. fol. 49.

A. A. C. 54. been demanded only to ſave his honour, and add a conſequence to his expedition: for how could he ever expect that it ſhould be paid by the Britons, when he neither erected one ſingle fort upon the land, nor left one ſingle cohort, to enforce the payment. Theſe conſiderations have led ſeveral judicious authors to conjecture, that he has ſet his exploits in Britain in a much more favourable light than is conſiſtent with truth; and when any one ſhall reflect on his unbounded ambition, and love of fame, this opinion will ſeem far from improbable. Beſides, the expence of this undertaking we may eaſily conceive was very conſiderable; and the fatigues which he and his army underwent, far more than equal to the victories, or profits which accrued to him from it. So that the whole conſidered, there was but little juſt reaſon for him to boaſt of his enterprize; and of this himſelf ſeems to have been convinced, as he now left the iſland with a reſolution never to return to it again.

From A. A. C. 54. to A. D. 40. From the departure of Cæſar to the invaſion of Claudius, a ſpace of ninety-ſeven years, we find but little authentic matter concerning the affairs of this realm: for during the whole of this time, the Britons met with no actual diſturbance, and but few alarms, from foreign enemies: ſo that the ancient authors have either entirely neglected the accounts of Britain, or what they have ſaid is ſo diſperſed, and ſo trifling, that the moſt which can be collected from them will throw but a faint and uncertain light upon the tranſactions of this people. Thus much appears to be certain, that ſoon after Cæſar left Britain, and the fears of a foreign enemy were diſſipated, they broached afreſh their inteſtine quarrels; and the whole land was preſently rent and torn with different factions, and civil broils.*

Civil wars amongſt the Britons. In theſe wars, Caſibellanus and his ſucceſſors, with their ſubjects the Cattivellauni, ſo far prevailed above the reſt, that they reduced to their rule the Trinobantes, the Dobuni, and ſeveral other chief nations. Amidſt this general confuſion, thoſe nations ſeem to have been the moſt grievouſly oppreſſed who had ſo lately ſubmitted themſelves to Cæſar, and implored his protection: for of theſe, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Segontiaci, were ſo abſolutely conquered, that they loſt both name and conſequence as diſtinct ſtates, and from this time are no more mentioned by ſucceeding writers.†

Cunobelinus, a powerful prince. During the reign of Auguſtus, there flouriſhed in this realm a king of great repute called Cunobelinus, (and ſaid by ſome to be the ſucceſſor of Caſibellanus). He was by far the moſt powerful prince of this period, and ſeems to have arrived at ſuch a pitch of grandeur and royalty, as was unknown in Britain before his time: for his rule extended over almoſt all the ſouthern part of the kingdom; his chief ſeat was at Camulodunum,‡ which royal city is ſaid in general by the modern authors to have been at

* Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. i. chap. 1.

† Ibid. & Stow's Chr. & Speed's Chr.

‡ See Camden, Speed, &c.

Maldon, in Eſſex. After his death, his dominions were divided between his widow Cartiſmandua, the queen of the Brigantes, and his two ſons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, who were the moſt conſiderable princes in Britain when it was invaded by Claudius.* From A. A.C. 54. to A. D. 43.

Soon after Cæſar's return from Britain, the Roman ſtate, embroiled by civil diſſentions, turned their ſwords againſt each other. During theſe alarming commotions, Britain was forgot, and the tribute ſo far from being paid, was not even demanded; and this not only during the wars, but even long after peace and quietneſs was eſtabliſhed in the empire. Auguſtus indeed thought proper to threaten the Britons with an invaſion, which, however, he never accompliſhed; being convinced, perhaps, that the expence of carrying on the war would be far greater than the profits he could expect to reap from the conqueſt; and this was what he called "Reaſon of State."† Civil wars at Rome prevent the tribute being demanded.

Yet to add the greater terror to his threats, in the ſixth year of his reign a preparation was made, and he marched his troops forward into Gaul, when he received information that the Pannonians had revolted; therefore, altering his reſolutions relative to Britain, he turned his power againſt the rebels.‡ Thus were the Britons for a time relieved from their fears. A. A.C. 25. Auguſtus threatens to invade Britain.

Four years after, he opened the temple of Janus at Rome, threatening again to invade Britain; but when he had marched as far as Ariminum, he was met by certain ambaſſadors, ſent from ſeveral of the Britiſh ſtates, who ſubmitting themſelves to him, humbly begged his protection, and ſued for peace.§ Auguſtus, contented with theſe aſſurances, altered his intentions, and with his forces turned aſide to quiet ſome diſturbances which had ariſen in Gaul. But as theſe promiſes were moſt likely only made by ſome few of the Britiſh ſtates, whoſe intereſt might greatly depend upon the favour of the Romans, the whole of the tribute was far from being paid. A. A.C. 21. He repeats his threats.

The emperor, apparently incenſed at theſe delays, with great threatening made preparations a third time to puniſh the neglect of the Britons; but juſt as he was on the point of ſetting forward, an actual rebellion in Biſcay prevented him. Thus, after all theſe ſpecious appearances, the Britons ſtill continued unmoleſted, and in ſafety. However, they ſeem in ſome meaſure to have been intimidated; for, as ſoon as they heard of the anger of Auguſtus, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, excuſing themſelves to Cæſar, and entreating peace; they alſo ſwore fealty to him in the temple of Mars, and brought large gifts with them, which were laid up in the capitol.‖ From this time, the Britons A. A.C. 20. His threats again repeated.

* Dion. in Claud.
† Tacit. in Vita Agric.
‡ Dion. in Vita Auguſt.
§ Ibid.
‖ Dion Caſſ. lib. liii. I may here add, that the Britiſh Hiſtories ſpeak of a king, named Theomantius, or Tenuantis, who ſucceeded Caſibellanus. "This man, (ſays Rapin) ſent rich preſents to the emperor, which were laid up in the capitol." But what authority he had for this aſſertion is very uncertain.

A. A. C. 21. to A. D. 43. willingly paid tolls and impoſts upon all ſuch commodities as they purchaſed of the merchants.*

Tiberius would not invade Britain.

In the ſame manner, Tiberius (after the death of Auguſtus, whom he ſucceeded in the empire) received the preſents, and took the willing tribute of the Britons, abſtaining from all hoſtilities. During the reign of this emperor, the Britons and Romans ſeem to have kept up a perfect good underſtanding one with the other, as we may reaſonably conclude, from the tender and humane treatment which ſome of the ſoldiers of Germanicus met with, who were ſhipwrecked upon the coaſt of Britain, where they were well received by the petty kings, who ruled in thoſe parts, and ſent in ſafety back to their general.†

A. D. 40.

Caligula's fooliſh expedition.

The ſenſeleſs and wicked Caligula, who ſucceeded Tiberius in the empire, made great preparations for the invaſion of Britain; but when he had with his army proceeded as far as thoſe parts of Holland which lie facing Norfolk, there met him ſome miſerable Britons, who ſubmitted themſelves to him, and begged his protection. At the head of theſe fugitives came Admimus, the ſon of Cunobellinus, who had been baniſhed from Britain by his father; but for what particular cauſe is not recorded. Caligula received him gladly, and wrote letters to the ſenate at Rome, replete with boaſtings, and extolling his great ſucceſs, with as much confidence, as if all Britain had already been his own. Not content with all this idle vaunting, amongſt other mad and extravagant exploits, he cauſed all his men to be drawn up in their ranks, and to be ſet in battle array upon the ſea-ſhore; he alſo cauſed the baliſtas, and other inſtruments of war, to be placed in proper order, as if he was actually upon the point of engaging with the enemy: all which being done according to his command, he went himſelf into a galley which he ordered to put from the ſhore, and to proceed ſome ſmall diſtance upon the ſea; when returning again, he cauſed the trumpet to ſound the charge of battle, and iſſued forth his command for every man to fill his helmet with the ſhells that lay upon the beach, declaring, that he had now ſubdued the ocean, and that thoſe were the ſpoils, which were well worthy of a place in the capitol, amongſt the various and honourable trophies of conquered nations. He then greatly commended the courage of his ſoldiers, and rewarded them profuſely;‡ and after he had built a tower upon the ſpot, a laſting memorial of his unequalled folly! he returned to Rome, demanding a triumph for his memorable exploit.§

The ſecurity of the Britons.

Thus Britain remained a long time unmoleſted, notwithſtanding the late preparations made by the Romans; and this laſt ridiculous expedi-

* Strabo, lib. iv.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 5.

‡ Dion. lib. 59. & Sueton. in Vita, C. Calig.

§ Of this tower, ſays Camden, there are great ruins in Holland, but overflowed with the water, and to this day called *Bryton's Houſe*, in remembrance of this ridiculous expedition againſt Britain, where they often find ſtones with inſcriptions; one of which had theſe capitals upon it, C. C. P. F. thus interpreted, Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit. Camd. Brit. Stow's Chron. Vide Speed, &c.

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tion of Caligula entirely ſuppreſſed their fears, and rendered them ſo ſecure, that when Claudius (the ſucceſſor of Caligula) cauſed an actual invaſion to take place, they had neglected the making any neceſſary preparations; not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the reality of his deſign, until the arrival of the Roman legions convinced them he was in earneſt.* A. D. 40.

The Britons had long neglected to pay the tribute to the Romans, and Claudius taking the province affairs into ſerious conſideration, was determined to reduce them to obedience; and he was the more particularly moved to the commencement of hoſtilities by the inſtigation of a fugitive Briton, named Bericus, he being expelled from his native country, as a ſeditious and dangerous perſon, fled to Rome, ſupplicating the protection of the emperor; who, by his advice and perſuaſion, was entirely confirmed in his intentions. Wherefore, he ſent an army over into Britain, which conſiſted of four legions; who, with their auxiliaries and the cavalry, amounted to the full number of fifty thouſand men; and over theſe Aulus Plautius, a man of conſular dignity, was elected general. Under him in command, was Veſpaſianus, (who was afterwards emperor) and his brother Sabinus, with other excellent officers. The emperor alſo ordered the general, that if he ſhould meet with any great or unexpected reſiſtance from the Britons, he ſhould write to Rome, and he himſelf would come over into Britain in perſon to aid him.† A. D. 43.

Claudius ſends A. Plautius into Britain.

Aulus Plautius arriving at Britain, landed his men without any oppoſition from the Britons, who ſeemed not in the leaſt to have ſuſpected the reality of the emperor's deſign. At this time alſo, Cunobellinus being dead, his dominions were divided between his widow, Cartiſmandua, and his two ſons, Caractacus and Togodumnus. Beſides, the harmony which ſubſiſted between theſe parties, was by no means ſuch as might have been expected from their near relation, nor ſuch as the ſafety of the realm required.‡

Aulus Plautius lands in Britain.

The two princes, however, upon the firſt news of the arrival of the Romans, armed their ſubjects, and withdrew into the woods; for it was not their deſign to come to an open engagement with the Roman troops, but rather to protract the time till the winter ſhould ſet in, when they expected for certainty that their enemies would depart again, as Julius Cæſar with his forces had done heretofore. But Plautius preſently on his arrival, marched up into the country, (guided, no doubt, by the ſeditious Bericus, to the places where his friends reſided, and where his chief intereſt lay, which ſeems to have been moſtly amongſt the Cattivellauni and Dobuni) and by his direction, the Romans firſt came up with Caractacus, whom they defeated; and preſently after, they engaged with his brother Togodumnus, whom they alſo overcame. Theſe important victories obtained, great part of the Dobuni ſubmitted to the Romans: theſe, moſt probably, were the ſubjects of Cogidunus, a prince beloved and eſteemed

He overcomes Caractacus and Togodumnus.

* Dion. lib. lx.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.

By

A. D. 43. by the emperor Claudius, as well for his early ſubmiſſion, as for his ſteady adherence to the Roman cauſe.*

Another action between the Britons and Romans.

Plautius having firſt left a garriſon amongſt the Dobuni, purſued the flying Britons, who had taken ſhelter behind a large river, where they were encamped, thinking themſelves well ſecured, as they knew the river was deep, and that there was no bridge over which the Romans could paſs to attack them. But Plautius perceiving the advantage they poſſeſſed, cauſed ſome of his German auxiliaries (who were excellent ſwimmers) to paſs the river; which they had no ſooner done, than, inſtead of attacking the Britiſh army, they ſet upon their chariot horſes, which they wounded and ham-ſtringed, rendering them entirely unfit for ſervice. In the mean time, Veſpaſianus having paſſed the water with his troops, (unknown to the Britons) in another place, ſet upon them ſuddenly, and a vaſt number of them were ſlain. Yet the hardy Britons obſtinately reſiſting, would not turn their backs, but maintained their ground with great bravery until the next day, when a moſt grievous and bloody conflict enſued; for ſome time the ſcales of victory hung doubtful, but at laſt the good fortune of the Romans preponderated, and the Britons, no longer able to reſiſt, were put to flight. This conqueſt was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of C. Sidias Geta; whoſe courage in this bloody conflict, was rewarded with triumphal honours at Rome, though he himſelf had not yet attained to the honour of the conſular degree.†

The Britons conquered again.

The Britons thus defeated, made their retreat to the north ſide of the Thames, which they paſſed at a place where the marſhes, and ſtagnated waters, occaſioned by the overflowing of the river, rendered the paſſage both difficult and dangerous, eſpecially to the Romans, who were unacquainted with the nature of the place; but the Germans, regardleſs of the danger, followed the enemy, and the reſt of the Roman army paſſing the river over a bridge, which they found a little higher up,‡ came upon the Britons, and gave them another ſignal overthrow. But the Roman ſoldiers being too eager in the purſuit, a great number of them periſhed in the bogs and ſwamps.§ In this conflict alſo, the Britons loſt Togodumnus, one of their chief generals, and the ſon of Cunobellinus.

Plautius ſends for the emperor.

Notwithſtanding the Romans had ſo far ſucceeded, and defeated the Britons with conſiderable ſlaughter; yet was there no proſpect of concluding the war as yet, for the Britons far from making any advances towards a peace, or expreſſing the leaſt ſubmiſſion, ſeemed only the more exaſperated, and the more inſatiate in their thirſt of revenge: wherefore,

* Tacit. in Vita Agric..

† Dion. lib. lx.

‡ Rapin makes the following remark upon this paſſage: "Notwithſtanding the authority of Dion Caſſius, it is improbable there ſhould have been a ford ſo near the Thames' mouth, as the ſcene of this action ſeems to have been laid; or a bridge a little higher up. He ſeems (adds my author) to have confounded ſome river, which runs into the Thames, with the Thames itſelf. Rapin. Hiſt. Eng. vol. i. book i.

§ Dion. lib lx.

Plautius

Plautius diſpatched meſſengers to the emperor, ſignifying to him, that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary to put a final concluſion to the war. Claudius gladly received this ſummons, and having made great preparations, with a mighty army, both of horſe and foot, paſſed over into Britain; alſo with his army he brought large elephants, whoſe ſtrange and tremendous appearance in battle might damp the courage of the Britons.* A. D. 43.

The ſucceſs of Claudius's expedition.

When Claudius had landed his forces in Britain, he encamped near the Thames; ſoon after which he paſſed the river, and entered into the country of the Trinobantes, where he had a ſharp conflict with the Britons: but in the end the Britiſh forces were totally overthrown, and the Romans got poſſeſſion of Camulodunum, the chief city of Cunobellinus.† Soon after, Cæſar won ſeveral other towns and ſtates, which were of great conſequence; ſo that when he had received the ſubmiſſion of ſuch princes as were obliged, or diſpoſed, to ſeek an alliance with him, he appointed Plautius the firſt governor of this new province, and returned back to Rome in leſs than ſix months from his firſt ſetting out, entering the city in triumph.‡

The ſucceſs of Veſpaſian.

Veſpaſianus (whom Claudius had left the ſecond in command) ſucceeded ſo well in his office, that he not only acquired great eſteem and honour, but laid the firſt foundation of his future glory and greatneſs. At the head of one of the diviſions of the Roman troops, he carried on the war againſt the Belgic Britons, who inhabited the ſea-coaſts from Kent to the land's end. Here in the courſe of a few years, after thirty ſharp conflicts, he ſubdued the Belgæ, together with the Deurotriges, two of the moſt powerful nations in thoſe parts. He alſo took above twenty towns, and entirely conquered the iſle of Wight.§ In the mean time, Aulus Plautius made war upon the inland Britons, who were commanded by Caractacus. We are not informed of the particular exploits of Plautius, but we find, in general, he was ſo ſucceſsful, that on his return to Rome he was honoured with an ovation, or leſſer triumph, the emperor walking at his left hand to the capitol.‖

When Plautius was recalled in the year of our Lord 47, the direction of the affairs in this iſland ſeems to have been managed by legates, or the commanders of the legions, to the year 50, at which time, Oſtorius Sca- A. D. 47.

* Dion. lib. lx.

† Thus ſays Dion. Caſſius; but Suetonius affirms, that he came over into Britain, and that part of the iſland ſubmitted to him within a few days after his arrival, without either battle or bloodſhed; which laſt account ſeems to be confirmed by this inſcription, given by Dr. Henry in his Hiſtory of Britain.

TI. CLAVDIO CÆS.
AVGVSTO
PONTIFICI MAX. TR. P. IX.
COS. V. IMP. XVI. P. P.
SENATVS POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES BRITANNIÆ ABSQVE
VLLA IACTVRA DOMVERIT
GENTESQVE BARBARAS
PRIMVS INDICIO SUBEGERIT.
See Wright's Travels, page 293.

‡ Dion, ut ſup. & Suet. in Claud. § Suet. in Vita Veſp. ‖ Dion & Sueton. ut ſup.

pula

A. D. 50. pula was deputed by the emperor to take upon him the government of Britain.

Oſtorius lands in Britain.

Oſtorius, at his firſt arrival, found all things in great confuſion; the enemy were plundering the allies of the Romans; and they committed theſe depredations with the greater boldneſs, becauſe they were not under any apprehenſions (as the winter was now begun) that the new general would enter the field againſt them, at the head of troops, which he was as yet but a ſtranger to. But he, on the other hand, prudently conſidered, that a ſudden check put upon their proceedings, muſt be every way advantageous to the Roman affairs: therefore, collecting his army together with all convenient ſpeed, he marched forward againſt thoſe who were in arms, and overcame them with great ſlaughter; purſuing thoſe which fled, and were ſtraggling abroad. And that he might render the province the more ſecure from the neighbouring enemies, he erected a chain of forts upon the banks of the rivers Nen and Severn; alſo to prevent any inteſtine diſcord, he cauſed all buſy, or ſuſpected perſons, as well ſubjects as allies, to deliver up their arms.*

The Iceni revolt.

This laſt policy of Oſtorius was the occaſion of a new war; for the Iceni,† (who had very early, and of their own accord, ſought the alliance of the Romans) incenſed at this tyrannical command, choſe rather to revolt than ſurrender up their arms. Wherefore, gathering all their forces, and being joined by ſome neighbouring ſtates, they took the field againſt Oſtorius, having got poſſeſſion of a place encompaſſed with a rude high trench, and inacceſſible to the cavalry, becauſe it had but one entrance, and that was purpoſely made as narrow as poſſible. Oſtorius, therefore, commanded his men to attack them in their entrenchment, which they preſently entered, when an obſtinate and bloody conflict enſued; but in the end the Britons were overcome, and being hampered in their own incloſures, were totally defeated, notwithſtanding their deſperate reſiſtance: for ſeeing all the paſſages through which they might hope to eſcape entirely ſtopped up, they reſolved to die bravely, and ſell their lives at as great a price as poſſible. This ſlaughter of the Iceni fixed the wavering reſolutions of many, and inclined them to peace, who waited but to ſee the ſucceſs of this revolt, and to make their final determination, either for peace or war.‡

The Cangi overcome.

Oſtorius having gained this important conqueſt, marched his troops againſt the Cangi, whoſe country he waſted and ſpoiled; the miſerable inhabitants not daring to take the field againſt him. When he had proceeded as far as the ſea-coaſts which looked towards Ireland, his progreſs was ſtopped by the information which he received, that the Brigantines§ were upon the point of revolting: this he no ſooner heard, than, altering his courſe, he marched with his army againſt them; where he put to

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8.

† The Iceni inhabited the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.

‡ Tacit. Annal. ut ſup.

§ The Brigantines inhabited Yorkſhire, &c.

death

death some few who had taken up arms, and the rest, on promise of peace, were pardoned. His next step was to secure the conquests which he had made; therefore, he planted a numerous colony of veteran soldiers at Camulodunum.* A. D. 50.

Caractacus opposes the Romans.

No sooner had Ostorius thus prudently restored peace and quietness to the southern parts of the kingdom, than fresh disturbances called him to the field again. The restless Silures,† with Caractacus at their head, (who by his prudence and valour had made his name famous) were up in arms, and threatened destruction to the Roman power. To put a sudden and effectual end to this growing evil, the Roman general, with the chief of his troops, marched towards the territories of the Ordovices,‡ for the crafty leader of the British forces having got together a numerous army, took the advantage of transferring the war from his own to another state; where, with his whole host, he waited the coming of the Romans: he was encamped in a most advantageous place, for he had fortified a strong hill,§ before which there flowed a large river, the fords of which were difficult and uncertain. Also, to prevent the soldiers from landing on the opposite banks, he placed a great body of his best soldiers by the river-side, and directly before the entrenchment. All things thus prudently disposed, he himself encouraged his men, to make a brave and noble resistance; adding, in a pathetic and animating manner, that "On the fortune of that day depended the glorious re-esta-"blishment of their liberties, or the perpetual shame of bondage and "servitude." He then invoked the names of their ancestors, who had chaced Cæsar the dictator out of Britain, and by whose valour they were delivered from the impositions of the Romans, and their wives and children protected from disgrace. These words were received with repeated clamours of applause and approbation; and such was their happy effect, that glory glowed in every British breast, for every man lift up his hand, and swore by the powers which he adored, that either death or conquest should put an end to his labours.‖

Caractacus overcome by Ostorius.

Ostorius, astonished at the valiant appearance of the Britons, as also the advantages of the post which they possessed, became doubtful of success. But the soldiers themselves loudly demanded battle, beseeching him to lead them forward to the enemy. He therefore examining what places of the river would be the least dangerous to ford, led his army thither, and they boldly rushing into the stream, made themselves masters of the opposite bank with but little difficulty. Now a fierce engagement ensued, the Britons defending their entrenchments with great bravery, threw down their darts upon the enemy; on the other side, the Romans

* Tacit. An. ut sup.

† The inhabitants of South Wales.

‡ North Wales.

§ There is a hill in Shropshire, near the confluence of the Colun and Teme, called Caer Caradoc, from Caradoc, the British name of Caractacus, which answers exactly the description here given by Tacitus, where the vestiges of all these rampires are still visible. Camd. Brit. in Shrop.

‖ Tacit. Annal. ut sup.

A. D. 50. perceiving that they fought to great diſadvantage at a diſtance, preſſed forward to the entrenchment under the covert of their ſhields, and breaking down the rude rampire of ſtones, attacked the Britons hand to hand, who finding themſelves unable to ſupport the cloſe encounter with their antagoniſts, fled to the higher grounds, where the light-armed infantry of the Romans cloſely followed, and drove them from their poſts with great ſlaughter. So ended this day's action, in the total defeat of the Britons, and advancement of the Roman glory. Amongſt the priſoners which were taken in the camp of Caractacus, were his wife, his daughter, and his brothers.*

Caractacus betrayed to the Romans.

Caractacus indeed eſcaped from the general ruin, but being now no longer able to make head againſt his enemies; forſaken and deſtitute, he haſted to Cartiſmandua, the queen of the Brigantines, to whom he relates the ill fortune of that laſt fatal field, imploring her to defend and protect him. But ſhe, unworthy woman, in order to eſtabliſh herſelf in the favour of the Romans, put him into bonds, and delivered him up to Oſtorius; baſely ſacrificing the intereſt of her country, and cruelly betraying the unhappy man, who ſought protection at her hand, merely to advance her own private and inglorious views.†

Caractacus led to Rome.

The unfortunate Caractacus, thus perfidiouſly betrayed, was, together with his wife, his daughters, and his brethren, ſent to Rome. The fame of his noble ſtruggles for liberty were not only expanded throughout all the Roman provinces, but alſo even in the city of Rome itſelf, he was ſpoken of with great honour. When he entered Rome, the people were aſſembled from all quarters to ſee the hero, of whom Fame had ſo highly ſpoken. He was brought into the preſence of the emperor in proceſſion, his ſervants going firſt, after them was carried the bracelets, chains, and other ſpoils, the ſilent trophies of his extenſive victories over the neighbouring ſtates; then followed his brothers, his wife, his daughter; and laſt of all he came himſelf; his greatneſs of mind remaining ſtill unconquered by diſtreſs: and while others were petitioning for forgiveneſs, he neither held down his head, nor ſued in words for mercy. When he had reached the tribunal, where Cæſar himſelf was ſeated, with an undaunted preſence he ſpake the following words:

The ſpeech of Caractacus to the emperor Claudius.

" If my moderation in proſperity had been equal to the greatneſs of " my birth and fortune, I ſhould have come to this city as a friend, and " not like a captive; nor wouldeſt thou have diſdained to receive me " with articles of peace, becauſe I am deſcended of noble progenitors, and " I have ruled over many warlike nations. The diſhonour of my preſent " lot, is your glory: I had horſes, men, arms, and wealth; what " wonder then, if I was unwilling to be deprived of them? If you will " bear rule over all men, why it follows, that all men muſt become " obedient! Had I yielded myſelf to thee ſooner, neither had my for- " tune, nor your glory, been made ſo famous; for then oblivion would

* Tacit. Annal. ut ſup. † Ibid.

" have

" have quickly followed my ſufferings. But now, if you will permit me A. D. 50.
" to live, I ſhall remain an eternal example of your clemency."

When he had finiſhed this affecting ſpeech, Cæſar beholding the brave- Caractacus par-
neſs of his conduct, was ſtruck with admiration, and cauſed his bonds to doned by Clau-
be taken off, pardoning both him, and his relations, who accompanied dius.
him. The ſubduing of Caractacus was held an event of ſo much importance at Rome, that the ſenators refrained not to declare, the glory of Rome's ancient heroes was now equalled! and to Oſtorius they decreed the public honours of triumph.*

Thus far ſucceſs accompanied the Roman general in Britain, and all The ill fortune
his deſigns ſucceeded. But Fortune, who ſeldom deals her favours with of Oſtorius, and
an equal hand, now turned the ſcale, and ſuddenly depreſſed his former his death.
glory. The inhabitants of South Wales, whom he thought he had entirely ſubdued, boiling with revenge for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and exaſperated at the captivity of their valiant leader, ſecretly aſſembled a large troop, and fell ſuddenly upon a band of the Romans, (which were left behind to build fortreſſes in their territories) and ſo greatly overpowered them, that if they had not received ſpeedy ſuccour from the adjacent camps, they would all of them have been miſerably ſlain. However, there fell in this conflict, the camp-maſter, with eight centurions, and a great number of common ſoldiers, before the Britons were put to flight. From this time the Britons had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Romans, iſſuing upon them from the woods and marſhes, as occaſion ſerved. The Siluri ſeem to have been chiefly exaſperated, by a raſh ſpeech which the emperor is ſaid to have dropped, importing, that he would " entirely aboliſh their very name from Britain." In their deſperate fury, they intercepted, and overcame, two bands of Roman ſoldiers, who were foraging with a deſign to enrich themſelves by the ſpoils of the diſtreſſed Britons. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, the Silures grew more bold, and perſuaded the reſidue of the Britiſh ſtates to revolt from the Romans, and take up arms in the general cauſe. Oſtorius quite worn out with theſe continued misfortunes and vexations, and ſeeing no end to the increaſing troubles, died of a broken heart; grieving to find thoſe laurels, which his former conqueſts gained, now wither on his brow.

Cæſar being quickly advertiſed of the death of Oſtorius, immediately A. D. 53.
diſpatched Aulus Didius into Britain, to take the command upon him. But before he could arrive, Manlius Valens, having one legion under his Aulus Didius
command, imprudently attacked the Silures, and was overthrown by ſucceeds Oſto-
them, with conſiderable ſlaughter. This conqueſt, the victorious Bri- rius.
tons greatly magnified to their advantage, inviting other ſtates to join them, and continued to harraſs and ſpoil the borders of the province, till the arrival of Didius altered the face of things; for he preſently collected his forces, and drove them back to their own ſtate. Miſchief and

* Tacit. Annal. ut ſup.

A. D. 53. deſtruction ſeems with too ſure a ſcent to have purſued the miſerable Britons; for what the combined force of the Romans could not alone have done, their own imprudences and civil diſcords effectually compleated. Cartiſmandua, the faithleſs queen of the Brigantines, divorced herſelf from her huſband, Venuſius; and not thus contented, ſhe publicly eſpouſed Vollocatus, her huſband's armour-bearer, and proclaimed him king. Her huſband, Venuſius, was the chief of the Huiccii,* a brave and valiant man, and famous for his knowledge in military affairs. Till this time he had continued faithful to the Romans, and under their immediate protection; but irritated by theſe unjuſt meaſures of Cartiſmandua, he revolted from them, and with all the forces he could collect, aſſailed her dominions. Theſe bickerings continued for a ſpace between themſelves alone, till ſuch time as the perfidious queen, by treachery, intercepted the brother of Venuſius. This laſt act exaſperated the people in general, who greatly favoured the cauſe of the injured Venuſius; and they being alſo fearful of her growing power, took up arms in all quarters againſt her, and invaded her kingdom with a great army. Matters now growing ſerious, and the conſequences alarming, the Romans thought it high time to take the field, and protect their allies from the threatening danger: therefore, two cohorts were ſent to join with the forces of Cartiſmandua, and a ſharp and bloody battle enſued. The victory was long doubtful, but in the end, the Brigantines, with the aſſiſtance of the Roman troops, overcame the invaders, and drove them from the field. Yet this was not the end of the war, for at laſt, Venuſius, repeating his attacks, ſucceeded ſo well, that he drove out his faithleſs queen, and got poſſeſſion of the kingdom.†

The Britons are quieted.

About the ſame time, alſo, a legion under the command of Cæſius Naſica fought with the Britons in another place, and was ſucceſsful. After theſe ſevere ſtrokes of ill fortune, the Britons were quiet for a time. Didius himſelf doth not appear to have had any hand in the conqueſts here made; for being far advanced in years, and having in his former days obtained many honours, he thought it ſufficient for him to execute his charge, and expel his enemies by the help of others, ſo that he did but juſt preſerve what acquiſitions his predeceſſors had gained. Only, that further in the iſland he erected ſome few forts, purely for the name and opinion of having enlarged his government.

A. D. 54. Claudius Cæſar dying whilſt theſe things were acting in Britain, was ſucceeded by Nero; a bloody and deteſtable tyrant, who was as capricious in his reſolutions, as he was wicked in the execution of them. For ſome time he was doubtful in his own mind whether he ſhould not recall the Roman troops from Britain, and leave the diſtreſſed inhabitants in

Claudius ſucceeded by Nero.

* The Huiccii inhabited Warwickſhire and Worceſterſhire. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. chap. iii. ſect. 1.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. 10. & Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 9.

full poſſeſſion of their own native freedom. But then again, his vanity preponderated in the ſcale, joined with a pretended regard for the glory and memory of his father, Claudius.* A. D. 54.

The firſt three years of Nero's reign, Aulus Didius continued governor of Britain, and was then ſucceeded by Verannius, who died within a year after his arrival. His laſt will manifeſted his ambition, in which he beſtowed much flattery upon Nero; and vaunted, that if his life had been ſpared two years longer, he would have reduced the whole province to obedience. A vain and inglorious boaſt! which it is not likely he could have accompliſhed; for the whole ſervice that he performed during the time of his government, was only making ſmall inroads into the territories of the Silures, and waſting part of their country.† A. D. 57.

Aulus Didius made governor of Britain.

No ſooner was Verannius dead, than Suetonius ſucceeded him in his command. This man, during the courſe of two years, made war upon the Britons with great ſucceſs, ſubduing freſh nations, and eſtabliſhing garriſons.‡ A. D. 58.

Suetonius's ſucceſs.

In his third year, he determined to invade and ſubdue the iſland of Mona, or Angleſea, which was well inhabited, and had conſtantly afforded an aſylum for all ſeditious perſons, who were enemies to the Roman government. The garriſons which he had erected in Britain, he thought would be a ſufficient check upon the inhabitants, as they would alſo ſecure the province itſelf from any foreign invaſion. Therefore, collecting a great army, he ſet forward on his expedition; and becauſe the ſea betwixt Britain and Angleſea is ſhallow, and the landing very uncertain, he cauſed a number of flat-bottomed veſſels to be built, in which his infantry were tranſported to the oppoſite ſhore, the horſes paſſing over the ford. Againſt them, on the other ſide, the Britiſh forces were drawn up in cloſe array, and well furniſhed with weapons. Amongſt them appeared their wives and daughters, all habited in mourning attire, running to and fro, their diſhevelled hair fleeting in the wind, and brandiſhing flaming fire-brands in their hands. Round about them were ſeen the Druids, lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring forth horrid imprecations. Amazed and terrified at ſuch an unuſual appearance, the Roman ſoldiers ſtood aghaſt, as marks only for the Britons to diſcharge their weapons at. But ſoon encouraged by the animating example of their chieftain, they forgot their fear, and marching boldly up to their enemies, encountered them ſo ſharply, that they quickly put them to flight. Suetonius made a cruel uſe of his victory, ſlaughtering the flying Britons, and thruſting the Druids into the fires which themſelves had kindled. Having thus obtained firm footing on the iſland, A. D. 61.

Invades the iſle of Angleſea.

* Sueton. in Vita Neron.
† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 9.
‡ Tacit. in Vit. Agric.

he

A. D. 61. he proceeded to place garriſons in their towns; he alſo overthrew their altars, and burnt their ſacred groves.*

The Icenians begin a dangerous revolt.

Whilſt Suetonius was thus employed in Angleſea, the Britons at home, taking the advantage of his abſence, began a rebellion, ſo alarming in its conſequences, that it threatened a total deſtruction to the whole body of the Romans, and ended in a prodigious ſlaughter on either ſide. The Icenians ſeem firſt to have ſtirred in this revolt, and their example was preſently followed by the reſt. The chief cauſe which induced them to take this ſtep, appears to be as follows: †

Cauſe of the revolt.

Praſutagus, their king, and a faithful ally to the Romans, dying at this time, in order the more firmly to fix the peace of his ſtate, and the better to ſecure his houſe and family from inſult, in his laſt will made Nero joint heir with his two daughters, to all his effects. But the conſequence of this meaſure proved directly contrary to his intention; for as he was very rich, his will was no ſooner known, than his whole wealth was ſeized upon by the avaricious Romans, and his realm was plundered by the greedy centurions. His queen, Boudicea, a woman of great courage, remonſtrating againſt their unjuſt proceedings, was taken by them, and ſcourged in a contemptuous manner. Not thus content, they violated the chaſtity of her two unfortunate daughters; the chief men of the ſtate they thruſt out of their poſſeſſions, and all the late monarch's miſerable relations they reputed as ſlaves. ‡

The Trinobantes join the revolters, and why.

This complication of grievances called aloud for redreſs, and the unhappy ſufferers raiſed up their wretched heads, determining to make a violent ſtruggle for the recovery of their loſt liberty. Deſperate in their grief, they ruſh to arms, and are quickly joined by the Trinobantes, another powerful nation; who, too like them, were groaning under the cruel oppreſſion of the conquerors. With theſe the colony of veteran ſoldiers ſtationed at Camulodunum, were exerciſing their unlimited power, thruſting the inhabitants from their houſes and eſtates, ſeizing upon their goods,§ and retorting the ignominious names of ſlaves upon thoſe who dared to remonſtrate. Some lent them money at an exorbitant intereſt, and then made their demands upon them when they were unable to pay, inſiſting upon the full reſtoration. And to complete their calamity, the very prieſts, (who officiated in a temple erected in that city, to the honour of Claudius) under the colour of religion, ſeized upon and waſted the little wealth, which yet remained to theſe wretched ſufferers. ‖ Ripened by theſe repeated injuries to rebellion, they roſe againſt their tyrannical oppreſſors, and flocked with joyous hope of re-

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Xiphilin ex Dion Caſſ. lib. lxii.
‖ Xiphilin, from Dion Caſſ. gives theſe reaſons:—"The occaſion of the war was the confiſcation of goods, which had been remitted by Claudius Cæſar, and the which Decianus Catus (the procurator of the realm) declared ſhould be renewed. Add to this, that C. Seneca had lent them four hundred ſeſtercies (which amount to three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of our money) upon an exorbitant intereſt, and with great force and violence compelled them to pay the whole ſum at one payment.

venge

venge around the ſtandard of Boudicea; who, exaſperated by her wrongs, led on the Icenii in perſon, diveſting herſelf entirely of the delicate effeminacy of her timid ſex. A. D. 61.

No ſooner had theſe injured parties joined their forces, than they poured like an irreſiſtible torrent upon the colony at Camulodunum. The Roman ſoldiers, unable to ſupport the onſet, fled to the temple, and there defended themſelves for two days; when the Britons forcing an entrance, they were all put to the ſword, and the city reduced to aſhes. Leaving this ſmoking trophy of their deſperate revenge, they met with Pœtus Cerealis, lieutenant of the ninth legion, who (ignorant of what had happened) was coming (with all the ſoldiers under his command) to aid the colony. The enraged Britons ſuddenly ſurrounding his troops, cut off all his foot; himſelf with the cavalry eſcaped with great difficulty, flying to the camp, where he defended himſelf in the entrenchments.* Camulodunum deſtroyed.

In the mean time, Suetonius receiving theſe alarming accounts, left Angleſea with the greateſt ſpeed, when paſſing directly through a part of his enemy's country, he came to London, (which city yet continued faithful to the Romans;) his firſt intention was to ſtop there, and abide the coming of the enemy, but upon maturer conſideration, he reſolved not to coop himſelf up in a place ſo confined, but rather lead his army out upon the open plains; nor could he be won by the tears and intreaties of the inhabitants (who ſupplicated his protection) to ſtay: therefore, the ſignal for his army to remove being made, all who choſe to accompany him, he received as part of it; but ſuch as ſeemed unwilling to go, as well as thoſe who were aged and infirm, he left behind. Suetonius leaves Angleſea, and returns to Britain.

No ſooner had Suetonius left London, but Boudicea, queen of the Icenii, with her numerous army, entered the city, putting all whom they found therein to the ſword. From thence they marched on to the free city of Verulam, (now called St. Albans) which they alſo conquered, taking great ſpoils. The ſucceſs which had hitherto crowned the labours of the incenſed Britons, and the hope of recovering their native liberty, added daily freſh ſupplies to their army; for their number, which at the firſt revolting amounted to 120,000, was by this time ſo much increaſed, that their forces conſiſted of full 230,000 fighting men; a moſt tremendous multitude! all fixed in their hatred to the Romans and their allies, and crying aloud for vengeance.† They retaliated the injuries they had received from their enemies with a heavy hand, for they would not ſell or exchange any of their priſoners, but either killed with the ſword, gibbeted, burnt, or crucified, all thoſe who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands.‡ London and Verulam deſtroyed.

Suetonius having now collected the whole of his forces together, amounting nearly to ten thouſand men, determined to try the fortune of a pitched battle; therefore, he choſe a place which was every way ſafe The two armies meet.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
† Xiphilin ex Dion, lib. lxii.
‡ Tacit. Annal. ut ſup.

and

A. D. 61. and convenient, at the end of an open plain, incloſed at the back with a large thick wood, and the entrance to it very narrow; ſo that, on the one hand, he was ſecured from the private ambuſhes of his enemies, and on the other, he was not in danger of being ſurrounded, and hemmed in by their numerous forces. When he had taken poſſeſſion of this advantageous poſt, he put his men in due array for the battle, and in that poſition waited the approach of the Britons, who, with heroic Boudicea at their head, were now advancing towards them, thinking themſelves ſecure of conqueſt; and that the revenge might be the more complete, they had brought their wives and their daughters, in waggons and carts, to behold the diſtreſs and miſery which they now intended to bring upon their late inſulting conquerors. Before the engagement, their queen, who was a tall and comely woman, ſtood in her chariot clad in her royal robes; on either ſide of her was placed one of her injured daughters; * when, looking upon the ſurrounding multitudes, ſhe encouraged them, in a noble and couragious ſpeech, to fight bravely in the defence of their country. She declared to them, that their being led by a woman was far from being any diſgrace; on the contrary, it was agreeable to their antient cuſtoms: for her own part, ſhe affirmed, that ſhe ſought neither for wealth nor dominion in the proſecution of the war, but only revenge of her repeated injuries. She ſhewed, that the inordinate luſt of the Romans was grown to ſuch a pitch, that even age itſelf could not ſecure their wives and daughters from ſhameful violation; and added, that the gods themſelves had favoured their juſt vengeance, in permitting the ſlaughter of ſo many of thoſe tyrants as they had already deſtroyed. Thoſe who eſcaped, had either hid themſelves in their camp, or ſaved themſelves by flight. She then concluded, with exhorting them to exert their utmoſt valour, as men determining either to conquer, or to die; for, ſays ſhe, "this is my reſolution, who am but a woman, even though "you, who are men, may wiſh to live like ſlaves." Repeated ſhouts, and clamours of applauſe, proclaimed the effect of this animating ſpeech upon the Britiſh troops. On the other hand, Suetonius was not ſilent at this approaching danger, but addreſſed his ſoldiers in a juſt and ſenſible manner, exhorting and intreating them not to be diſmayed at the loud and repeated clamours of their barbarous enemies, "who, (ſaid he) notwith-"ſtanding their numbers, and ſecurity of the victory, unarmed as they are, "will not be able to withſtand the force of your weapons, nor your valour, "who have ſo often put them to flight; and the ſmallneſs of our army, in "compariſon with the numerous multitude of our enemies, will greatly "augment the glory of the victory." His ſoldiers heard his exhortations with joy, and by their readineſs to engage the enemy, ſeemed to preſage the approaching conqueſt.

When Suetonius had finiſhed his ſpeech, and given forth the neceſſary orders to his troops, they all prepared for battle, ſtanding ſtill in their

* Dion, lib. lxii. & Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 11.

poſt

poſt until the Britons were come up, who firſt began the combat, fiercely aſſaulting the Romans with their darts. The Romans abode the conflict, without quitting their ſtations, until the enemy had ſpent the greater part of their miſſive weapons, when the fourteenth legion ſallied out upon them in a pointed battle, and being cloſe ſupported by the auxiliary troops, drove them back; Suetonius then cauſed the cavalry to advance, who, with their long lances, broke the ranks of the enemy, and put them to ſuch confuſion, that they gave back on every ſide. To make the calamity the greater, the diſtreſſed Britons had blocked up all the paſſes with the carts and waggons, in which they had brought their women, that their flight was now impeded, ſo that a prodigious ſlaughter enſued. The victorious Romans triumphed in the horrid deſtruction, and ſo cruel were they in their conqueſt, that even the hapleſs women, who had been the mournful ſpectators of the overthrow of their deareſt friends, to compleat the revenge of theſe mercileſs conquerors, were all of them put to the ſword. In the action, four hundred of the Roman ſoldiers were ſlain, and a few more wounded; but much more fatal was this day to the Britons, for of them near eighty thouſand were deſtroyed.* A. D. 61.

Suetonius, before he began this deciſive battle, had ſent expreſs orders to Pœnius Poſthumus, camp-maſter of the ſecond legion, that he ſhould come to him with all his troops to reinforce the army: but he, either through fear of being intercepted by the Britons in his march, or apprehenſive that they would entirely ſubdue the Romans, neglected the orders of the general, and kept himſelf cloſe within his camp. When he heard of the ſucceſs of Suetonins, he was ſo overcome with ſhame and grief, that he inſtantly ſlew himſelf. P. Poſthumus ſlays himſelf.

The miſerable remnant of the Britons, who had by flight eſcaped from this fatal field, began now to gather head again, reſolving once more to try the chance of war. But in the interim, their hapleſs queen, unable to ſupport the horror of the late defeat, ended her life by poiſon. This laſt accident ſo damped their ſpirits, that the greater part of them, changing their former reſolutions, diſperſed themſelves; and thoſe who remained in arms were all of them eaſily ſubdued.† Boudicea poiſons herſelf.

Evil fortune, ſtill untired, purſued the hapleſs Britons; nor yet was the capacious meaſure of their woes filled up: for the late deſtructive war, was ſtill more deſtructive in its dreadful conſequences; as, during their troubles, they had entirely neglected the cultivation of their grain, a grievous famine enſued, which reduced them to the greateſt diſtreſs. Suetonius alſo, cruel in his conqueſts, purſued the flying remnants of theſe miſerable ſufferers with unrelenting rigour. This ſeverity of the governor, moved Junius Claſicianus, who had lately ſucceeded Catus as procurator, (and who was no friend to Suetonins) to propagate reports greatly to his diſadvantage; declaring, that a new governor ought to be ſent, who, Suetonius recalled.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 11. † Ibid. & Vita Agric.

A. D. 61. without the malice and arrogance of a conqueror, would receive ſuch as ſubmitted themſelves with clemency. He alſo wrote to Rome, that unleſs Suetonius ſhould be recalled, and another placed in his ſtead, the war with the Britons would be endleſs. When Nero had received theſe letters, he ſent Polycletus, a favourite freed-man, with a pompous retinue into Britain, to examine into the affair, and to reconcile the differences between the governor and the procurator. But his reports being more favourable concerning Suetonius than thoſe which the procurator had made, he was for a while continued in his charge. But he, ſoon after, in the diſpatch of ſome buſineſs, having unfortunately loſt a few gallies upon the ſhore, was finally recalled, either the end of this year, or early in the beginning of the next.*

A. D. 62. P. Turpilianus ſucceeds Suetonius.

Petronius Turpilianus ſucceeded Suetonius in the government of Britain; a man of mild behaviour, who, as he was not well acquainted with the offences of the Britons, was the more gentle in receiving thoſe to mercy who ſubmitted themſelves to him. During his rule, the war died away, he not attempting to enlarge the extent of the province; nor did the Britons (who now enjoyed the bleſſings of peace) in the leaſt moleſt or diſturb his quiet. After he had been three years poſſeſſed of the government, he ſurrendered it up to Trebellius Maximus.†

A. D. 65. T. Maximus; his idleneſs.

Trebellius was ſtill more unwarlike and inactive than his predeceſſor; for he was by no means acquainted with the management of war affairs. He maintained the tranquility of the province by a method of ſoftneſs and compliance; through theſe means, the Britons were lulled, as it were, into a ſtate of perfect idleneſs: for being of late ſo overcome with the toils and fatigues of war, they had, in the preſent moment, learned to love ſuch vices, as humoured them in pleaſure and eaſe. The civil wars, which now rent Rome itſelf, were a ſufficient cauſe that the ſluggiſhneſs of the governor was not enquired into: yet, though the Britons were by this means kept in quiet, the Roman ſoldiers under his command grown turbulent and licentious through their idleneſs and inactivity, began to murmur. Theſe ſparks of ſedition were blown into a flame by Roſcius Cælius, lieutenant of the twentieth legion; who, greatly diſliked the governor: from private bickerings they proceeded to public diſſentions; ſo that the army in general, taking part with Cælius, took up arms againſt their chief; but he, by flight, eſcaped their preſent fury. During his abſence, the government of the province was managed by the lieutenant, who kept all things in peace and good order; Cælius indeed bearing the chief authority. But ſome time after, Trebellius reſumed the command, but with an authority altogether precarious, without all ſpirit, and deſtitute of all dignity.‡

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 11.
† Ibid. & Vita Agric.
‡ Tacit. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 9. & Vita Agric.

To reform theſe grievances, Vitellius ſent Vettius Bolanus into Britain, to take the charge of the province upon him; but he treading in the ſame ſteps with his predeceſſors, there remained toward the enemy the ſame ſloth and negligence, with the ſame inſolent ſpirit in the camp: this difference only to be made, that Bolanus was a virtuous man, and ſubject to no hate, becauſe he had given no reaſon for it; therefore, inſtead of gaining a proper authority over them, he only ſecured their affections. Throughout the whole government of Bolanus, the civil wars continued at Rome between Vitellius and Veſpaſian; the latter of theſe he ſeems moſt to have favoured: for when Vitellius ſent to him in Britain, requiring him to ſend ſome of the Roman troops to reinforce his legions, Bolanus returned for anſwer, that "the Britons were a people ſo "very unquiet, that they could but juſt be kept in order with all the "forces which he had; therefore, he could not ſpare any, without ha-"zarding the entire loſs of the province." During all this time the Britons lived quietly in their different ſtates.* A. D. 69. Bolanus made governor of Britain.

When Veſpaſian had thoroughly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Roman empire, he recalled Bolanus, in whoſe ſtead he ſent Petilius Cerialis, who firſt broke in upon the peace which the Britons hitherto had enjoyed; and he ſtruck a general terror into the ſeveral ſtates by making war upon the Brigantines, who were eſteemed the moſt powerful nation of the whole province. Several bloody engagements enſued; but ſo ſucceſsful in general was the Roman chief, that he conquered the greater part of their country, and continued to ravage the reſt with war and devaſtation: by which actions he acquired great renown and glory. He was principally aſſiſted in his wars by the valour and conduct of Julius Agricola, who had the charge of part of the army, and fought with great ſucceſs.† A. D. 70. The Brigantines overcome.

Cerialis was ſucceeded alſo by a brave and valiant man, named Julius Frontinus, who, beſides the ſecuring all the former conqueſts, entered and ſubdued the powerful and warlike nation of the Silures; and his excellent conduct was the more manifeſt, as he had not only the bravery of the enemy to ſtruggle with, but alſo the difficulties of places and advantageous poſts, which the Britons had taken poſſeſſion of, from their perfect knowledge of their own country.‡ A. D. 75. The Silures overcome.

After this governor, came Cnæus Julius Agricola, who arrived in Britain about the middle of the ſummer, where he found the army already retiring into their ſtations, imagining that the ſervice of the year was at an end. But he being thoroughly convinced, that the honour and ſucceſs of a general depended greatly on his exploits in his firſt ſetting out, A. D. 78. Agricola ſucceeds to the government of Britain.

* Tacit. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 9. Vita Agric. ‡ Ibid.
† Vita Agric.

A. D. 78. therefore, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ſummer being far ſpent, and the intention of the ſoldiers to take their eaſe, he determined to ſet forward againſt the enemy, and not omit the ſmalleſt occaſion which offered to keep them under. The Ordovicians were the firſt that felt the fury of his arms, who had a little before his arrival in Britain almoſt totally cut in pieces a band of horſemen belonging to the Romans. This favourable eſſay encouraged ſuch of them as were deſirous of war to riſe; whilſt others, more prudent, ſtill delayed, till they had witneſs of the courage and conduct of the new general.*

The Ordovices overcome.

Agricola now advancing againſt the Ordivicians, entered their territories; but as they did not chuſe to come forth upon the plains to encounter with him, he reſolved to make the firſt attack. Notwithſtanding they were poſſeſſed of the advantages of the higher ground; and becauſe his ſoldiers ſhould not have any reaſon for complaint, he led the way himſelf, at the head of the army. Animated by his bold example, with more than wonted alacrity they aſcend the riſing grounds, and courageouſly ſetting upon the Britons, put them to flight, purſuing them with ſo great a ſlaughter, that almoſt all the whole nation was now cut off. This dreadful effect of the valour and prudence of Agricola, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the minds of the reſt of the Britons, that they choſe to remain quiet, and ſubmit themſelves to him.

Angleſea ſubdued.

The Roman general, that he might eſtabliſh his fame on ſtill ſurer grounds, was not content with the conqueſt already gained, but reſolved entirely to ſubdue the iſle of Angleſea, (which Suetonius Paulinus had firſt invaded.) As this important reſolution was quickly formed, when he proceeded to the execution, the want of ſhipping appeared to be a material objection; but this difficulty could not prevent his perſeverance in his deſign; therefore, he cauſed ſuch of his auxiliaries as knew the fords (and who were very dexterous in ſwimming, ſo as in the water at once to manage themſelves, their horſes, and their arms) to enter the river in the fleeteſt places, and make a ſudden deſcent upon the enemy; who were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation when they ſaw that neither the water itſelf, nor the want of ſhips, could ſtop the progreſs of the Roman troops, that they ſubmitted themſelves to them, and yielded up the iſland.

Agricola's prudent government.

The whole of the ſummer being now paſt, Agricola ſpent the winter in the reformation of ſuch abuſes as had been the cauſes of the war; and firſt began with his own family, doing nothing with partiality, but according to the deſerts of men. He then eaſed and remitted ſeveral grievous tributes, cauſing an equal diſtribution of all public burthens; and, above all, he utterly aboliſhed all exactions, which had been more grievous to the wretched Britons than even the tribute itſelf. By theſe means he acquired the love of the people in peace, as much as he had inſpired them with dread in war.

* Vita Agric. & infra.

When

When the ſummer was come, he aſſembled his army, and made ſudden attacks upon the enemy, harraſſing them continually from place to place in ſuch ſort, that they could not obtain the leaſt reſt or quietneſs. He carefully took poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous poſts, uſing every circumſpection in the examination of all places which ſeemed likely to prove dangerous, before his army was permitted to paſs them. Theſe prudent meaſures, as on the one hand they ſecured him the victory, ſo on the other, they ſo damped the courage of his enemies, that they dared not take the field againſt him. When he had thus reduced all things to good order, he proceeded, with the ſweet allurements of peace, to ſecure the wavering minds of the Britons; and ſuch an effect had theſe lenitive meaſures upon them, that ſeveral communities, which till this time had aſſerted a ſtate of equality and independence, laid down their arms, ſubmitting themſelves unto him, giving hoſtages, and permitting forts and garriſons to be erected in their different ſtates.* The ſummer campaign being over, he ſpent the following winter in civil adminiſtration; privately exhorting the people, now pleaſed with eaſe and inactivity, and openly aſſiſting them in building of temples, houſes, and places of public aſſembly: he alſo cauſed the noblemen's children to be inſtructed in the liberal ſciences. Allured by theſe flattering temptations, the Britons now began to loſe ſight of their antient ferocity and national cuſtoms, adopting the language and habits of the Romans.

A. D. 79.

Agricola reduces the Britons to peace.

Not content with theſe acquiſitions, Agricola, the third ſummer, purſued his conqueſts. Marching to the north, he diſcovered, and paſſed through, ſeveral nations, before unknown to him or his army, and came quite up to the mouth of the Tay. Nor did the Britons offer to moleſt Agricola during his march; relying, perhaps, on the hope, that in the winter he would return again with his army to the ſouth. But he having thus gained footing in their territories, erected a great number of ſtrongholds and garriſons; chuſing their ſituation ſo advantageouſly, that every ſingle fort was ſufficient for its own defence; ſo that in theſe forts they paſſed the winter quite ſecure, although in the very midſt of their enemies, who thus baffled in all their deſigns, abandoned themſelves to the utmoſt deſpair.

A. D. 80.

Agricola goes towards the north.

The fourth ſummer he ſpent in ſecuring thoſe countries which he had paſſed through, and taken poſſeſſion of; and in order the better to effect his deſign, he built a line of forts directly acroſs the narrow neck of land

A. D. 81.

He erects forts to ſecure his conqueſt.

* Though Tacitus has not named theſe nations, it ſeems likely that they ſhould be the Otodini, who inhabited great part of Northumberland; the Gadeni, who poſſeſſed the mountainous parts of Northumberland, and Tiviotdale; and perhaps the Selgovæ, the antient inhabitants of Eſkdale, Annandale, and Nithſdale, lying along the ſhores of the Solway Firth. Theſe fortreſſes, which he built to ſecure his conqueſts, were made (as it is thought) from ſea to ſea, in, or near, the tract where Hadrian's rampart, and Severus' wall, was after erected.

which

A. D. 81. which ſeparates the friths of Forth and Clyde, exactly in that ſelf-ſame place in which Antoninus Pius after erected his wall. By this means, all the ſouth ſide of Britain was made ſecure to the Romans, and the unconquered northern enemies driven, as it were, into another iſland.

A. D. 82. In the fifth ſummer he coaſted about upon the ſea, and paſſed the frith of Clyde, himſelf leading the way in the firſt ſhip. During this cruize, he diſcovered and ſubdued ſeveral ſtates, till then unknown to the Romans;* when coming to that part of the country which fronts Ireland, he had a full ſight of it; therefore, in theſe parts he alſo erected forts, with a view of returning when proper occaſion ſerved, in order to make an attack upon that iſland: and what might the more incline him to reſolve upon this ſtep, ſeems to have been the reports of a certain petty king of that country, who, by ſome domeſtic diſſention, was expelled from thence, and taking refuge under the protection of Agricola, repreſented to him that the conqueſt of the whole iſland might eaſily be accompliſhed. Pleaſed with his accounts, Agricola received him with great ſhew of friendſhip, as imagining that he might at ſome time be very uſeful to him.

Agricola coaſts upon the ſea.

A. D. 83. The ſummer being now come, Agricola ſuſpecting that the nations before would univerſally take up arms in the defence of their liberty, cauſed his fleet to be brought round to him, that it might coaſt about the ſhore, attending upon the motions of the army, who alſo marched cloſe by the ſea-ſide. The Calidonians plainly perceiving that there was now left to them no other way of preventing the advancement of the enemy than by battle, had immediate recourſe to arms. The information of their coming was reported to the Romans, and there were not wanting ſome amongſt them, who, maſking their fear under the colour of prudence, adviſed Agricola to return back beyond the firth of Forth, and ſecure the army from the approaching danger within their ſtrongholds. But he, deſpiſing their councils, reſolved to abide the fortune of the field; and becauſe he was informed that the Britons were determined to attack him in ſeveral bands, he divided his army into three parts, and thus marched to prevent his being ſurrounded, for he knew that they had the advantage of him, as well in numbers, as in their knowledge of the country. The Britons, on the other hand, being made acquainted with the diſpoſition of Agricola's army, changed their own, and uniting the whole of their forces together, in the depth of the night fell upon the ninth legion, (which was weaker than the reſt †) and having ſlain the guards, entered the trenches; the Roman ſoldiers overcome with ſleep,

The Britons fall upon the Romans.

* Theſe were, perhaps, the Epedii, Cerones, and Carnonacæ, the original inhabitants of Cantyre, Argyleſhire, Lorn, and Lochabar. Vide Horſley Brit. Rom. page 366, 367, & 369.

† The ninth legion loſt all its infantry in the fatal revolt under Boudicea; and though it had been recruited with 2000 legionary ſoldiers, and eight cohorts of auxiliaries, was not yet ſo ſtrong as the reſt. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I.

or

or the general diſmay, roſe not readily to oppoſe the torrent, ſo that the Britons had already purſued the fight even into the camp itſelf. But Agricola, alarmed by the ſpies, followed cloſe at the backs of the enemy, cauſing his light infantry to attack them in the rear, whilſt they were yet engaged; when the whole army giving a ſhout, the ſpirits of the ſoldiers belonging to the ninth legion were revived, on hearing the ſudden approach of aſſiſtance, they therefore bravely repulſed the enemy. When the riſing morn diſcovered to the Britons their dreadful ſtate, hemmed in, as they were, on every ſide, amazement and terror ſhook their very ſouls; yet with deſperate courage they maintained the conflict; and even at the very gates of the camp a bloody engagement enſued. The Britons in the end were totally routed, and fled to their ſecret receſſes in the woods and marſhes, whoſe friendly covert ſheltered them from purſuit, or elſe this victory had been made ſo complete, that with the day the war would alſo have been determined. A. D. 83.

Both armies retire for the winter.

The Roman ſoldiers, elated with their ſucceſs, cried out to their general, that "Nothing could now be inſurmountable to their valour." They therefore deſired to penetrate into the heart of Calidonia, and advance till, by a continued ſucceſſion of battles, they might at laſt reach the utmoſt confines of Britain. Thus courageous were they grown by conqueſt, who, before the engagement, were deſirous of making a retreat. The Britons, far from being ready to ſtoop to their conquerors, were only grown more deſperate; and the better to prepare for war, they armed their young men, removing their wives and children to places of ſecurity; and in a general convention of the different ſtates, they bound themſelves by ſolemn league, ratified by ſacrifices and offerings to their gods. Thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both ſides abundantly irritated.

A. D. 84.

Agricola marches againſt the Britons.

When the ſummer was begun, Agricola ſent forth his navy to ravage the coaſts, and terrify the enemy. Having reinforced his army with ſome brave Britons, (from ſuch of the ſouthern nations as he could rely upon) he cauſed them all to be lightly armed, and putting himſelf at their head, marched into the country of the Calidonians, advancing towards his enemies, who were already encamped on the Grampian hills.* The Britons had now united their forces together, to the amount of thirty thouſand men in arms, and were daily ſtrengthened by their friends, who flocked to them from all quarters, being deſirous of revenging their injuries upon the Roman army, many of them bearing the banners of honour, which they had obtained in former wars. At their head was Galgacus, who ſurpaſſed the reſt of their leaders in courage and in birth. When the ſoldiers were all aſſembled, he addreſſed them in a brave and animating ſpeech, ſetting before them the ſweets of liberty, and painting out the horrors of ſlavery in the moſt dreadful and affecting terms; he

* Probably the place now called Fortingall, about fifteen miles from Dunkell.

exhorted

A. D. 84. exhorted them to fight courageouſly in the defence of their native freedom. They received this noble oration of their chief with loud and noiſy ſhouts of acclamation; when preſently the boldeſt run to the front of the army, to give the earlieſt proofs of their valour and reſolution.

Agricola encourages his ſoldiers.

No leſs forward were the Roman legions, inſpired with freſh ardour from the brave example of their warlike general; who called upon them to exert their utmoſt courage, ſetting before them the glory which they would gain by victory; as on the iſſue of that important day depended the honourable end of fifty years hard ſtruggle. The ſoldiers joyfully heard the exhortations of their leader, and flew to arms.

Battle between the Britons and the Romans.

The armies on both ſides advancing, the combat was at firſt begun and maintained at a diſtance; the Britons carefully eluded the miſſive weapons of the Romans, whilſt they poured a torrent of their own upon them. Agricola ſeeing this, cauſed three cohorts of Batavians,* and two of the Tungrians,† to ruſh upon the enemy, and come to cloſe encounter with them, who being unuſed to ſuch kind of fighting, (and alſo having ſwords very large and pointleſs, which were now rendered uſeleſs) they were overcome, and retired upon the hills, but being cloſely followed, the whole of their cavalry was put to flight; their chariots mingling with the foot, they were themſelves entangled in their own bands; many of their chariots now abandoned by their guides, the horſes wildly tore them through the field, beating down both friends and foes alike. The infantry of the Britons, who were ſtanding upon the hills, and had not yet engaged, began by degrees to deſcend upon the plain, in order to ſurround the Romans, and attack their rear, whilſt they urged the victory; but the watchful Agricola ſuſpecting their intentions, ſent forth four ſquadrons of horſe (which he had kept in reſerve) to engage with them; which they did ſo fiercely, that the Britons were repulſed, and the execution of their ſcheme prevented. The Roman general now turned the deſigns of his enemies upon themſelves, for he cauſed thoſe ſquadrons of cavalry, which fought in the front, to wheel round and fall upon the rear of the Britons, which was ſo ſuddenly done, that a vaſt ſlaughter enſued. The enemy now retreated on every ſide, purſued by the Romans; but ſome, who were too forward in the purſuit, paid ſeverely for their raſhneſs; for the flying parties of the Britons, when they found the companies had quitted their main body, faced about, and ſet upon them fiercely; when turning again, they fled to the woods. The carnage was ſo great, that the whole field was covered with ſcattered arms, carcaſes, and mangled limbs, whilſt the ground itſelf was dyed with ſtreams of blood. In the end, the Britons were totally routed, and ten thouſand of their army ſlain; the Romans remaining victors in the field, having only loſt three hundred and forty men.

The deſpair of the Britons.

This was a night of great rejoicing to the conquerors; but who can expreſs the dreadful horror of the vanquiſhed! In deep deſpair they wan-

* Theſe were the ancient Hollanders.

† Inhabitants of the countries of Liege, Cologn, &c.

der

der about, and from all ſides the yells of the wretched women are heard; A. D. 84.
wives mourning for their huſbands, mothers for their children, and maidens for their parents, all in one diſmal concert joined! others dragging along the wounded with them, calling to thoſe who had eſcaped! On every ſide the riſing flames were ſeen, the wild effects of their ungoverned grief, who ruſhing from their own houſes, had ſet them on fire; flying to the caverns and lurking-holes, and then again quitting them as unſafe. The next day diſcovered a more ample ſcene of conqueſt; profound ſilence reigned upon the ſolitary hills; around was ſeen the thick black ſmoak, ariſing from the deſerted and flaming houſes; but not one ſingle ſoul was there to be found by the ſcouts, ſo that the Romans could get no intelligence whither the unhappy Britons were fled.

Agricola having obtained this important victory, would not purſue his conqueſts further at the preſent, becauſe the ſeaſon was too far advanced; therefore, conducting his army into the territories of the Horeſtians,* he there received hoſtages of the inhabitants. The fleet he cauſed to coaſt round Britain, and ſo return to Rhutupium,† from whence it had ſailed: he himſelf lead his army ſlowly through the northern ſtates into their winter quarters. Agricola retires for the winter.

In the beginning of the next year, Agricola ſent a plain and modeſt account of his proceedings to the emperor Domitian; who received it with all outward demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction, cauſing the ſenate to decree to his honour triumphal ornaments, a ſtatue crowned with laurels, with whatever elſe was beſtowed inſtead of a real triumph. But notwithſtanding Domitian carried this ſunſhine in his face, he was at his heart envious of the glory which Agricola had acquired, therefore he was recalled from his government during the courſe of the year.‡ A. D. 85. Agricola recalled.

Agricola was ſucceeded by Saluſtus Lucullus, who, though he ſeems not to have acquired any great renown, could not eſcape the envy of the capricious emperor; for after he had held the government a ſhort time, he was put to death at his command. His only offence appears to have been the inventing of a new kind of lance, which he called after his own name, the "Lucullean lance;" and for this pardonable piece of vanity he loſt his life.§ A. D. 86. Lucullus ſucceeds Agricola.

From this period there follows a chaſm in the Britiſh hiſtory for better than thirty years. During the whole reigns of Nerva and Trajan, hiſtorians have been quite ſilent concerning the affairs of Britain. And at this diſtance of time, it will be no eaſy matter to diſcover whether the perfect quietneſs of the province was not the ſole cauſe: however this may be, it is very likely that the Roman ſoldiers and their allies employed this interval in ſtrengthening their fortreſſes, and making ſome of thoſe A chaſm in the Britiſh Hiſtory.

* Now called Angus.
† Supposed to be Sandwich haven.
‡ Tacit. Vita Agric.
§ Sueton. in Vita Domit. ſect. 10.

A. D. 86. famous military ways, the veſtiges of which are evident to this very day in various parts of the kingdom.

A. D. 117. At the time which Hadrian ſucceeded to the empire, the northern Britons (who had been for ſome time unruly) broke out into an open commotion: this revolt became alarming to the province, wherefore they diſpatched meſſengers to the emperor, and he ſent Julius Severus with all ſpeed into Britain; by whoſe aid the turbulent ravagers were beat back, and quietneſs in ſome meaſure reſtored to the province. But before he could complete the whole of his intentions, he was recalled, and ſent againſt the Jews, who now began to rebel.*

Julius Severus ſent into Britain.

A. D. 121. Soon after the departure of Severus, the revolters broke forth again, and began a very dangerous inſurrection; inſomuch, that the emperor thought his preſence neceſſary to put a final ſtop to theſe troubleſome proceedings. Wherefore, attended by three legions of choice ſoldiers, he came to Britain, and by the prudent meaſures which he purſued, preſently reſtored peace and order. He reformed many things which he found amiſs; and the better to ſecure the Roman province from the ſudden attacks and inroads of the reſtleſs Calidonians, he cauſed a rampart, or wall, of earth, † to be made, as a boundary of the province; from the mouth of the Tyne eaſt, to the Solway Firth on the weſt. Various reaſons have been aſſigned for Hadrian's not entering into Calidonia, and reducing thoſe nations to perfect obedience. Some affirming, that after the departure of Agricola they had again recovered their liberties; whilſt others aſſert, that he voluntarily ſlighted the whole of the country, as judging it would have coſt more to conquer, and keep in ſubjection, than it would yield profit when conquered.‡ Hiſtorians have not informed us how long this prudent emperor continued in Britain; but it is certain, that his departure was haſtened by a revolt in Alexandria. He left behind him Priſcus Licinius, as governor of Britain, who kept the province in peace and good order; but he was ſoon after recalled to proſecute the Jewiſh war.§

Hadrian comes into Britain.

A. D. 138. Hadrian was ſucceeded in the empire by Antoninus Pius, early in whoſe reign the commotion was again begun in the northern parts of Britain; for the Mæatæ, a nation who formed a part of the Brigantines, and inhabited beyond the wall of Hadrian, had made fierce attacks upon the Genounia, a neighbouring nation, and who were under the protection of

The Mæatæ revolt.

* Xiphil. ex Dion, lib. lxix.

† Camden (from an ancient author) deſcribes this wall as made of great timber planks, fixed into the ground, and joined one to the other, not unlike a hedge. Camd. Brit. in Introduc.

‡ Rapin indeed affirms, that he met with certain old ſoldiers who had ſerved under Agricola, and from them he received ſuch unfavourable accounts of the country, that he choſe not to enter it. Rapin's Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. book i.

§ Eutrop. lib. viii. cap. 7. Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. Vit. Hadrian.

the Romans. These proceedings caused such a stir in this part of the province, that the emperor dispatched Lollius Urbicus into Britain, where he no sooner arrived, than setting upon the Mæatæ, he entirely subdued them:* and after several sharp engagements, recovered the whole country as far as the isthmus which separates the Firths of Forth and Clyde. With a design to secure his conquests, and enlarge the province, (after the example of Hadrian) he, by the direction of the emperor, raised a strong rampart across the isthmus, exactly upon the tract where Agricola before had erected a chain of forts; and this rampart he set as the utmost bound of the Roman empire in Britain.† A. D. 138.

Marcus Aurelius succeeding Antoninus Pius, sent Calphurnius Agricola into Britain to quiet some disturbances which were just began. It is not unlikely but that the Mæatæ, and their neighbours, who were but lately subdued, might be now desirous, if possible, to shake off their bonds. We are not acquainted with the success of Agricola; but we may judge that it was very good, because we hear no more of this commotion during the reign of Aurelius.‡ A. D. 161.

M. Aurelius sends Agricola into Britain.

After the death of Marcus Aurelius, his son Commodus succeeded him in the empire; in the beginning of whose reign, the restless Calidonians broke the wall which Lollius Urbicus had made, and being joined by the Mæatæ, burst like a torrent upon the northern parts of the province. To quell this rebellion, the Roman general took the field against them, but his army was soon overcome, and himself slain; the conquerors continuing their marches, and wasting the country. When Commodus was acquainted with these mischances, he sent Ulpius Marcellus (a brave and prudent general) into Britain; on his arrival (having first restored good order and discipline to the army) he marched against the tumultuous revolters, and, by his valorous conduct, defeated them in several set engagements, driving them back again into their own territories with great slaughter: so that they were forced to sue for peace, and for a time continued quietly within their own territories. But the success of Marcellus had like to have proved fatal to him; for the degenerate and wicked emperor, being as envious as he was inactive, listened to the praises which were bestowed upon this excellent commander with a jealous ear; so that soon after being recalled, he but narrowly escaped with his life.§ A. D. 180.

Marcellus sent into Britain.

* This is what I take to be the true meaning of that passage in Pausanius, where he declares, that "the emperor deprived the Brigantines in Britain of much of their land, because they had made incursions into the Genounia, a neighbouring nation, under the protection of the Romans." The part deprived seems to be the Mæatæ, (who are sometimes called by the general name of Brigantines) for they appear to have lost their sovereignty by being conquered. Paus. Arcad. Digest. lib. xxxvi.

† Script. Hist. Aug. in Vita Ant. Pii.

‡ Ibid. in Vita Ant. Philos.

§ Xiphil. ex Dion. lib. lxxii.

A. D. 180. After Marcellus had left Britain, we have no certain account of his ſucceſſors in the government; but that they were baſe and unworthy, we may eaſily judge, from the general diſcontent and mutinies which enſued in the army. It ſeems, Perennius (who was a great favourite of the emperor's) managed all the buſineſs of the war according to his own pleaſure; and making advantage of his maſter's idle diſpoſition, he took all occaſions to enrich himſelf at the expence of the empire, diſbanding ſuch officers as were not ſuited for his purpoſes, and placing others in their ſtead, who were every way diſqualified for the charge they filled. Theſe unlawful meaſures he purſued to ſuch a length, that an univerſal diſcontent enſued in Britain amongſt the whole Roman army; wherefore, they ſelected fifteen hundred chief perſonages, whom they ſent to Rome, to accuſe him to the emperor: and their juſt complaints were duly attended to; for Commodus (beginning now to be jealous of his riſing power, and fearing that his views extended farther than might be ſafe for him to allow) delivered him up to his accuſers, who firſt cauſed him to be ſcourged, and then beheaded. And even this vengeance could not ſatisfy their inſatiable hatred toward him; therefore, they ſlew alſo his wife, and his two ſons, as deſirous to cut off even his offſpring from the face of the earth.*

The Roman ſoldiers accuſe Perennius.

A. D. 191. Though this act of Commodus ſtifled for a time the diſcontent of the army, yet it did not entirely extinguiſh the ſpirit of diſſention which prevailed amongſt them; wherefore, he ſent Helvius Pertinax into Britain, with orders to puniſh ſuch as were diſcontented and rebellious. Pertinax venturing himſelf too far in the ſuppreſſion of a tumult, was ſtricken down to the ground by one of the ringleaders, and left for dead; but recovering from his hurts, he at length appeaſed the trouble, and brought the chief offenders to juſtice. Yet he gained not the love and reſpect of the ſoldiers; for which cauſe, he earneſtly intreated the emperor to diſcharge him from his office, which was ſoon after done, according to his requeſt.†

Pertinax ſent into Britain.

A. D. 192. When Pertinax had ſurrendered up the government, Clodius Albinus was ſent into Britain. This man was in ſuch high eſteem with the emperor, that he would have honoured him with the title of Cæſar; but he declined it. Some little time after his arrival, a falſe report prevailed, that Commodus had been aſſaſſinated at Rome; wherefore, depending upon the truth of this rumour, Albinus aſſembled the army, and made an oration to them, wherein he condemned the conduct and government of emperors, ſetting before them the conveniencies and advantages of the common-wealth. This being related to Commodus, he was vexed to his very ſoul, and, in great anger, ſent Junius Severus to take the

Clodius Albinus ſent into Britain.

* Xiphilin. ex Dion, lib. lxxii. & vide Lampridius.

† Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. in Vita Commod. & vide Lampridius.

rule

rule of Britain upon him, and thruſt Albinus from his office. But Commodus being actually ſlain ſoon after theſe reſolutions were made, Clodius aſſerted his authority, and Severus never got poſſeſſion of the government.* A. D. 192.

During the ſhort reigns of Pertinax and his ſucceſſor, Didius Julianus, Albinus kept all things in quietneſs in Britain; taking every method that he could to ingratiate himſelf in the affections of the ſoldiers. A. D. 193. Albinus keepeth quietneſs in Britain.

Severus, who after the death of Pertinax, had been declared emperor by his army in Germany, having ſlain another competitor for the empire, who had been ſet up in Syria, marched towards Rome, where, Didius Julianus being ſlain, he was received by the ſenate, and his title was confirmed. But now fearing the power of Albinus, whom he found ſtirring with ambitious views in Britain, in order to quiet this dangerous rival, he created him Cæſar, and proclaimed him partner with him in the empire. Thus for a ſhort time all things remained in peace; but when Severus thought himſelf ſecurely ſettled in his ſtate, he ſought all means to rid himſelf of Albinus: his private practices failing to take effect, he cauſed him to be publicly declared a traitor, and an enemy to the Roman ſtate. When Albinus heard of theſe unjuſt proceedings, he gathered all his forces together, and entering Gaul, marched forward to Lyons, where meeting with Severus, a bloody engagement enſued: the victory falling with Severus, the army of Albinus was totally routed, and he in deſpair put an end to his own life. During the abſence of Albinus, the government of Britain fell to Heraclitus, of whoſe actions we find no records left. It ſhould ſeem, that either he was ſoon recalled by Severus, or, that the Britons did not greatly regard his management of the province affairs.† A. D. 194. Severus declared emperor.

The Calidonians taking the advantage of the weakneſs of the province, and being joined by the Mæatæ, poured their forces through all the northern parts, and waſted the country wherever they came. To quiet theſe diſturbances, and ſecure the peace of the province, Severus ſent Virius Lupus into Britain to repel the invaders, and keep them within the limits of their own ſtate. But on his arrival, finding that they were too ſtrong for him, he prevailed upon the Mæatæ to retire, on condition of paying them a conſiderable ſum of money for ſome priſoners of war, which they had taken.‡ But this ſtep was a very unlikely one to check the progreſs of theſe free-booters; for though it kept them quiet for a time, they ſoon forgot all their fair promiſes, and broke out again, renewing their former ravages from time to time, for the ſpace of ſeveral years; till at A. D. 198. The Calidonians revolt.

* Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. in Vita Commod. & vide Capitolinus.

† Xiphilin. in Dion, lib. lxxvi. & Herodian. lib. iii.

‡ Theod. ex Dion, in lib. lxxv.

laſt,

A. D. 198. laſt, it is likely, Lupus (tired out with theſe continual troubles) wrote to the emperor to ſend over a larger body of forces, or come himſelf in perſon, to reſtore tranquility to the province.*

A. D. 207. Severus comes into Britain.

Severus, though upwards of ſixty years old, and alſo afflicted with the gout, reſolved, notwithſtanding theſe impediments, to enter Britain himſelf. The love of renown was not yet extinguiſhed in his aged breaſt, which joined with the ardent deſire to add the ſirname of Britannicus to his own, were his chief motives for coming in perſon; his other reaſons were, the continuing his army in action, and the removing his two ſons from that ſcene of looſeneſs and debauchery, into which they were now deeply plunging at home. The northern diſturbers, when they heard that the emperor and his ſons were actually upon the march towards Britain, began to be apprehenſive of the conſequences which might ariſe from reſiſtance; wherefore, they ſent ambaſſadors, who, at his arrival, made him fair proffers of peace. But being willing to perform ſome ſignal action, his vanity prompted him to refuſe thoſe offers, and fixed his determination to enter the north with war and force of arms. Having firſt regulated ſuch matters as were amiſs in the ſouthern part of the kingdom, he committed it to the government of his younger ſon, Geta, whilſt he, with Caracalla, (his eldeſt ſon) proceeded with their army to the north, and entered the country of the Calidonians.

The difficulties attending the march of Severus.

Innumerable were the obſtacles which he found in his march; the country was full of woods, ſwamps, and dangerous paſſes; his army was conſtantly harraſſed by ambuſhes, and ſudden attacks of the enemy, who broke out upon them from their lurking places, retiring quickly again, before head could be made againſt them; himſelf ſo afflicted with the gout, that he could not ride on horſeback, but was carried in a litter; add to this, the conſtant anguiſh of mind in knowing himſelf expoſed to the machinations of his wicked and unnatural ſon, who, impatient to obtain the empire, was ſtriving to haſten thoſe few laſt ſands which yet remained of his father's life. Yet amidſt all theſe troubles and anxieties, with wonderful preſence of mind, he bore his infirmities, and made his way even into the very heart of Calidonia; cutting down whole woods, draining marſhy grounds, and erecting bridges over ſuch rivers as were not eaſily forded, ſo that all the difficulties attending his march were by degrees removed. The better to effect theſe important works, he divided his army into two parts; the one of which was conſtantly upon the watch, in order to guard and protect the other from the ſudden attacks of the enemy, whilſt they were purſuing their labours.†

A. D. 208. Peace concluded with the Caledoniane.

This unconquered reſolution of the emperor to proceed in his undertaking, (although we are informed by a cotemporary writer, that he loſt

* Xiphilin. ex Dion, in lib. lxxvi. & Herodian. lib. iii.

† Ibid.

no

no fewer than fifty thouſand of his troops in his march) ſtruck ſuch a fear A. D. 208.
into the inhabitants of Calidonia, that they were glad to conclude a peace, even on the hard conditions of ſurrendering up to him a conſiderable part of their country. When this peace was ratified, upon his return he ſurveyed the rampire (or wall of earth) which Hadrian had cauſed to be made; and obſerving that it was not by any means ſtrong enough to prevent the irruptions of the northern enemies, he therefore began another of ſolid ſtone, which was compleated in two years. This wall he raiſed to the height of twelve feet, making it eight feet broad, and fortified it ſtrongly with towers and caſtles, at convenient diſtances. The veſtiges of this ſtupendous work are yet to be ſeen, nearly parallel with the rampart of Hadrian, a few paces further to the north; it extended from the eaſt near Tynemouth, to the Solway Firth at Boulneſs, on the weſt.*

Having finiſhed this laborious work, he retired to York, afflicted with A. D. 210.
a cruel diſeaſe, which confined him to his chamber. During the interval, the northern nations (hearing, perhaps, of the emperor's indiſpoſition) broke out again into an open commotion. This breach of faith ſo highly exaſperated Severus, that, in an oration which he made to his ſoldiers, he ordered them to proceed to the utter deſtruction of the revolters.† Severus dies at York.

He himſelf was ſo afflicted with his deſeaſe, that he could not execute his determined vengeance with his own hand; therefore, he placed Caracalla at the head of his forces, and ſent him againſt the Calidonians: but he not regarding the orders which he had received from his father, applied himſelf rather to the gaining the affections of the ſoldiers, than the proſecuting of the war. He took all opportunities of degrading his abſent brother before the chief officers, and by fair promiſes ſought ſo far to advance himſelf in their favour, that on his father's death (which he was daily contriving) he might be elected ſole emperor, and his brother entirely excluded. In the mean time, Severus, (who, through the fidelity of his ſervants, had happily eſcaped all the machinations of his diſſolute ſon) worn out with his own infirmities, and grievous afflictions, died at York; in his laſt moments appointing his two ſons to be his ſucceſſors in the empire.‡ Caracalla goes againſt the revolters.

Caracalla was no ſooner informed of his father's death, than, concluding a peace with the Mæatæ and the Calidonians, he marched haſtily to the ſouthern parts of the province, in order to take poſſeſſion of the empire: but on his arrival, he found that his brother had managed his affairs with ſuch policy, and gained ſo much importance during his Severus being dead, a peace is concluded in the north.

* Xiphilin. & Eutrop. lib. viii. cap. 19.

† Dion Caſſius informs us, that he concluded his ſpeech with theſe lines from Homer:

——"Let none your mercy ſpare,
"Let none eſcape the fury of the war,
"Children unborn ſhall die."
Xiphil. ex Dion, lib. lxxvi.

‡ Xiphil. ex Dion, & Herodian.

abſence,

A. D. 210. abſence, that he was obliged (to his extreme regret) to ſhare the imperial honours with him. Matters thus far agreed upon, the two brothers ſettling all things quietly in Britain, haſtened towards Rome to be confirmed in the empire.

A chaſm of ſeventy years in the Britiſh hiſtory.

After the departure of theſe two emperors, for a ſpace of more than ſeventy years hiſtorians have ſaid ſo little upon the affairs of Britain, that no certain or ſatisfactory account can be made out. From this long ſilence we may naturally conclude, that the governors of the Roman province maintained peace and good order with their allies and neighbours; and that the Britons, inured to the yoke of their conquerors, held it more eligible quietly to endure their bondage, than ſtrive for liberty at the expence of their eaſe, and hazard of their lives. So much does indolence dull and obliterate the traces of glory and the love of freedom in the ſouls of men; and when joined with luxury, ſo ſoftens and effeminates their diſpoſitions, that even deſpotiſm in their governors, and cowardice in themſelves, may by degrees become not only familiar, but even pleaſant. It is true, it requires more than common policy and cunning to effect this amazing change in the very ſouls of men; nor could it ever be done, without they themſelves lead the way, by ſwallowing the gilded bait of proffered eaſe: for when once the mind is inured to idleneſs and diſſipation, men become obſtinate in wretchedneſs, and prefer the preſent grovelling condition to a future ſtate of glorious liberty, if only to be purchaſed by repeated labours, and the hazards of war. Such is the mind, when debaſed with vice! So much doth this world's happineſs often border upon ſtupidity and fond conceit.

To fill up this chaſm in the Britiſh hiſtory, is not in the power of an author; it is true, ſome few names of the governors of Britain during this ſpace might perhaps be collected from inſcriptions; but as theſe alone would convey no ſatisfaction to the reader, they are thought of but little conſequence.*

A. D. 255. It is ſuppoſed, that ſome of thoſe thirty tyrants who infeſted the Roman ſtate at one time, acted their parts in Britain; this opinion has been confirmed by ſeveral of their coins being found in this kingdom.† And indeed it is very likely that it was ſo, but yet their actions in this part of the world were not material enough to obtain a place in the ancient records.

Thirty tyrants in Britain.

A. D. 276. In the time of Probus, there appears to have been ſome ſudden ſedition raiſed in Britain, which was ſoon appeaſed by Victorinus, a favourite of the emperor.‡

Sedition in Britain.

* Vide Camd. Brit. & Horſley's Brit. Rom. p. 289, 290, 296.

† Vide Speed's Chron. who has given ſix of their coins; and Stow's Annal. who ſays, that Lollianus, Poſthumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus, are ſuppoſed to have held Britain from Galienus.

‡ Camd. Brit. in Introduct.

When

When Diocleſian was elected emperor at Rome, he aſſociated with him Maximianus, as partner in the imperial dignity. Early in their reign, a new ſet of formidable enemies infeſted the narrow ſeas, who were the Franks and Saxons, the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts of Holland, and the neighbouring parts. Theſe pirates made frequent attacks upon the borders of Britain, carrying off great booties. To put a ſtop to theſe dangerous proceedings, Maximianus ſent out Carauſius with the fleet, to ſcour the ſeas, and protect the province. Carauſius had not been long in his office, before he was cenſured with injuſtice in the diſcharge of it: he was accuſed of attending rather to the enriching of himſelf, than the ſuppreſſion of the pirates; for he was obſerved never to attack their ſhips when they were outward bound, but ſet upon them conſtantly as they returned, enriched with their booty. Maximianus, therefore, ordered him to be privately put to death; but he eſcaping the ſnare that was laid for him, and hearing that preparation was made againſt him, engaged the whole fleet in his favour, and ſailed from Gaul to Britain, where he aſſumed the purple. In the province he behaved with ſuch prudence and moderation, that all the army quickly declared their reſolution of ſupporting his cauſe. To render himſelf ſtill ſtronger, he entered into articles of peace with the Franks and the Saxons, taking many of them into his army, and alſo into his fleet. Thus reinforced, he became a formidable competitor for the imperial honours; for he was now abſolute maſter of the Britiſh ſeas, and his power extended over all the Roman dominions in Britain.* A. D. 284.

Carauſius ſent againſt the pirates; aſſumes the purple.

Maximianus finding his enemy too ſtrong to be ſubdued without a large fleet, choſe rather for a time to compromiſe the matter with him; therefore, he confirmed his title as emperor, and gave him the whole government of Britain, as well as of a few ports upon the ſea-coaſt of Gaul; all which he enjoyed with tranquility for ſeveral years. During this interval, (it is thought) he employed the time in ſtrengthening his alliances, and enlarging the limits of the Roman province, by ſubduing the Mæatæ, and their neighbours. He alſo repaired and ſtrengthened the wall which Hadrian had built, and added to it ſeven additional caſtles, with other neceſſary works.†

Carauſius declared emperor at Rome.

In the mean time, Maximianus, who waited but a convenient opportunity to attack Carauſius, (whom he yet held as a tyrant and uſurper) intended to make war upon him; but being kept back by contrary winds, and wanting ſkilful pilots, his purpoſe was hindered. Maximianus, and his colleague, Diocleſian, ſoon after elected two Cæſars, Galerius Maximianus and Conſtantius Chlorus, who were appointed to aſſiſt them in their government, and the keeping of the provinces in peace. To Conſtantius fell the charge of recovering Britain. Having received his commiſſion, he haſted through Gaul, and ſuddenly ſeizing upon A. D. 292.

Conſtantius ſent againſt Carauſius.

* Eumen. in Panegyr.

† Aurel. Victor. lib. ix. cap. 21, 22. & Hen. Hiſt. Brit. chap. xix.

A. D. 292. Bulloign,* he blocked up the haven in ſuch manner, that it was rendered entirely uſeleſs, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of Carauſius to prevent him; for as this was the beſt harbour which he had upon the continent, he uſed every means to preſerve it, but in vain. Conſtantius having obtained this important point, marched from Bulloign, and becauſe he had not a fleet as yet ſufficiently ſtrong to make an immediate attack upon his enemy, he gave orders for more ſhips to be built in ſeveral ports of Gaul; and that he might not in the mean ſeaſon be idle, he with his army entered Holland, and reduced to obedience ſuch of the nations as had revolted, and entered into alliance with Carauſius. Neither, on the other hand, was Carauſius unemployed at home, but applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to make every preparation neceſſary for the oppoſing the threatening ſtorm. But whilſt things were going forward on both ſides in this manner, Carauſius was treacherouſly ſlain at York by Alectus, his familiar friend.†

A. D. 293. When Conſtantius heard of the death of Carauſius, he ceaſed to purſue his purpoſe of invading Britain, and returned to Rome. After his departure, Alectus aſſumed the purple in Britain, and enjoyed his ſtate unmoleſted for the ſpace of three years.

Alectus aſſumes the purple.

A. D. 296. Conſtantius was now ſent againſt Alectus with all thoſe preparations which had been made to attack his predeceſſor. Conſtantius, when he had collected the whole of his fleet together, divided them into two parts, intending to land his army in two ſeveral places, in order to divert the intention of the enemy. Leaving the ſhore in very foggy weather, he paſſed unſeen by the great fleet of Alectus, which was hovering about the iſle of Wight. Having happily eſcaped this danger, he with the firſt part of his fleet reached the Britiſh ſhore, where he landed his men without any oppoſition. His firſt ſtep was to burn all the ſhips, as well becauſe they ſhould not fall into the hands of his enemies, as to make his men the more bold and adventurous, as knowing there was no hope left of eſcaping death, but by the conqueſt of their enemies. Alectus no ſooner heard that Conſtantius had landed his troops, than he ſailed from the iſle of Wight, and leaving his ſhips, with his whole army advanced to give him battle. His march was very precipitate, and without the leaſt order, ſo that Aſclepioditus (captain of the guard) with a great body of forces, accidentally meeting with him in his way, ſet upon his ſtraggling army, which, after a ſharp conflict, he entirely routed. Alectus, who in the beginning of the battle had diveſted himſelf of his royal robes, to prevent his being noticed, was ſlain in the field, and lay a long time diſregarded ere his death was known.‡

Conſtantius goes againſt Alectus.

* Geſſariacum in Orig. Panegyr. viii.

† Eutrop. lib. ix. cap. 22. Eumen.

‡ Eutrop. lib. ix. cap. 22.

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The remnant of the defeated army, who conſiſted chiefly of Franks and Saxons, continued their courſe to London, and ſet upon that city with the utmoſt fury, hoping, when they had ſpoiled it of all its wealth, to make their eſcape from thence by ſea. But fortunately for the inhabitants, the ſecond part of the fleet of Conſtantius (which had been ſeparated from him by the fog) entered the Thames, and reached the city in ſuch a critical moment, that they ſaved it from the deſtructive ravages of the aſſembled foes, whom they ſet upon with ſuch fury, that they were entirely overcome, and the chief part of them put to the ſword. By this ſeries of happy events, Britain was delivered from her enemies, and again united to the Roman empire, after it had been diſmembered from it for the ſpace of more than ten years: the ſea was alſo cleared from pirates, and the free courſe of navigation once more reſtored. Neither was this ſucceſs more pleaſing to the Romans, than it was to the Provincial Britons, who regarded Conſtantius as their guardian angel, ſent from Heaven for their deliverance.* A. D. 296. The remnant of the army defeated.

The two emperors, Diocleſian and Maximianus, now thought good to reſign their ſtate, and the glory of their condition, to taſte the more perfect comforts of a private life. Their reſolutions were both put in execution at one time, and the firſt of May was the day in which they choſe to bid adieu to the empire. They were ſucceeded by the two Cæſars, Conſtantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus. In the diviſion of the empire; Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, fell to the ſhare of Conſtantius; but he, content with the honour, and not deſirous of bearing ſuch wide rule, reſigned both Italy and Africa to the government of his colleague. He made his principal reſidence in Britain, where he was engaged in ſome diſputes with the northern nations, the particulars of which are not known. However, on his return from Calidonia, he fell ſick at York, and died July 5, A. D. 306, after he had in his laſt moments nominated Conſtantinus for his ſucceſſor, who eſcaping from Galerius, was preſent at his death.† A. D. 305. The two emperors reſign their ſtate.

Conſtantinus was the eldeſt ſon of Conſtantius, and his mother's name was Helena, ſo juſtly famous in ancient hiſtory for her piety, and religious performances. She is ſaid to have been a native of Britain, and daughter of a petty king, whoſe name was Coil; and it is alſo affirmed, that Conſtantinus was born in this kingdom: though both of theſe circumſtances may be true, yet they are not affirmed by the teſtimony of any cotemporary writer. He began his reign at York, being ſaluted emperor by the army, immediately after the death of his father.‡ After his election, the affairs of Britain required him to make ſome ſhort ſtay; for when he had performed the laſt honours to his deceaſed father, he proceeded A. D. 306. Conſtantinus ſucceeds to the empire.

* Eumen. Panegyr.

† Eutrop. lib. x. cap. i. & Aurel. Vict. in Conſtant.

‡ Eutrop. lib. x. cap. 2. Vide Uſſer. de Primord. Eccleſ. Brit. cap. 8.

A. D. 306. with his army to the north to finiſh the war againſt the Mæatæ and Calidonians, (who now began to be called by the new names of Picts and Scots) where, compelling ſome by force, and paying others, he concluded peace with thoſe nations. Having now greater things in view, he ſet ſail from Britain, and landed on the continent, where he obtained a conſiderable conqueſt over the Franks in Batavia; he alſo defeated ſome communities who had revolted in Germany, and made both the Gauls and Germans his friends.* When he had thus ſettled the province affairs, he withdrew his forces from Germany, Gaul, and Britain, to the amount of ninety thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſe. With this prodigious army he ſet forward toward Italy in order, by battle, to aſſert his claim to the empire againſt Maxentius, ſon of the abdicated Maximianus, who had aſſumed the purple at Rome; but Conſtantinus defeating him in a deciſive engagement, quickly afterwards reduced Italy, and became maſter of the world, to which this glorious conqueror reſtored the heavenly bleſſings of peace and liberty.†

Uncertainty relative to Conſtantinus coming again to Britain.

It is very uncertain whether Conſtantinus returned again to Britain after he had reſtored peace to the empire, which indeed is a matter of diſpute, though of but very little conſequence. From this time to the death of Conſtantinus, which happened May 22, the year of our Lord, 337, the iſland ſeems to have enjoyed a profound peace.‡

A. D. 337. Conſtantinus' three ſons ſucceed him.

After the death of Conſtantinus, his three ſons, Conſtantinus, Conſtans, and Conſtantius, ſucceeded him. To the elder, by diviſion, fell Spain, Gaul, Britain, and part of Germany; but he, thinking that the empire was not equally ſhared amongſt them. and looking with a covetous eye upon the territories of his brethren, invaded thoſe of Conſtans, ambitiouſly deſiring to add them to his own. In the proſecution of the war, he fell into an ambuſh near Aquilea, where he loſt his life, together with the greater part of his army. This unfortunate accident happened in the ſpring of the year 340.§

A. D. 343. Conſtans comes into Britain.

Conſtantinus thus overcome, his brother Conſtans ſeized upon his dominions, over which he ruled for a time with great prudence and diſcretion. He prepared a large fleet, and viſited Britain in the beginning of

* Vide Camd. Brit. in Introduct.

† Euſeb. Eutrop. lib. x. cap. 4.

‡ Camden is of the opinion, that the words of Euſebius hint as much, where he ſays, "At laſt Conſtantinus ſailed over into Britain, which is ſurrounded with the ſea, and having overcome the inhabitants, he began to think of other parts of the world, that he might relieve thoſe who needed his aſſiſtance." In another place, "After he had inſtilled into his army the principles of humanity, modeſty, and piety, he invaded Britain, &c." But an excellent modern author obſerves, that "This is not ſufficient evidence, becauſe, (adds he) theſe ſhort hints of Euſebius moſt probably refer to what Conſtantine performed here in the beginning of his reign." Which of theſe opinions is the moſt juſt, is left entirely to the judgment of the reader. Camd. Brit. in Introduct. & Dr. Henry's Hiſt. of Britain, vol. I. chap. i.

§ Eutrop. lib. x. cap. 9.

the

the year 343, in order to ſuppreſs the Picts and Scots, who had begun to make inroads into the neighbouring province. The particulars of his expedition, or the ſucceſs he met with, are not known:* however, from the peace, which ſeems for a few years after this time to have prevailed in the province, it ſhould appear that they were ſubdued, and reduced to quietneſs. A. D. 343.

Some time after his return from Britain, he recovered from a lingering diſeaſe, which had long afflicted him; when giving ear to the councils of wicked and diſſolute men, he fell into many enormous vices. For the ſupport of his unbounded extravagances, the provinces were laid under ſuch heavy exactions, that they univerſally complained; nor was his behaviour at home in the leaſt more equal, inſomuch that he became ſo diſagreeable to the ſoldiers, that they mutinied, and ſet up Magnentius againſt him, by whoſe means he was ſlain at Elna, in Rouſillon, the 18th of January in the year of our Lord, 350. After his death, Magnentius uſurped the government of Africa, Italy, and Gaul; to theſe, moſt likely, Britain alſo may be added.† A. D. 350. Conſtans ſlain by Magnentius.

Conſtantius, when he heard of the murder of his brother, notwithſtanding his affairs in the eaſt required his cloſe attendance, laid them aſide for a time, to revenge his death upon the uſurper. Wherefore, gathering a great army together, he came againſt him, and after a cruel and bloody engagement, routed his forces. This battle was fought at Murſa, in Panonia, the 28th of September, in the year of Chriſt's nativity, 351. A. D. 351. Magnentius defeated.

Magnentius, after this defeat, ſuſtained ſeveral other heavy loſſes, and being at laſt driven to the higheſt pitch of deſpair, he ſhut himſelf up in the city of Lions, where he executed the moſt horrid and bloody reſolution, murdering firſt his mother, next all his relations, and laſt of all himſelf, to prevent their falling into the hands of his juſtly incenſed enemies.‡ This cruel deed was perpetrated the 11th day of Auguſt, in the year 353. After the death of Magnentius, all thoſe nations over which he had uſurped the rule, ſubmitted to Conſtantius; who preſently after appointed Gratianus Funarius (the father of Valentinian, who was after emperor) to be the governor, (or, as he was then called, the vicar of Britain;) but Gratianus did not long enjoy the honour of his poſt, as in a very ſhort ſpace of time we find Martinus in poſſeſſion of this government.§ A. D. 353. The horrible end of Magnentius.

Conſtantius acted not with that equality which became a conqueror, but cruelly purſued even the diſtant favourers of the deceaſed tyrant with A. D. 354. Conſtantius cruel.

* The accounts of this war are unhappily loſt, with the firſt part of the hiſtory of Ammianus Marcellus, in which it is moſt likely they were recorded.

† Eutrop. lib. x. cap. 9.
‡ Ibid. cap. 12. Xoſim. lib. ii.
§ Ammian. Marcell. lib. xiv. cap. 5.

unrelenting

A. D. 354. unrelenting rigour. For this cauſe he ſent one Paul, a Spaniard, his ſecretary into Britain, to ſeize upon all who had been concerned in the ſedition, and to lay them in bonds: this mercenary ſervant more than executed the unjuſt commands of his maſter, and ſeized upon great numbers of harmleſs people, on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. Martinus, who was now vicar of Britain, and whoſe ſoul was pierced with the cries of oppreſſed innocence, took their cauſe upon himſelf, and remonſtrated with the inhuman officer, declaring his injuſtice, and beſeeching him to forbear to hurt thoſe who had not offended. Enraged at the charge of Martinus, Paul, in the heighth of his paſſion, accuſed him alſo of being confederate with Magnentius, and was proceeding to apprehend him, when he drew forth his ſword, and ſmote at Paul, with the intention of ſlaying him, but miſſing his aim, and having no hopes of eſcaping the fury of the emperor for this deed, he ſuddenly turned the point with more certainty againſt himſelf, and falling upon it, expired on the ſpot. Paul now met with no farther oppoſition in the execution of his cruel deſigns; wherefore, a prodigious number being put into bonds, were carried before the emperor, all of whom were either executed, baniſhed, or other ways grievouſly puniſhed. But yet Almighty God, who had permitted the vile oppreſſor, Paul, to execute his purpoſes, at laſt brought the whole weight of his vengeance upon him, for he was ſome time after burnt alive, at the command of the emperor Julian.*

A. D. 360. The northern nations begin freſh diſturbances.

The Roman province, which, during the ſpace of the laſt hundred and fifty years, had received but trifling diſturbances from their troubleſome neighbours, the Scots and Picts, was now in a very flouriſhing condition. For as the war ceaſed to engroſs their attention, wealth and plenty, the bloſſoms of peace, began to appear in their full luſtre. Allured by this tempting proſpect, the reſtleſs northern free-booters reſolved now once more to enter the province, and reap with their ſwords the profits of the induſtrious. By ſome means or other they paſſed the wall of Severus, and ſet upon the borders of the ſouthern nations; wherefore, Julianus (who had but lately received the honourable title of Cæſar) being governor of Gaul, ſent Lupinus into Britain with a conſiderable army; he himſelf not being able to come in perſon, becauſe he was at this time buſied in the German wars. No ſooner was the arrival of Lupinus announced to the northern ravagers, than they left the borders of the province, and retired precipitately to their own nations; which, when the general heard, he proceeded no farther than London, where uſing his endeavours to put all things in good order, he abode but a ſhort time; for when he had ſent ſome additional forces to the chief garriſons, he returned again to the continent.† The Roman army in Britain receiving this neceſſary reinforcement, kept their dangerous enemies in

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. xiv. cap. 5. & Ibid. lib. xxii. cap. 3.

† Ibid. lib. xx. cap. 1.

ſuch

ſuch awe during the ſhort reign of Julian, and the ſtill ſhorter of his ſuc- A. D. 360.
ceſſor, Jovinan, that they were fearful of making any further attacks upon their territories.

In the firſt year of Valentinian, either through the negligence of the Roman army, or the greater boldneſs of the northern inſurgents, a dreadful and alarming commotion was ſet on foot, which threatened danger to the whole Roman province. Three very powerful bands, compoſed of the Scots, the Picts, and the Attacotes,* taking the advantage of a time when the Franks and the Saxons were plundering the ſouthern coaſts, poured like an irreſiſtible torrent into the northern parts of Britain, ſlaying firſt Nectaridius, who had the charge of the ſea-ſhore, and after defeated Bulchobandes, a valiant leader of the provincial ſoldiers. To ſtop this dreadful inundation, Severus, an officer of diſtinction, was firſt ſent into Britain, and after him Jovinus, who had purchaſed great fame with his ſword in the German wars. But neither of theſe chiefs had brought forces enough to quell their numerous enemies, who ſwarmed from all quarters, and for the ſpace of three ſucceſſive years continued their deſtructive depredations.† A. D. 364. The northern nations ravage the province.

Alarmed by theſe violent proceedings, Valentinian ſent Theodoſius, one of the braveſt and moſt prudent generals of that age, at the head of a large army, into Britain. When he arrived, he found the province in a moſt deplorable condition; ruin and deſtruction had paved the way of the rude revolters, who were at this time advanced as far as London: but hearing of his coming with additional forces, they retired with their booty from thence. He, without any loſs of time, quickly purſued the track which they had taken, and coming up with them, fought a ſevere battle; they were ſoon entirely routed, and ſo precipitate was their flight, that they left the whole of their vaſt ſpoils behind them, which Theodoſius, with great juſtice and goodneſs, reſtored again to the original proprietors. Having obtained this ſignal victory, he invited two very able men from the continent to Britain, that they might aſſiſt him in his undertaking. The one was Civilis, a prudent man, and well verſed in civil affairs; the other, Dulcitus, a valiant chief, and experienced in military matters. He ſpent the winter in regulating what was amiſs, and ſettling the tranquility of the ſouthern parts of the province.‡ A. D. 367. Theodoſius comes into Britain.

In the ſpring he took the field again at the head of his army, marching directly to the north. The enemy fled before him from all parts, abandoning the forts and towns which they had taken from the provincial ſoldiers; however, they left behind them the dreadful marks of their rapa- A. D. 368. The ſucceſs of Theodoſius in Britain.

* The Attacotes were a ſavage people, who ſeem to have inhabited in ſome of the moſt northern parts of the kingdom. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. c. iii. ſect. 9.

† Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxviii. cap. 3.

‡ Ibid.

A. D. 368. cious and deſtructive diſpoſitions. Theodoſius continuing his march took poſſeſſion of the fortifications which they had relinquiſhed; ſuch as were deſtroyed he rebuilt, and thoſe which were damaged he repaired, placing ſtrong garriſons in all of them, to ſecure them from any ſudden attacks; ſo that by degrees he recovered the whole country as far as the wall which Severus had built. But not content with theſe acquiſitions, he puſhed his victories ſtill further, and entered and ſubdued all thoſe nations which dwelt between the two walls, driving the lawleſs ravagers beyond the iſthmus, which ſeparates the firths of Forth and Clyde; where he repaired the rampart which Lollius Urbicus (at the command of Antoninus Pius) had built, and made it once more the boundary of the Roman province in Britain. The limits between the two walls he reduced into the form of a province, naming it Valentia, in honour of the emperor Valens.*

Conſpiracy againſt Theodoſius.

Having conquered and driven forth the foreign enemies, he next proceeded to repair and ſtrengthen all the forts and garriſons throughout the province, which had been neglected during the foregoing peace. The military diſcipline in the army he again reſtored, and kept the whole in readineſs to repel the forces of their troubleſome neighbours. He caſhiered the Arcani, a ſort of light troops ſtationed upon the frontiers of the kingdom, to give timely notice of any approaching danger, becauſe he found they had betrayed their truſt; and he placed others in their room. During the expedition into the north, a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt the life of this excellent commander; the ringleader and chief contriver of which was one Valentius, who had been baniſhed for ſome enormous crimes. But happily, before his infamous plot was ripe for execution, it was diſcovered to Theodoſius; by this fortunate circumſtance, his life was redeemed from the dangerous ſnare of treachery. Valentius, with ſome few of his accomplices, were brought to juſtice; the reſt eſcaped from puniſhment, for Theodoſius would by no means permit any further enquiry to be made after them, leſt, conſcious of their guilt, and hopeleſs of mercy, they ſhould raiſe a freſh diſturbance in the army, to ſecure their own ſafety.†

Theodoſius reſtores peace and tranquility to the province.

Thus prudently did Theodoſius regulate his conduct in the great charge which he had undertaken; and having now ſecured the province from the attacks of their foreign enemies, he ſet about ſuch regulations as were neceſſary to be made in the government, that the connection between the Roman army and the provincial Britons might be held faſt by the bond of friendſhip and reſpect. He began by reforming many abuſes in the collecting of the public tribute; he alſo perſuaded the emperor to remit ſome part of the tax, which he thought oppreſſive to the inhabitants. He then proceeded to encourage and aſſiſt the Britons in building them houſes, repairing their cities, and enlarging their

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii. cap. 8. † Ibid, b. xxviii. cap. 3.

towns:

towns: ſo that from a wretched ſcene of ruin and diſtreſs, the province was in a ſhort time reſtored to plenty and happineſs. When this noble general had thus happily executed his commiſſion, he returned to Rome; and ſoon after, Fraomarius, the king of the Buccenobants, in Germany, was ſent into Britain, and put at the head of the German auxiliaries which ſerved there.* A. D. 368.

After the departure of Theodoſius, the Roman province in Britain enjoyed a profound peace for ſeveral years. Their ſtrong-holds and garriſons being well manned, prevented the incurſions of the Picts and Scots, whilſt a large and powerful fleet protected the ſea-coaſts from the ravages of the Franks and Saxons. And ſtill longer might this happy tranquility have continued, had not the provincial ſoldiers and the Britons joined their whole force to advance an unfortunate pretender to the empire. The cauſe of all this fatal diſturbance was as follows: A. D. 375.

The beginning of a rebellion againſt Gratianus.

Gratianus, who ſucceeded his father Valentinian in the empire, ſoon found himſelf unable to manage the government alone; it is true, his brother Valentinian was partner with him, yet being but an infant, he was not able to bear any part in the adminiſtration; wherefore, in the fourth year of his reign he aſſociated with him, Theodoſius, (the ſon of that Theodoſius who had ſo valiantly reſtored peace to Britain) making him equal with him in the honour and management of the ſtate, that through his aſſiſtance he might recover the declining condition of the empire. The advancement of Theodoſius proved highly offenſive to Maximus, who at this time was governor in Britain; for, as he thought that the ſervice which he had done the ſtate was equal to what had been performed by Theodoſius, ſo alſo he thought that his right to the honour of emperor was at leaſt equal to his. Inflamed with anger at this ſuppoſed inſult, he determined to ſeize by force upon that ſhare of honour which he thought was due to his merit: therefore, he ſecured the favour of the army, and ſo wrought upon them by fair promiſes, that they all declared their firm intentions of ſupporting him in his claim to the empire. Beſides, he had ſo ingratiated himſelf with the provincial Britons, as well by his mild government, as in marrying the daughter of a Britiſh chief, that, without the leaſt reluctance, a great body of them, the very flower of their youth, joined the army, and determined to follow his fortunes. A. D. 379.

Maximus aſſumes the purple in Britain.

No ſooner was he aſſured of their aſſiſtance, than he aſſumed the purple, and taking the advantage of the abſence of Theodoſius, who was now employed in the eaſt, he with the whole of his army ſailed into Gaul, where he was no ſooner arrived, and ſet up his claim, than the ſoldiers from all parts of the continent flocked to his ſtandard: for Grati- A. D. 381.

The death of Gratianus.

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxviii. cap. 3.

A. D. 381. anus was a very weak and unpopular prince, and his rule was diſagreeable to the whole army; ſo that Maximus gained ground with ſuch rapidity in the empire, that the emperor ſoon found himſelf deſerted, and in no condition to make head againſt the uſurper. Wherefore, deſtitute of friends, he fled to Lions, and there was treacherouſly ſlain by his remorſeleſs enemies, the 25th of Auguſt, in the year 383.

A. D. 383. The ſucceſs of Maximus.

Maximus now obtained all the provinces which had been under the government of Gratianus; no ſooner had he taken poſſeſſion of them, than he created his ſon Victorinus (whom he had by his Britiſh wife) Cæſar, and made him his partner in the empire. This laſt act ſo highly pleaſed the Britons, who came in his army, that they all of them unanimouſly agreed to ſupport his cauſe to the utmoſt of their power. The young Valentinian hearing of the revolt of the army, and the death of his brother, ſought to make peace with Maximus, who receiving his propoſals with reſpect, a preſent agreement was patched up, and a ceſſation of arms enſued for a ſmall ſpace; alſo Maximus was allowed by Theodoſius to aſſume the title of Auguſtus. He then ſettled himſelf in his ſtate, at Trier, in Germany; but yet he could not long remain quiet in his poſſeſſions, for with ambitious views he marched towards Italy, hoping to intercept the young Valentinian, and ſeize upon his territories; but he having timely intelligence of the tyrant's deſign, fled with his mother to Theodoſius, and perſuaded him to take the field againſt him.

A. D. 388. The overthrow of Maximus.

Whilſt theſe things were carrying on in the eaſt, Maximus purſued his conqueſts in the weſt; and coming to Aquileia, all Italy and Africa ſubmitted to him. But he enjoyed not long the honours which he had obtained; for Fortune, tired of advancing his glory, now ſuddenly thruſt him from her favour, to make room for his mighty and renowned antagoniſt, Theodoſius, who, partly perſuaded by Valentinian, and partly moved by ambition, took the field, and coming ſuddenly upon Maximus, defeated him in two great battles, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping by flight, took refuge in Aquileia. But how different was his reception now, from that which he had found when he entered the city, crowned with his conqueſts; depreſſed by the ſevere ſtrokes of misfortune, he, who of late was the idol of their praiſe, was now become the object of their contempt. Nor was this all the ſufferings of this wretched chief; for the very ſoldiers who had vowed to ſupport his cauſe, forgot their promiſes, and for the hope of reward, delivered him up to his enemy, at whoſe command he was preſently beheaded, in the year of our Lord, 388.*

The Britons who accompanied Maximus ſettle in Gaul.

The Britiſh forces who had accompanied Maximus, were not preſent at theſe unfortunate engagements; for they, with young Victor at their head, had been ſent into Gaul, where the ſame evil fate which fell upon

* Vide Camden, Speed, &c.

the

the father at Aquileia, purſued the unhappy ſon; for he was ſlain in a A. D. 388.
ſharp engagement, and his forces were routed. Theſe misfortunes were dreadfully felt by the miſerable Britons, who now found themſelves in the midſt of their enemies' country, without a leader, without proviſions, deſtitute of ſuccour, and having no ſhips to tranſport them to their native home. In this truly deplorable caſe they wandered about, until they reached the ſouth-weſt part of Gaul, where they waited in daily hopes of getting ſome paſſage to Cornwall; but this alſo failing them, they were obliged to make their abode with the Belgæ, who received them with great kindneſs; ſo that they never returned again to Britain, but ſettled finally in that part of the continent, which was then called Aremorica, and now goes by the name of Britanny, in France. In the mean time, the rumour of theſe miſhaps reaching the ears of Andragatius, who kept the ſeas, (and was the very man that ſlew Gratianus) he was ſo ſtruck with fear, that he caſt himſelf headlong from his ſhip into the waves, and was drowned.*

Britain ſoon felt the fatal abſence of her warlike ſons, and groaned A. D. 393.
beneath the oppreſſion of her cruel enemies: for the reſtleſs Scots and Picts, emboldened by the weakneſs of the province, broke through their bounds, and began afreſh their ravages in the north, whilſt all the ſouthern coaſts were plundered and ſpoiled by the piratical Franks and Saxons. At this time, Theodoſius, by the death of his colleague, Valentinian, became the ſole maſter of the world. When hearing of the dangerous ſtate of the province in Britain, he ſent Chryſantus, a man of great valour and reputation, to its relief. This officer, (who afterwards became a biſhop) expelled the enemies, and reſtored tranquility to the ſtate.† The Scots and Picts break out again.

Theodoſius the Great died on the 17th of January, in the year of our A. D. 395.
Lord, 395, and was ſucceeded by his two ſons; Arcadius, the elder, bearing rule in the eaſt, and Honorius, the younger, in the weſt. When Honorius entered upon the imperial dignity, he was but ten years of age; for which cauſe, he was placed under the tuition of a nobleman, named Stilico, who had been the faſt friend of his father, his conſtant companion in all his wars, and the ſharer of all his glorious victories. No ſooner was the death of Theodoſius made public, and the tender years of his ſucceſſor known, but, like a mighty torrent, the enemies of the weſtern empire poured in upon it from every quarter, and ſeemed to threaten the ſtate with immediate ruin and deſtruction. Amidſt this general tumult, the Roman province in Britain ſhould hardly have eſcaped: their ferocious enemies, the Scots and Picts, taking the advantage of the time, broke forth again, and entering the ſouthern parts, deſtroyed and waſted the country wherever they came: driven to the greateſt diſtreſs, Troubles in the Roman empire.

* Vide Camden, in Introduct.

† Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. vii. cap. 12.

A. D. 395. the provincial ſoldiers fled before them, whilſt they, following their fortune, made daily advances into the land, till at laſt, Stilico, having in ſome meaſure compoſed the dangerous diſturbances on the continent, ſent a reinforcement of troops into Britain, by whoſe timely aſſiſtance the revolters were ſuppreſſed, and once more driven back within the limits of their native homes.

A. D. 407. But unfortunately for the province, after the foreign enemy was quelled, their ſtate was ſoon rent and torn by civil factions at home; the ſpirit of mutiny and diſcord ſeized upon the Roman troops, inſomuch, that regardleſs of the emperor, who held his rule at a diſtance, they elected one amongſt themſelves, whoſe name was Marcus. For a time he held his ſtate; but ſoon after, the giddy multitude, in their capricious humour, pulled him from his dignity, and deprived him of his life, ſetting up another, named Gratian, in his ſtead, from whoſe government they expected more ſatisfaction. But their reſolutions being as uncertain as the blaſts of wind, at four months end they alſo murdered him, and raiſed to his ſeat one Conſtantine, an officer of inferior degree. So ſtrangely infatuated were the minds of this rebellious crew, that preſaging lucky omens from the name of this ſoldier, was the ſole cauſe of his rapid advancement.*

Mutiny amongſt the ſoldiers in Britain.

A. D. 408. The aſpiring diſpoſition of Conſtantine, was, moſt likely, what preſerved his life, and ſecured him the favour of his electors: for by keeping them in employ, and other prudent meaſures, which he ſeems to have purſued, he both reigned longer, and made a greater figure, than either of his unfortunate predeceſſors. This extraordinary adventurer, when he thought himſelf ſecure in the favour of the army, leſt they ſhould relapſe, reſolved to amuſe their mindswith great expectations; wherefore, he meditated an expedition into Gaul. For this purpoſe he ſought all means to ingratiate himſelf into the favour of the Britiſh youth; many of whom he trained to arms, and enliſted into his bands. When he had prepared all things according to his wiſh, for this important undertaking, he with the beſt of all his troops, and the flower of Britain's ſons, ſet ſail, and landed on the continent. His firſt endeavours were crowned with great ſucceſs; nor had he been long there, before he got poſſeſſion of the two rich and extenſive provinces of Gaul and Spain. Elated with his advancement, he fixed his ſeat of empire at Arles, which he called Conſtantia, after his own name; and declared his eldeſt ſon (who had formerly been a monk) his partner in the ſtate. Thus far the proſpect was fair before him, and all his attempts ſucceeded to his wiſh; but a ſhort time entirely changed the ſcene, and all the glories which he had ſuddenly obtained were as ſuddenly eclipſed! Making an attempt upon Italy, he failed of ſucceſs; and ſome ſhort time after, he quarrelled with his beſt and

Conſtantine's expedition into Gaul.

* Bede. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 11.

moſt

moſt powerful friend and aſſiſtant, Gerontius; which quarrel uſhered in all his misfortunes, for this valiant general, piqued at the ingratitude of Conſtantine, turned his arms againſt him, and intercepting his ſon, Conſtans, he ſlew him at Vienna, in Gaul. Immediately after this ſevere ſtroke, Conſtantine himſelf was cloſely beſieged in Arles, by the army of Honorius; and when the city was taken, he was there ſlain in the church, whither he had fled, as to a place of ſecurity, in the year of our Lord, 411.* A. D. 408.

After the death of Conſtantine, Britain yielded to Honorius, who ſent Victorinus thither with a powerful reinforcement, to prevent the ravages of the Scots and Picts, who had begun to make diſturbances upon the borders of the province. But now the glory of the Roman empire declined apace; their enemies prevailed on every ſide: the continual troubles which ſurrounded the ſtate, obliged Honorius to recall Victorinus from Britain, and the whole of the army with him, to his aſſiſtance. After the departure of the Roman army from Britain, the whole province was left in a very defenceleſs ſtate; not only on account of their leaving the iſland, but alſo by the great emigrations of the Britiſh youth with Maximus and Conſtantine.† A. D. 412. Victorinus ſent into Britain.

The Scots and Picts no ſooner heard that the Roman troops had left Britain, than thinking themſelves ſecure of conqueſt, and puſhed on with the hopes of plunder, they ſallied fiercely forth upon the provincial Britons. But the reception they met with was ſuch as they did not in the leaſt expect; for after a ſharp engagement or two, they were diſperſed and driven back. This victory was chiefly owing to a large number of veteran Romans, who, from their connections and poſſeſſions in the land, choſe not to leave it when the regular troops were called away. Theſe men alarmed at the approach of the lawleſs enemies, had encouraged and aſſiſted the Britons to make a bold reſiſtance in defence of their natural rights. Yet this happy effect was but a temporary mitigation of thoſe evils which were ready to burſt upon them; for their deſtructive foes renewed their ravages from time to time, and were continually gaining ground. The Romans who yet remained in Britain, ſeeing no hopes of protecting the province from their frequent attacks, and finding their ſituation full as unſafe as it was diſagreeable, made application (joined with the Britons) to Honorius for aſſiſtance; but he having full employment for the whole of his forces, to ſupport the tottering empire from ruin, returned for anſwer, that it was impoſſible for him to aſſiſt them; and added, that "he entirely gave up all claim to their alle-"giance," adviſing them to defend themſelves by their own courage. This unſatisfactory reply, had ſuch an effect upon the Romans, that they preſently diſpoſed of their poſſeſſions, and taking their effects with them, A. D. 414. All the Romans leave Britain.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12. † Ibid.

departed

A. D. 414. departed to the continent, in ſearch of a more quiet habitation, leaving the diſtreſſed Britons to ſhift for themſelves.

The Britons' grief at the departure of the Romans.

With aching hearts, the wretched Britons beheld the departure of their guardian friends! with ſtreaming eyes, they ſurvey their native land naked and defenceleſs, laid open to the mercy of their barbarous enemies! They now foreſaw their inevitable deſtruction was at hand! Various were their councils, various their reſolutions, yet little comfort reſulted from either! A ſhort time ſoon proved how juſt their apprehenſions were, and brought to paſs thoſe miſerable calamities which they expected daily: for the Scots and Picts receiving information of this laſt emigration from the province, poured in their troops, and began again their wonted depredations. Sometimes the Britons fled before them, and ſecreted themſelves in their deep receſſes; at other times, endeavouring to make head againſt them, they were overcome, and purſued with ſlaughter. For, void of military diſcipline, and having their ſpirits depreſſed by miſeries, they were at leaſt half overcome before the engagement was begun; whilſt, on the other hand, the ferocious ravagers, hardy and inured to toil, their minds fluſhed with the hope of plunder, bore down their opponents, and returned home laden with their ſpoils.*

A. D. 416. Theſe dangerous invaſions they repeatedly made, continually advancing and extending their rout; whilſt the Britons, driven to deſpair,

The Britons intreat Honorius for aid.

ſent humble ſupplications to the emperor Honorius, at Rome, for aſſiſtance, and promiſed both willingly and faithfully to hold their obedience to him. Moved with their earneſt petitions, and pitying their diſtreſſes, he received theſe meſſengers very favourably; and becauſe he was now more at leiſure to attend to their complaints, than he was when they had implored his ſuccour before, he reſolved to lend them what aſſiſtance he could. Therefore, he ſent immediately into Britain a whole legion of his troops, with which reinforcement he thought they might be able to repel their intruding foes.

The Scots and Picts driven back.

This ſalutary aid was received by the provincial Britons with the greateſt marks of joy and gratitude; their ſpirits now revived again, and they prepared with ardour to accompany the Romans againſt their cruel enemies. Marching directly to the north, they fell upon them, and after ſome ſlight ſtruggles, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, purſuing them to the utmoſt confines of the province of Valentia. This important ſervice performed, the Romans adviſed the Britons to repair the wall of Antoninus Pius, and fortify it ſtrongly; by which means, it was thought the incurſions of the northern nations might be eaſily prevented, and the ſouthern parts of the iſland ſecured from their miſchievous attacks. After having given them this advice, and inſtructed them in the moſt proper method of rendering this fortification ſtrong and advantageous,

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12.

the Romans bid the inhabitants farewel, and returned again in triumph back to Rome.* A. D. 416.

The Britons, flushed with their late victories, employed themselves with great alacrity in the repairing the wall, as they had been advised; but, instead of building it strong and substantial with stone, they were content with raising it up with earth alone. In the mean time, the Picts and Scots lay close in their retreats; but hearing that the Romans were returned to the continent, they issued from their lurking places, and came down to the isthmus, where the new wall was made; some passed the firths in their curroghs, (or little boats) whilst others made their attack upon the wall itself; by this means they beat down an entrance, and soon gained firm footing in the province of Valentia, which they laid waste, and then proceeded as far as the wall of Severus, where entering the borders of the southern province, they spread an universal terror and confusion throughout the whole island. The Britons were now convinced, that the temporary aid which was afforded them from Rome, had only protracted, not cured, their desperate grievances. They now saw the same ruin hovering round them which they had feared before, and were again oppressed with the same despair. Having no hope left them, but from the aid of Honorius, they dispatched fresh messengers to Rome, who set forth their deep distress with so much energy, and painted the horrors of their state in such lively colours, that the emperor was moved to pity their miserable condition, and sent again another legion, under the command of Gallo, of Ravenna, to their aid.† A. D. 417. The Britons sue again to Honorius for succour.

The Roman troops landed in Britain in autumn, when being joined by what forces the provincials could collect together, they marched immediately against the enemy, who not suspecting any reinforcement from Rome, or fearing any opposition from the Britons, were busied in plundering the country. The Romans taking the advantage of their security, fell suddenly upon them, and made a prodigious slaughter. The remnant which escaped by flight returned to Calidonia, and there hid themselves in the woods and mountains, whither they were accustomed to retire with their annual booty. The Britons now seeing the rock on which their endeavours had split before, at the persuasion of the Romans gave up the whole province of Valentia; because they found the wall acros the isthmus was a very insufficient fortification to protect the country; and the more especially, as the narrowness of the firths on either side made the passage in their curroghs so easy and convenient.‡ A. D. 418. The Scots and Picts again put to flight.

* Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. i, cap. 11. & Gildas in Hist.

† Ibid. Ibid.

‡ Ibid. Ibid.

After

A. D. 419. The Romans assist the Britons in repairing the wall of Severus.

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A. D. 420. The Romans finally leave Britain.

The Romans thinking they had now secured the northern parts of the province, turned their next considerations to the sea-coasts on the south, which were often invaded, and damaged by the piratical Franks and Saxons, who infested the seas, and were now become a formidable set of enemies. To prevent their landing, close upon the shore, at convenient distances, they erected strong forts, and built several castles. After this, the Roman general gave to the Britons exact models of several kind of arms, and instructed them carefully in the use of them; and now being upon the point of taking his leave, he represented to them, that it was by no means convenient to him, or his soldiers, to return again to their assistance; therefore, he exhorted them to exert the utmost of their courage, and to stand bravely up in the defence of their native rights: "For, (added he) you are neither inferior in bodily strength, or natu-"ral endowments, to your enemies, therefore the victory will entirely "depend upon your own valour; and the conquest of the day must be "earned at the points of your swords." When he had finished this friendly exhortation, he embarked with his army, and set sail for Gaul, with no intentions of ever returning again. From this period ceased the Roman government in Britain, being 475 years from the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and 420 from the birth of Christ.†

A. D. 421. The state of Britain.

Gallo left South-Britain in a flourishing condition; the inhabitants were possessed of strong garrisons, and also large splendid cities, enriched with sculptures, and various specimens of Roman grandeur. The country was also well cultivated, and delightful, and through the whole province ran those justly celebrated military roads, which facilitated the travelling from place to place. Happy if that noble spirit, and love of glory, which so strongly marked the characters of their ancestors, had yet continued hereditary to their sons; without that animating ardour

* Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 12. & Gild. Hist.

† Ibid. Ibid.

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A. D. 426. ſo faintly kept up, the plunderers renewed the aſſault, and ſoon broke down a paſſage through the rampart, and entered upon the borders of the ſouthern nations; whilſt the affrighted Britons fled on every ſide, and were fiercely purſued by the Barbarians, who, without remorſe or pity, deſtroyed all that they found in their way. They employed the whole ſummer in plundering the country; at the end of which, enriched with the ſpoils, they joyfully returned to their ſecret receſſes in the north, where, with their wives and families, they ſpent the winter in revellings, at their eaſe. Theſe unwelcome viſits, they forgot not to renew with the ſpring, for ſeveral years, driving the wretched Britons from their houſes and poſſeſſions, and carrying off all their effects with them to their own homes.*

The miſeries of the Britons deſcribed.

The miſerable Britons, driven from their eſtates, now fled from before their cruel enemies, wandering about the country, ſecreting themſelves in woods and caverns, without any other means of ſubſiſtance than what they obtained by hunting, and ſlaying the wild beaſts of the field; or elſe by ſetting upon ſuch of their own countrymen as the common enemy had ſpared: ſo that the whole ſouthern part of Britain became one general ſcene of ruin and confuſion; inſomuch, that it was hard to determine which was the moſt dangerous enemy, the lawleſs northern plunderers, or the wretched natives themſelves, now grown deſperate, and driven to the higheſt pitch of deſpair.†

A. D. 446. For near twenty years was the ſouthern parts of the iſland waſted and deſtroyed by the mercileſs Picts and Scots; during which time, the unfortunate inhabitants had wandered from place to place, oppreſſed with indigence, and groaning beneath the ponderous burthen of their afflictions, without the leaſt expectation of any effectual help, until the fame of Aetius, governor of Gaul, reached their ears, which revived a tranſitory gleam of hope in their minds, that through his aid they might be freed from the barbarity of their oppreſſors, and reſtored to peace; the loſs of which they had ſo long lamented, the loſs of which they had ſo cruelly felt. The better to effect their purpoſe, they ſent ambaſſadors to Aetius, with mournful letters, addreſſed to him in this manner: "To "Aetius, thrice conſul, the groans of the Britons." In which they painted their deep diſtreſs in the moſt lively and feeling terms, concluding the whole in the following pathetic ſtile: "The barbarians drive "us to the ſea, the ſea forces us back again upon the barbarians; in theſe "dreadful extremities, deaths awaits us equally on both ſides; either "we muſt fall by the ſwords of our enemies, or elſe be drowned in the "ſwelling waves." But, alas! their riſing hopes of comfort were ſoon ſuppreſſed, by the refuſal of the governor to aſſiſt them; for, at this time, his forces were all employed in ſervices of much greater conſequence to the Roman empire; wherefore, however ſtriking their complaints might be, the moſt he could afford them was pity and compaſſion.‡

The Britons ſue to Aetius, governor of Gaul, for aid.

* Gildas Hiſtoria, & Hiſt. Ninii.
† Ibid. & Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 12.
‡ Bede, ut ſup. cap. 13.

Oppreſſed

Oppreſſed with grief, the unfortunate ambaſſadors return to Britain, A. D. 447.
and relate with tears their want of ſucceſs. Who ſhall paint the horror
of the ſurrounding natives? Deprived at once of their laſt beam of hope, The deſperate ſtate of the Britons.
and left in all the tortures of deſpair! The wretchedneſs of their ſtate
was augmented by their grief; and their daily increaſing miſeries hung
heavy on their thoughts! And, add to all theſe dreadful misfortunes, an
intolerable famine began now to prevail amongſt them: ſo that in theſe
affecting extremities, ſome retired to their ſolitary caverns, and mourned
in ſecret; ſome croſſed the ſeas to Gaul, and ſought protection with their
countrymen, in Acremorica; ſome fled to North and South Wales: and
others took refuge in Cornwall and Devon; diſperſing themſelves on all
ſides, and leaving their whole poſſeſſions to the mercy of their intruding
enemies. The remaining part, grown deſperate in their diſtreſs, iſſued
from the woods and caverns, whither they had retreated, and ſet upon
the enemy with uncommon fury, often depriving the ſpoilers of their
ſpoil. This ſucceſs of a few parties, led others to follow their example;
ſo that the ravagers, at laſt wearied out with continual ſkirmiſhes, re-
treated back, and by degrees left the country, returning home to their
own ſtates, where for a time they remained quiet. This tranſient and
unhoped for appearance of peace, was quickly ſeized upon by the di-
ſtreſſed Britons, who, leaving their ſolitary retreats, deſcended upon the
plains, and applied themſelves with the greateſt diligence to till the
land: ſo plentifully was their induſtry repaid, that the famine, before
ſo grievous amongſt them, was preſently mitigated; and, in the end,
by repeated endeavours, abundance once more bleſſed the ſtate. When
the Britons were thus happily delivered from their troubles, could any
one expect to find them ſo dull and ſtupid, as not to foreſee of how ſhort
continuance this dawn of peace was like to prove, becauſe it ſprung from
no certain, or ſolid principle. Surely, if they had in the leaſt reflected
on the cauſe of their enemies' retreat, they would rather have found it to
to have proceeded from their want of ſpoils equal to their troubles, than
the fear of the Britiſh arms: of courſe it muſt naturally follow, that
wealth and plenty would ſoon induce them to return again, and renew
the war, ſince the hope of plunder was the only motive which urged
them to the battle; the repeated inſtances which the Britons had ſeen
of this important truth, ſhould have taught to have kept up good order
and military diſcipline, whilſt the fair occaſion offered, in order to ſe-
cure, by force of arms, the profits of their laborious toil. But ſo blind
were they to their own welfare, that careleſs of the future danger, they re-
ſolved to ſeize upon the preſent happy moment, to riot in the plenty which
they now enjoyed! They quickly forgot the Being to whom they owed
their preſervation, and gave themſelves up to idleneſs and vice! At the
ſame time, a dreadful peſtilence began to rage in the land, which ſpread
ſuch ſudden deſtruction amongſt them, that the living were ſcarcely ſuf-
ficient to bury the dead. Though thus oppreſſed and weakened; though
thus laid open to the freſh invaſion of their enemies; like men obſti-

A. D. 447. nately determined upon their own total deſtruction, they ſtill followed their inordinate ſluggiſhneſs, until they had filled the meaſure of their woes top full.*

A. D. 448. But now approached apace the fatal time, in which the total downfall of the miſerable Britons ſhould be made complete! The northern ſpoilers returned again to their wonted depredations, and a tumultuous fear overwhelmed the ſouthern nations. Raiſed by their approaching ruin from their lethargic ſlumber, they ſoon beheld the fatality of their errors, and dreadfully lamented their miſpent time! To heighten the terror of their apprehenſions, a report did now prevail amongſt them, that the Scots and Picts had collected the whole of their power, and entered into a ſtrong confederacy together, entirely to root them out from the ſouth of Britain, and plant their own northern tribes in their poſſeſſions. However true or falſe theſe reports may have been, they ſeem to have had a ſurpriſing effect upon the minds of the timorous Britons; for they preſently called a grand council of all their different ſtates, in order to conſult upon the moſt likely means to ſtop the threatening danger. After many conſiderations, and much debate, one of their kings, and a man who ſeems to have borne the greateſt ſway in the council, named Vortigern, in an evil and ill-fated hour, roſe from his ſeat, and after declaring, that he thought they could not of themſelves withſtand the irreſiſtible torrent of their enemies, propoſed to them, that they ſhould call in the Saxons, a brave and hardy people, to their aſſiſtance. The advice of this chief was received with joy by the ſurrounding multitude, who were all ready to catch hold of the leaſt hope of ſuccour, without once giving themſelves the trouble to reflect upon the conſequences, or weigh the danger which might reſult from ſuch an imprudent ſtep.† From this general approbation, the matter was quickly reſolved upon, and ambaſſadors ſent with letters to the Saxons, to implore their aſſiſtance.‡

The Britons ſend to the Saxons for aid.

The

* Gildas Hiſt.

† Ibid. & vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 14.

‡ Witichindus has given us the letter of the Britons to the Saxons, in the following abject ſtile: "Moſt noble Saxons, "We, the wretched and diſtreſſed Britons, "worn out by the conſtant incurſions of "our cruel and mercileſs enemies, and be"cauſe we have heard of the fame of thoſe "glorious victories, which by your valour "you have obtained; therefore have we "ſent our humble ſuppliants to you, to "implore your kind aſſiſtance. We have "large and plentiful poſſeſſions, abound"ing with every neceſſary; theſe, with "ourſelves, we ſubmit to your diſpoſal, "if you will generouſly lend us your ſuc"cour againſt our inveterate foes. Long "have we enjoyed the ſweets of peace "under the powerful protection of the "Roman arms, and now we know none "ſecond in glory to them, but your"ſelves: therefore, to you we lift up our "hands for aſſiſtance, and in return are "willing to abide whatever ſervice you "ſhall impoſe upon us." But ſurely, however diſtreſſed the Britons might be, they never would have debaſed themſelves in ſuch a groveling manner. It is far more likely, that Witichindus compoſed this letter for them, than they for themſelves;

as

The Saxons gladly accepted theſe invitations from the Britons; for, as they lived entirely by the ſpoils which they ſeized upon from others, a fair occaſion ſeemed now to offer, by means of which they might enrich themſelves. Wherefore, receiving the meſſengers with every mark of friendſhip, they promiſed them that they would ſhortly come to their aſſiſtance with a powerful army, and protect them from the ravages of their enemies. The Britons received this anſwer from their ambaſſadors with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction. They now ſuppoſed that their deliverance was at hand, and were highly pleaſed at the happy ſucceſs of their councils. Thus blinded with their own fatal errors, they foreſaw not the dreadful ſtorm which was gathering over their heads, replete with ruin and deſtruction.* A. D. 449.

The Saxons promiſe help to the Britons.

In the mean time, the Saxons, elated with the hopes of plunder, prepared themſelves to perform the promiſes which they had made to the Britons; and ſent a conſiderable reinforcement into Britain, under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa, who were brothers, and born of a noble lineage, tracing their pedigree from Woden, one of their chief gods, as all the German heroes at that time were accuſtomed to do. They landed with their forces in three long ſhips, called keels,† upon the iſle of Thanet, in the year of our Lord, 449, and were joyfully received by Vortigern, and the reſt of the Britons.‡

The Saxons land in the iſle of Thanet.

as alſo may be the caſe in the following anſwer of the Saxons: "Know ye, that "the Saxons are the Britons' friends, and "ready at all times to aſſiſt them; re-"turn ye, therefore, back, and make "your countrymen glad with theſe joy-"ful tidings." Nennius and others, ſay, the Saxons were not invited by the Britons, but being exiled from their own country, landed here. However this may be, it is certain that they were well received by the Britons.

* Witichindus, Geſt. Sax. lib. i.

† Verſtegan quoting Pomarius, aſſures us, that, at this firſt arrival of the Saxons, there came nine thouſand men, under the command of the two warlike chiefs. But Hector Boetius makes their number to be ten thouſand, and ſays, they came in thirty ſhips, or gallies. Verſt. Reſtit. of decayed Intellig. cap. v. page 116.

‡ Wm. Malmſ. Geſt. reg. Ang. lib. i. cap. 1, &c.

END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE

OF

ENGLAND.

PART II.

From the Arrival of the Saxons to the End of the Heptarchy.

THE joyful Britons quickly appointed a reſidence for their new-come friends, reſigning to them the iſle of Thanet. And now, becauſe the Scots and Picts were continuing their hoſtilities in the north, Vortigern intreated his allies to take the field againſt them: and they, deſirous of ſhewing their valour, by ſome great exploit, readily agreed to his propoſal; wherefore, joining their forces with the Britiſh army, they preſently began their march towards the foe, who were now advanced as far as Stamford, in Lincolnſhire, where the two armies met, and a ſharp engagement enſued; but through the valour and conduct of the auxiliary Saxons, a complete victory was obtained, and the northern ravagers were put to flight with prodigious ſlaughter. This important conqueſt gained the Saxons ſuch great credit with Vortigern, and the whole community of the Britons, that they looked upon them as their guardian angels, ſent from Heaven to ſuccour them in their diſtreſs.* A. D. 450. The Saxons overcome the Scots and Picts.

Hengiſt and Horſa ſeem, from their firſt ſetting out from Germany, to have formed the deſign of ſettling themſelves in Britain;† and now, perhaps, the fertile and pleaſant appearance of the country, as well as the unwarlike diſpoſition of the inhabitants, were the grand A. D. 452. Freſh aid ſent for from Germany.

* Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii. Will. Malmſ. & alia.

† Gildas Hiſt. cap. 23.

and

A. D. 452. and irreſiſtible temptations which confirmed at once their former intentions. Seeing how high they ſtood in the favour of the king, and the people in general, their next ſtep was with ſmooth and guileful ſpeeches, under the maſk of ſound friendſhip, to prevail upon them to invite a ſecond band of troops from Germany; by whoſe aſſiſtance they might be able to ſecure the kingdom from all its enemies, and raiſe its peace upon a laſting baſis. Allured by the tempting proſpect of eaſe and quietneſs, the heedleſs Britons readily entered into the ſubtle propoſals of the Saxons; and accordingly meſſengers were inſtantly diſpatched by the other chiefs to their native land, inviting their friends and relations to come over into Britain, and partake with them the ſpoil of the country.*

A. D. 453. Fired at the animating ſound of war, and eager for the plunder, the valiant German youth aſſembled together, and accepted of the fair invitation from Britain, with fierce and clamorous acclamations of joy: they flocked from every quarter, and uniting together in a large company, embarked on board ſixteen ſhips;† when, looſing the flying ſails, they chearfully ſet forward on their voyage, following the fortune of the two warlike brothers, and big with the expectations of their future rewards. On their arrival in Britain, they were received with open arms by their countrymen, and ſoon made acquainted with the promiſing proſpect which lay before them. With this laſt warlike band, came Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, who was a young ſprightly damſel, in the full bloom of her beauty, of which ſhe poſſeſſed an uncommon ſhare. The Britiſh king no ſooner ſaw this lovely virgin, than he was ſo deeply enamoured with her perſon, that, regardleſs of his fame, or the dangers which were likely to ariſe from ſuch an imprudent ſtep, he reſolved to take her to his bed; wherefore, gaining the conſent of her father, contrary to the advice of his chief friends, he inſtantly made her his wife;‡ and this action was the more juſtly cenſured by the murmuring Britons, becauſe ſhe was of a foreign ſtock, and alſo a heathen. Hengiſt overjoyed at the advancement of his fortune, and now grown more bold in his demands, petitioned the king to grant him a larger quantity of land, for the reſidence of himſelf and his army, than what had been hitherto allowed for them. His petition was inſtantly complied with, and all Kent was given into his hands. Though theſe proceeding of the king were in the higheſt ſenſe diſtaſteful to the people, yet all their remonſtrances were in vain; for Hengiſt and his followers continually gained ground in his favour, and every day advanced their footing in the land.

Vortigern marries Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt.

* Nenrii, Hiſt. cap. 36, & Will. Malmſ. lib. i.

† The Scottiſh writers ſay, that this ſecond reinforcement conſiſted of five thouſand men, who came over in eighteen ſhips.

‡ Nenn. Hiſt. & Malmſ. ut ſup.

The

The Saxons perceiving that the eyes of the Britons began to open upon their deſigns, and finding their murmurs continually increaſed, reſolved at once to ſecure their fortune, and reſolutely hold the territories which they now poſſeſſed: but becauſe they did not think themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong as yet, to enter into open hoſtilities with the Britons, Hengiſt once more had recourſe to his ſubtle perſuaſion; intimating to the king, that if he would permit him to ſend freſh meſſengers into Germany, he would invite his brother Octa, and his ſon Ebuſſa, to come over into Britain, and bring with them a powerful reinforcement; adding further, that through their aſſiſtance, the Britiſh dominions might be greatly extended, by the entire conqueſt and ſubjugation of the Scots and Picts.* The proſpect of extending his rule, without the trouble of conducting a tedious war, was ſo flattering to the lazy ambition of Vortigern, that he preſently conſented to the propoſal of the guileful Saxon, and empowered him to ſend again into Germany for aid. Meſſengers were quickly diſpatched, and agreeable to the invitation of Hengiſt, the two chiefs embarked with their army, and coaſting about Britain, arrived at the Orkney iſlands, where they landed, and did much miſchief; paſſing from thence into Northumberland, they ſettled there; where they continued for a long time, not as an independent ſtate, but as ſubjects to the kings of Kent.† A. D. 454.

More aſſiſtance ſent for by the Saxons.

Woeful experience ſoon confirmed the ſuſpicions of the Britons, relative to the faithleſs Saxons; and they plainly ſaw that the obſtinacy of their king would end in their ruin: wherefore, repeating their murmurs, they proceeded to threatenings, ſo that diſcords and clamours roſe on all ſides. Hengiſt and his brother ſeeing that the people were not to be pacified by their arguments, and aſſurances of peace, pulled off the maſk of friendſhip, and declared themſelves the enemies of the Britiſh ſtate. In the mean time, the laſt party of Saxon troops, who were ſettled in Northumberland, entered into a firm league with the Scots and Picts; and joining the whole of their forces together, ſpread like an inundation from the north. The wretched Britons, unable to reſiſt, fled in confuſion from their houſes and poſſeſſions, ſome taking refuge in the woods and ſolitary places; others fly to the rocks and mountains, or ſeek to hide themſelves in vaults and caverns, where they felt every pinching want, and experienced the full extent of worldly woe. In this diſtreſs, they wandered about in ſearch of their miſerable ſuſtenance, more like ghaſtly ſpectres from the grave than human beings! Others, more provident, gat them to the ſea-ſhore, and collecting together what veſſels they could, ſailed into Gaul, and ſought protection amongſt their friends in Brittanny. Whilſt the reſt, driven to deſpair, come down from their forlorn habitations, and ſubmit themſelves to the yoke of their cruel con- A. D. 454.

The Saxons unite againſt the Britons.

querors;

* Malmſ. lib. i. Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 453.

† Ibid.

A. D. 454. querors; and even this ungracious mercy was prized as a ſuperlative favour, for many of theſe hapleſs wretches were put to death.*

A. D. 455. During all theſe dreadful miſchances, Hengiſt, and his brother Horſa, were not idle in their territories in Kent; for having openly made a breach of their faith, they ſet upon the Britons in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, where they met with great reſiſtance; for the chief leaders of the Britiſh ſtates, when they found that Vortigern was deaf to all their remonſtrances, had depoſed him from his authority, and ſet up Vortimer, his eldeſt ſon,† a brave and valiant man, under whoſe banner they prepared to take the field; and being joined by numbers of the miſerable fugitives from all quarters, their army was daily increaſed, ſo that calling upon God to aſſiſt them, they advanced againſt their enemies, and deſpaired not of ſucceſs. Hengiſt and Horſa, when they heard that Vortimer was coming againſt them, collected all their troops, and kept themſelves in readineſs to give him battle. Both armies met in a place called Egleſthorp, (now Aelford, in Kent) where, after a ſharp and grievous engagement, it was hard to determine which had the advantage. However, if the Britons were not abſolutely overcome, they were at leaſt ſo weakened, that they judged it prudent to withdraw themſelves for a time from Kent: neither was Hengiſt in condition to purſue them. This battle is made famous by the deaths of two chief perſonages; Horſa, brother to Hengiſt, on the part of the Saxons; and Catigern, brother to Vortimer, on the part of the Britons.‡

The battle at Aelford, in Kent.

A. D. 457. Hengiſt, after the death of his brother Horſa, ſent into Germany for farther aſſiſtance; and employed himſelf with the greateſt diligence in ſtrengthening his army, during the time which the Britons let him be at reſt. When two years had elapſed, Vortimer, having reinforced his bands, returned into Kent, and met the forces of Hengiſt, who was accompanied with his ſon, Æſc, at Creecanford, (now called Crayford) where a ſevere encounter enſued; but finally the Saxons got the upper hand. In that unfortunate field, the Britons loſt four of their chief

Another battle between the Britons and Saxons.

* Witichindus, Geſt. Sax. lib. iii. Gild. Hiſt. Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 15. et alia.

† Neither Bede nor Gildas make any mention of this prince; and by Henry Huntingdon, he is ſaid, with his brother Catigern, to have been at the battle of Aelford, but under the conduct and command of Aurelius Ambroſius; to whom the leading of the following engagements alſo are attributed. The Saxon Chronicle gives the honour to Vortigern himſelf, but Nennius aſcribes it to Vortimer, as alſo does Ethelward, Malmſbury, and the chief of our ancient hiſtorians. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. Chron. Sax. Nennii, Hiſt. cap. 45. Ethelward, lib. i. Malmſbury, lib. i. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 454.

‡ Malmſ. Ethelward, ut ſup. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 455. Some have written that Hengiſt fought three times this year with the Britons, and being overcome, he retreated to the iſle of Thanet, and the Britons recovered Kent; and after that, Hengiſt fled into his own country for more help. Verſtegan is of opinion, that he was not forced, but went voluntarily thither for further aſſiſtance. Hen. Hunt. lib. i. Verſtegan, 129.

leaders,

leaders, beſides four thouſand of their common men.* Vortimer, with his remnant of the army, fled before the Saxons, leaving Kent with all the ſpeed they could, and gat them to London. This laſt unfortunate blow, ſtruck ſuch a damp into the ſouls of the Britons, that they dared not for a long time return into Kent; ſo that Hengiſt was left to poſſeſs his ſtate unmoleſted for ſeveral years. Immediately after the ſucceſs of this laſt battle, Hengiſt, who hitherto had contented himſelf with the name of *heretogen*, or general, now aſſumed the title of king, and began his rule over Kent, the firſt kingdom of the Saxon heptarchy, eight years after his firſt arrival into Britain.† A. D. 457.

* Ethelward, & alia, ut ſupra.

† Hen. Hunt. lib. i.

HISTORY OF THE KENTISH SAXONS.

KENT, the firſt kingdom poſſeſſed by the Saxons, contained all that part of the country, which to this day bears its original name. It ſtretched from the Eaſtern Ocean to the river Thames, its boundary on the north; to the ſouth-weſt, its borders were terminated by the counties of Surry and Suſſex.*

The ACTS *of* HENGIST, *the firſt* SAXON KING *of* KENT, *continued.*

From A. D. 457. to A. D. 465.

AFTER Hengiſt had aſſumed the title of king, he bore rule over the whole diſtrict, without any interruption from the Britons, for the ſpace of ſeveral years. At this diſtance of time, as well as from the confuſion in which the accounts of this extraordinary man are found, it will be impoſſible to trace out the whole of his political proceedings. In this lamentable obſcurity are buried many important facts, which, could they happily be recovered, would lead us to make the ſeveral periods complete, and finally ſettle many intereſting diſputes relative to ſeveral of the chief tranſactions. In the ſame unfortunate confuſion are the matters concerning the Britons, and their proceedings: as well as in reſpect to the commanders, under whoſe banners they were led to the battle. Two fierce encounters between the Britons and Saxons have been recited above, and are attributed, together with two more that follow, to the proweſs of Vortimer, by ſome, and thoſe reſpectable authors; whilſt others give Aurelius Ambroſius † the honour of firſt leading the Britons to the field againſt their faithleſs foes. However this may be, it is certain, that under the command of one, or both, of theſe chiefs, the Britons entered Kent again, in the year of our Lord, 465,‡ eight years after their laſt battle, and fought with the Saxons at a place

Third battle between the Britons and Saxons.

* Vide Camden in Brittan. vol. I.

† Gildas Hiſt. cap. 25. Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib i. cap. 16. and ſee a preceding note, page 66. Some have imagined, that Vortimer and Aurelius Ambroſius were but one and the ſame perſon; if this could be proved, it would at once clear up the obſcurity; but as it cannot from ancient authority, it muſt remain in its ſtill doubtful ſtate. Vide Hollingſhed's Chron. vol. I.

‡ Chron. Sax.

called

called Wippeds Fleet: this was a ſharp and bloody engagement on both ſides, ſo that the victory was long doubtful; but in the end, Hengiſt and his followers prevailing, the Britons were driven from the field. The Britons had divided their hoſt into twelve diviſions, at the head of every one of which was placed a leader, under the command of the chief general; all theſe leaders, as well as a prodigious number of common men, were ſlain before they made their retreat.* Yet this victory was by no means pleaſing to Hengiſt and his party; for though they had gained the upper hand, yet had they loſt a great number of their beſt troops, as alſo one of their chief captains, named Wipped, from whom the place where the battle was fought, obtained its name.† A. D. 465.

The loſs ſuſtained on either ſide was ſo ſeverely felt, that for the ſpace of eight years they kept themſelves quiet; the Britons not daring to moleſt the Saxons, whilſt on the other hand, the Saxons ſeem to have been too weak to ſally out upon the Britons: but this interval they employed in ſending for ſuccour from Germany, and ſtrengthening their forces. In the year 473, the war was again begun, and Vortimer, at the head of his Britons, invaded Kent, and at a place near the ſea-ſide, called Colmore, he met with the Saxons, under the conduct of Hengiſt, and his ſon, Æſc, when another ſharp conflict enſued: in the beginning, the Saxons had the moſt favourable proſpect of victory, as being poſſeſſed of an advantageous poſt; but during the courſe of the battle, they were, by degrees, drawn from thence, when the Britons rallying their forces again, ſet upon them afreſh, and beat them back with great ſlaughter, purſuing them to the iſle of Thanet, where they fled, and took refuge in their ſhips.‡ A. D. 473. Fourth battle between the Britons and Saxons.

Soon after this laſt battle, Vortimer departed this life, haſtened, as it is thought, by the machinations of Rowena. And no ſooner was his death publicly known, than Vortigern, (who, during all theſe dangerous diſturbances, had hid himſelf cloſely in Wales) ſhewed himſelf again to his ſubjects, and either by force, or crafty perſuaſion, prevailed upon them to re-eſtabliſh him in the kingdom. In the mean time, Hengiſt, hearing that Vortimer was dead, and that Vortigern had again reaſſumed the reins of government, and truſting to the power which he had over him, came from Thanet, where he had privately ſtrengthened his army, and took poſſeſſion of his former dominions. And becauſe he found that he had not ſucceeded ſo rapidly as he expected by the force of arms, he was determined to try the effect of treachery and deceit: wherefore, he ſent ambaſſadors with a ſhew of peace to Vortigern, who made pro- A. D. 474. The treachery of the Saxons.

* Chron. Roſſenſis, MS. in bib. Cott. inſig. Nero, d. ii.

† Ethelward, Hiſt. lib. i.

‡ Some have affirmed, that it was now that Hengiſt returned to his own country, and did not come back again to Britain until the death of Vortimer.

miſes

A. D. 474. miſes of great things, and pleaded hard that a day might be fixed, when they might meet on both ſides as true friends, in order to compoſe the fatal diſturbances which had hitherto prevailed, and eſtabliſh a laſting cordiality between them. Theſe fair propoſals deceived not only Vortigern himſelf, but all his court; ſo that the Saxons obtained their ends, and a day was appointed by the Britons, as alſo a place pitched upon for the meting, which was the plains of Ambri, near Saliſbury. On the day fixed for the final negotiation of this important buſineſs, (which was in the month of May) the Britons and Saxons met together. The former relying on the faith and aſſurance of peace of the latter, came into the field unarmed, and proceeded in a friendly manner to begin the conſultation; the latter alſo received them with chearful countenances, and the ſame appearance of good-will. But on a ſudden, in the midſt of the buſineſs, Hengiſt aroſe from his ſeat, and gave the watch-word * to his companions, who inſtantly drew forth every man a long knife, which he had concealed under his garment, and ſet upon the defenceleſs Britons: and ſo certain were they in their cruel deſign, that three hundred of the chief perſonages of the realm were ſlain.† Eldol, a brave nobleman, (and ſaid to have been the governor of Cheſter) ſeeing the treachery of the Saxons, caught up a large ſtake which accidentally lay in his way, and made ſuch a brave reſiſtance, that after he had killed and wounded ſeventy of his enemies, he made his eſcape from the reſt.‡ Hengiſt had ſtrictly forbid his party to make any attempt upon the life of Vortigern, wherefore, in the beginning of the maſſacre, he was ſeized upon and kept ſafe; and for his ranſom, he was obliged to give up to Hengiſt, the counties of Eſſex, Suſſex, and Middleſex.§ This fatal blow made ſuch an impreſſion upon the ſpirits of the Britons, that, ſuſpecting the dreadful conſequences which might ariſe from the death of their chief nobles, they fled again to their ſecret receſſes in the woods and caverns.

A. D. 476. Incenſed at theſe treacherous proceedings of the Saxons, and the weakneſs of their king, who, beſides his ſluggiſh diſpoſition, is accuſed of committing inceſt with his own daughter, thoſe of the Britons, whoſe ſouls yet retained ſome ſparks of native glory, roſe up againſt him, and chaced him into Wales; advancing to the kingly dignity, Aurelius Ambroſius, a valiant man, and of Roman origin. ‖ Encouraged by the hope which they placed in the valour and conduct of this chief, the fugitive Britons came from their ſecret places, where they had taken refuge, and with one conſent, imploring the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, flocked around his ſtandard. His firſt ſtep was to march into Wales againſt Vortigern, who

The dreadful death of Vortigern.

* This word was Nimeð Eure Seaxer, that is, draw forth your Seaxes, or daggers. Nennii, Hiſt. cap. 47 & 48.

† Ibid.

‡ Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 461. & Ranulph Higden, Polychron. lib. v.

§ Nen. Hiſt. cap. 48.

‖ Gild. Hiſt. cap. 25. Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 16.

had

had retired amongſt the mountains, where he built a ſtrong caſtle, and fortified the entrances in ſuch a manner, as he thought would reſiſt the repeated attacks of his enemies. When Aurelius approached the caſtle, he girt it round with a cloſe ſiege; and after a ſhort ſpace, by caſting brands of fire into it, burnt it to the ground; and Vortiger, with all his adherents which were ſhut up with him, periſhed in the flames.* A. D. 476.

When Aurelius had compleated his expedition in Wales, a new and unexpected alarm called for his immediate aſſiſtance; for a freſh band of Saxons, tempted by the ſucceſs of their countrymen, had lately ſailed from Germany, and were landed in Suſſex, where they had overcome the Britons, and ſlain their leader. This dangerous evil called for a preſent remedy; wherefore, with all his forces, he marched directly towards the enemy, to put, if poſſible, a final ſtop to their advancement.† But as the ſucceſs of his arms, and the proceedings of theſe late-come enemies, who now founded the kingdom of Suſſex, will be fully related in the hiſtory of that kingdom, it is thought proper to omit them here, and paſs on to the affairs which relate to Kent alone. A. D. 477. The beginning of the kingdom of Suſſex.

Aurelius was called back from purſuing the advantages which he had gained in Suſſex, by the rapid progreſs that Hengiſt was making in the kingdom; who had paſſed through the very heart of it, and was got beyond the Humber, ſpoiling the country as he went. Aurelius following cloſely at his heels, came up with him at a place called Maſſabel, where both armies joined, and a very bloody battle enſued, which ended in the total overthrow of the Saxons.‡ After this, Aurelius fought another battle with the ſame ſucceſs, againſt Hengiſt and his party, upon the banks of the river Dune. Tired out with theſe unfortunate chances, Hengiſt returned into Kent, where, remaining peaceable for a time, he departed this life in the year of our Lord, 488.§ A. D. 488. The death of Hengiſt.

Hengiſt had three children, two ſons and one daughter. The eldeſt was Hatwaker, who is reported to have been duke of the Saxons in Germany, and left in that ſtation, to govern them in the abſence of his father; from whom the noble family of the dukes of Saxony is ſaid to have taken its origin.‖ Æſc was his ſecond ſon, who accompanied him into Britain, and was his conſtant companion in his wars; and after his death, ſuc- The children of Hengiſt.

* Gild. Hiſt. cap. 25. & Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 16. Some ſay, that it was burnt by lightning from Heaven.

† Matthew of Weſt.

‡ It may not be improper here to take notice of the various opinions amongſt the ancient authors, concerning the death of Hengiſt; for Matthew of Weſtminſter, the author of the Chron. Roſſenſis, and others, affirm, that he was taken either at, or ſoon after, this battle, by Eldol, earl of Cheſter, and conveyed to Conneſbury, and there beheaded at the command of Aurelius: but by what we may judge from Gildas, Bede, Ethelward, &c. as well as from the poſitive affirmations of Marinus, Florentius, the monk of Worceſter, and other authentic writers, it appears more likely, that he died honourably at home.

§ Sax. Chron. ſub anno 488.

‖ Petrus Albinus, in Geneal. Hiſt. &c.

ceeded

A. D. 488. ceeded him in the kingdom of Kent. His laſt child was a daughter, named Rowena, greatly eſteemed for her beauty; ſhe was, as has been before obſerved, married to Vortigern, king of the Britons, by whom he had one daughter, who, as ſhe grew to woman's eſtate, increaſed in beauty and perſonal perfections; her charms ſo ſtrangely bewitched her luſtful father, that contrary both to the laws of God and nature, he took her to his bed; from this horrid inceſt ſprang a ſon, who was named Fauſtus;* in diſpoſition directly oppoſite to that of his wicked parents, for as he grew up, he devoted his life to virtue and religion.

ÆSC, *the ſecond* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 489. The peaceable reign of Æſc.

AT the death of Hengiſt, Æſc, his ſon, appears, with his army, to have taken refuge in the city of York, where Aurelius Ambroſius purſued him, and planted a cloſe ſiege before the walls. Fortune favouring the attempts of the Britons, Æſc was expelled from thence, and fled into Kent, where he was joyfully received by his countrymen, and proclaimed king, in the room of his deceaſed father.† From the time of his election, to his death, there is but little recorded of this prince; perhaps, owing to the profound peace in which he held his government: for as he was leſs ambitious of the uncertain glory of war than his father, he contented himſelf with ſecuring thoſe dominions which he already poſſeſſed, rather than running the doubtful chance of enlarging his boundaries, and extending his rule.‡ And if he forbore to aſſault the Britons, they were to the full as backward in giving him occaſion: for Ambroſius, and his ſucceſſor, Arthur, had their whole time taken up in endeavouring to ſuppreſs the riſing danger in other parts of the kingdom; for, beſides thoſe Saxons who had taken poſſeſſion of Suſſex, (as has been before obſerved) a freſh party of them arrived on the weſtern coaſts of Britain, and had made their footing ſure.

A. D. 495. The kingdom of Weſſex begun.

Theſe laſt-mentioned Saxons came under the conduct of Cerdic, and his ſon, Kenric, in the year of our Lord, 495; and this ſame year they began the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons.§ But to return to the affairs of Kent.---Although the rule of Æſc was ſo mild and equitable, he failed not to gain the favour of his warlike and turbulent ſubjects; for, in honour of him, the Saxon kings of Kent, who ſucceeded him, were called Æſcings for a conſiderable time after. ‖ He reigned twenty-four years in peace, when he died, and left his kingdom to his ſon.**

OCTA, *the third* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 513. Octa repairs Tong caſtle.

OCTA ſucceeded his father, Æſc, in the kingdom of Kent; and, like him, he ſeems to have governed the dominion in peace. He repaired

* Nennii, Hiſt. cap. 52. & Polychron. lib. v.
† Nen. Hiſt. cap. 62.
‡ Will. Malmſ. lib. i.
§ Chron. Sax.
‖ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 5.
** Chron. Sax.

and fortified the caſtle of Tong, and placed therein a ſtrong garriſon of men, to guard the adjacent country.* This caſtle, which ſtood but a little diſtance from Sittenbourn, (where the earth-works are yet to be ſeen) was built by Hengiſt, his grandfather; and here, it appears, that Vortigern firſt ſaw the beautiful Rowena, being invited by her father to a banquet.† A. D. 513.

In the reign of this king, Erchwine, a noble Saxon chief, with a large party of ſoldiers, came from Germany, purſuing the fortunes of their countrymen who had ſettled in Britain, and landing in the eaſtern parts of the iſland, began the kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons.‡ Yet Erchwine bore not his rule as over an independent ſtate, but as feodary to Octa, king of Kent. A. D. 527. Kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons begun.

After that Octa had reigned peaceably two and twenty years, he died in the year 535, and left the kingdom to his ſon, Hermenric.

HERMENRIC, *the fourth* KING *of* KENT.

HERMENRIC ſucceeding to the kingdom, held it the ſpace of twenty-five years in peace, when he died, and left the crown to Ethelbert, his ſon.§ He had alſo one daughter, whoſe name was Rikell; ſhe was married (in her father's life-time) to Sledda, the ſecond king of the Eaſt Saxons. A. D. 535. Hermenric rules in peace.

In this king's reign, Ida came into Northumberland with a powerful reinforcement, and taking upon him the title of king, began his reign in that diſtrict.‖ A. D. 547. Kingdom of Northumberland begun.

ETHELBERT, *the fifth* KING *of* KENT.

ETHELBERT was very young when he ſucceeded his father Hermenric in the kingdom of Kent. The ſurrounding Saxon ſtates, taking the advantage of his youth, ſet upon his territories, ſeeking to add them to their own. But yet, with the aſſiſtance of his friends and noblemen, he weathered through the boiſterous ſtorm, and held his dominions with great honour.** A. D. 560. Ethelbert's youth and troubles at his entering the kingdom.

The firſt battle which he fought, and the firſt that was fought between the Saxons themſelves, was againſt thoſe of Weſſex, under the command of Ceauline, their king, and his valiant ſon, Cuth. Ethelbert had paſſed the bounds of his own kingdom to meet the foe, and was come to a place called Wibbandune, where the enemy were prepared for the engagement, A. D. 568. Ethelbert overcome by the W. Saxons.

* Scala Chronica, lib. i.
† See Lambardes Peramb. of Kent, page 245.
‡ Henry Hunt. lib. ii.
§ Polychron. lib. v.
‖ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.
** Ibid. lib. i. cap. 1.

A. D. 568. which proved a desperate and bloody one: the end was unfortunate to Ethelbert; for his whole army was defeated, and two of his chief commanders, Oslac and Cnebban, were slain in the field; so that he was glad to save himself, and the remnant of his soldiers, by flying precipitately back again into Kent.* But notwithstanding this heavy misfortune, he neglected not to defend the borders of his realm, and when he had gained more experience in war, and had advanced in years, he prevailed against all the Saxon states round about him, on this side of the Humber, reigning with greater glory than any one of his predecessors.†

A. D. 575. The kingdom of the East Angles begun. At this time began the sixth kingdom of the heptarchy; for Uffa, a valiant man, coming from Germany, entered the eastern parts of Britain, which he subdued; and assuming to himself the title of king, called his dominions the East Angles.

A. D. 585. The kingdom of Mercia begun. Now begun the seventh, and last, kingdom of the Saxons, called Mercia; which was the largest in circuit, and contained more counties than any of the rest. Its first king was Crida, a brave and valiant chief.‡ But to return to the affairs of Kent.

A. D. 594. Ethelbert marries Berta, daughter to the king of France. Ethelbert having fixed his throne in peace and tranquility, his next step was to contract an alliance with Chilperic, the king of France; and he married his daughter, whose name was Berta, a Christian lady. By this means it pleased God, of his mercy, to lay the first foundation of the Christian religion, which so soon after began to flourish in the land: for one of the special articles of the agreement between her father and her husband, was, that she should be permitted to use the laws and rites of her church. What by her persuasion, and the counsels of Letardus, a Christian bishop, who accompanied her from France, the king's mind was turning towards the true faith; which was the reason that he so readily granted Augustine the permission of preaching to the people, and was himself so easily converted.§

A. D. 616. The death of king Ethelbert. King Ethelbert, after he had gloriously reigned over the Kentish Saxons the space of fifty-six years, exchanged his mortal crown for one more desirable, the 24th of February, in the year of our Lord, 616, and was buried in a church which himself had founded, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, near Canterbury, by the side of Berta, his queen, who died some time before him.‖

The second wife of king Ethelbert. After the death of his first wife, Berta, he was again married, but the name of his second consort, who out-lived him, is buried in oblivion.

* Chron. Saxon.
† Will. Malms. lib. i. cap. i.
‡ Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.
§ Bede, lib. i. cap. 25.
‖ Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 5.

Happy

Happy for her, if her wicked marriage with her ſon-in-law, Edbald, after the death of Ethelbert, her firſt huſband, had alſo been forgot.* A. D. 616.

Ethelbert had two children by Berta, his firſt wife; a ſon, named Edbald, who ſucceeded him in his kingdom; and a daughter, called Ethelburga, ſirnamed Tace, a lady of ſingular beauty and piety, who was afterwards married, in the reign of her brother Edbald, to Edwine, king of Northumberland, whom ſhe converted to the Chriſtian faith.† The iſſue of king Ethelbert.

OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

Now we have ſeen the riſe of ſeven diſtinct kingdoms of the Saxons, who divided the greateſt part of South-Britain amongſt them. The names of theſe ſeven monarchies, were, Kent; Suſſex, or the South Saxons; Weſſex, or the Weſt Saxons; Eaſtſex, or the Eaſt Saxons; Northumberland; the Eaſt Angles; and Mercia; all of which will be treated of diſtinctly; to every kingdom its own particular hiſtory. Names of the ſeven Saxon kingdoms.

Another obſervation may be neceſſary to be made, that, though the whole of thoſe numerous ſupplies which came from Germany, are conſtantly called by the general name of Saxons; yet they were compoſed of three different nations: the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. The Jutes took poſſeſſion of Kent, the iſle of Wight, and ſome ſmall part of Weſſex; the Saxons inhabited Eaſtſex, Suſſex, and Weſſex; the Angles ſettled themſelves in the kingdoms of the Eaſt Angles, of Mercia, and Northumberland.‡ Alſo, the reader is wiſhed to take notice, that Northumberland was ſometimes divided into two ſeparate dominions, Deira and Bernicia, making then, in fact, eight kingdoms. Thus Matthew, the monk of Weſtminſter, in the year of our Lord, 586, reckons up eight Saxon kings, all of them cotemporary; as Ethelbert, in Kent; Ciſſa, in Suſſex; Ceauline, in Weſſex; Crida, in Mercia; Ercwine, in Eſſex; Titillus, in the Eaſt Angles; Ella, in Deira; and Ethelfred, in Bernicia.§ Different German nations ſettling in Britain.

Notwithſtanding (as we have ſeen) the Saxons had ſet up ſeven independent ſtates, each of them having within itſelf a ſovereign command; yet one of them always ſeems to have been ſupreme above the reſt, if not in abſolute power, at leaſt in glory and honour; and to the king, of whatever ſtate had the ſuperiority, was given the title of "King of "the Engliſh men.‖" This ſupremacy did not ſucceed from the father to the ſon, or always continue in the ſame kingdom, without reverſement; but always that king who had the greateſt power, or gained the One kingdom ſupreme above the reſt.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib ii. cap. 5. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. i.

† Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 9. Here I may remark, that Capgrave, the legend writer, gives Ethelbert another daughter, whoſe name he calls Edburga, and ſays, ſhe was a nun in the monaſtery of Minſter, in the iſle of Thanet, where ſhe died, and was buried; and that her body was afterwards removed by Lanfranc, to his church of St. George, at Canterbury. Caſſ. in Vit. Edburg.

‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Malmſ. &c. &c.

§ Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 586.

‖ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 5.

A. D. 616. greateſt ſucceſs in war, was the heir to this honorary title: ſo that one particular nation alone did not obtrude upon their neighbours, but all of them, at times, had their ſhare of the glory.*

The poſſeſſions of the Britons.

At the eſtabliſhment of the heptarchy, the Saxons had by degrees over-run the greateſt and beſt part of Britain; but yet the natives poſſeſſed a large tract of land on the weſt, extending from Land's End to the firth of Clyde; the inhabitants were all of one religion, and uſed the ſame language, being in all reſpects but one and the ſame people; yet they were not univerſally governed by one prince, for the land was divided into four conſiderable ſtates, or principalities, as Cornwall, South Wales, North Wales, and Cumberland; each of theſe diſtricts had its own prince, who was the perſon of chief authority amongſt them, and head over the ſeparate clans; as the head of each clan was a ſort of ſovereign over thoſe who were under him: and it was theſe princes, who, as their diſpoſition led them to war, from time to time made inroads into the heptarchy, and fought frequently againſt the Saxons, with great variety of ſucceſs. Of theſe princes we have ſcarce any ſatisfactory records; for, though ſeveral authors have ſet themſelves down ſeriouſly, to make out a complete ſeries of them, in a regular ſucceſſion, yet their accounts (after all the pains they have taken) are ſo very ſuſpicious and uncertain, that they cannot afford the leaſt ſatisfaction to a reader, who wiſhes to ſee nothing but truth in the hiſtory of his country. Thus much we may be aſſured of, that when theſe kings were not employed in foreign wars againſt their general enemy, they were either diſturbing their own communities with civil broils, or making inroads into the bordering territories of their neighbours; ſo that the miſerable inhabitants felt little of the comforts of peace and tranquility; or, if they did, it was ſo tranſitory, that it may be ſaid only to make them more wretched, by giving them a taſte of a bleſſing, which they were not deſtined to enjoy.

The characters of five Britiſh kings.

Five of theſe tyrants are mentioned by Gildas, the Britiſh hiſtorian,† as living in his own time, and cotemporary with each other. The firſt of theſe was Conſtantine, whom the author grievouſly accuſes of perjury, adultery, and other horrid crimes; ſumming up the whole, with his cruel murder of two royal youths, together with their governors, even before the holy altar. Theſe unfortunate young men are ſaid to have been ſons of Mordred, the former king of that diſtrict, over which Conſtantine now uſurped the ſovereignty; and therefore, he ſeems, by their deaths, to have made his way to the throne.‡ The ſecond was Aurelius Conanus, not in the leaſt better than the former; him the author accuſes as a murderer of his neareſt relations; as laſcivious and adulterous; as a hater of peace, and a follower of injuſtice, declaring his

* At the end of heptarchy, a regular liſt is given of the Engliſh monarchs, in which, at one ſight, the reader may ſee the ſucceſſion of this honourable title.

† Gildas, in his epiſtle.

‡ Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 543.

thirſt

thirſt for civil wars, and greedineſs for ſpoils, unjuſtly taken from their poſſeſſors. The third was Vortiporus, a wicked, guileful, and deceitful man; who, though he was the ſon of a good king, was himſelf a deteſtable tyrant; like the former, he murdered his relations, and caſt his wife from his bed, cauſing her to be ſlain, that he might with the more freedom enjoy his luſtful paſſions. The fourth was Cuneglaſs, a contemner of religion, an oppreſſor of the clergy; one who offended God with his grievous ſins, and warred againſt man with his ſword; he was proud of his own wiſdom, and placed all his truſt in riches, and worldly pomp; he alſo forſook his wife, to follow his own inordinate deſires. The laſt was Malgo Cunus, whom our author calls the dragon of the iſles; and alſo that he was, in arms and dominion, ſtronger and greater than any other Britiſh potentate. Beſides his commiſſion of horrid and unnatural crimes, he is accuſed of ſlaying his uncle, who was then king, to pave his own way to the throne. After this, he put away his firſt wife, and took the conſort of his brother's ſon (whilſt he was yet living) to his bed; but when he had committed this open adultery for a ſhort ſpace, he cauſed both this unfortunate woman, and her guiltleſs huſband, to be put to death. Such are the characters of theſe five tyrants, who flouriſhed in the days in which Gildas lived. Nor has that mournful author in the leaſt favoured the Britons themſelves, but repreſents them as a people beſotted with vice, and obſtinately blind to their own good. Although this author, in the overflowing of his zeal, may have ſomewhat exaggerated the accuſations, yet his authority is by no means to be doubted.* More names of Britiſh princes might eaſily be made out, and a long detail of their acts purſued, but as the truth of their hiſtory is entirely doubtful, there needs no excuſe for dropping the whole, and purſuing what appears to be more certain and authentic. A. D. 616.

The actions of the Scots and Picts unknown.

The Scots and Picts retired to their own nations, and from the deciſive battle of Stamford, in the year of our Lord, 450, to the middle of the ſixth century, we have no true accounts of their proceedings; not ſo much owing, perhaps, to their own inactivity, as to their want of authors to record them; yet it ſeems likely, that their wars (if they made any) were confined within their own territories: for had they ſtruck any blow of conſequence in the neighbouring dominions of the Saxons, the hiſtorians of the early ages would not have paſſed over them in ſilence.

The HISTORY *of the* KINGDOM *of* KENT *continued.*

EDBALD, *the ſixth* KING *of* KENT.

AFTER the death of Ethelbert, ſo juſtly famous in the Engliſh annals, as well for his valour, as his piety and virtue, his ſon Edbald ſucceeded in the kingdom of Kent. During his father's life-time, he had been A. D. 616.

Edbald apoſtates from the true faith.

* Epiſt. Gildæ.

care-

A. D. 616. carefully inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith, and ſeemed to profeſs the ſame with great ſteadineſs; but no ſooner was he ſet upon the throne, than, throwing off the maſk of religious purity, he diſcovered a mind depraved and vicious. He married the widow of his deceaſed father, and proceeded to live in ſuch a diſſolute manner, that his ſubjects ſoon threw off all reſtraint, and returned apace to their former idolatry. But being afflicted with a grievous diſtemper in his mind, the ſtings, perhaps, of a wounded conſcience, he was at laſt, through the perſuaſion of Laurence, archbiſhop of Canterbury, re-converted to the Chriſtian faith; in which he continued ſtedfaſt to the end of his life.*

A. D. 617. Edbald marries a ſecond wife.

After his return to religion, his firſt wife either died, or he put her away; for he married a ſecond, named Emme, the daughter of Theodebert, king of Lorraine, by whom he had ſeveral children. Edbald reigned in peace twenty-four years, and died in the year of our Lord, 640, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, by the ſide of his father.†

The iſſue of Edbald.

By Emme, his ſecond wife, he had two ſons, and one daughter. Ermenred, his eldeſt ſon, died before him. Ermenred married Oſlave, by whom he had two ſons, Ethelred and Ethelbert, who were afterwards murdered at the command of Egbert, their couſin-german;‡ and four daughters, Dompnena, who married a Mercian prince, Ermingburga, Erinburga, and Ermengytha, who were nuns.§ Edbald's ſecond ſon was named Ercombert, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom. His daughter's name was Enſwith; ſhe died a virgin, at Fulkeſtone, a religious houſe in Kent.

ERCOMBERT, *the ſeventh* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 640. Ercombert; his wife, and iſſue.

ERCOMBERT, the ſecond ſon of Edbald, ſucceeded him in the government of Kent. This prince was a very religious man, and the firſt who deſtroyed the temples of the idols, throughout his kingdom: of his civil or military government, we find nothing recorded. He married Sexburga, the daughter of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles,‖ by whom he had two ſons, and two daughters. His ſons were Egbert and Lothair, both of them reigned in Kent after him. His firſt daughter was Ermenhild, who married Wulfere, king of Mercia. His ſecond daughter was Ercongoda, a profeſſed nun in the monaſtery of St. Bridget's, in France, where ſhe died, and was buried in the church of St. Stephen.** Ercombert reigned twenty-four years, and after his deceaſe, his eldeſt ſon, Egbert, ſucceeded him.††

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 5. & alia.
† Bede, ut ſup.
‡ Chron. Sax.
§ Vita S. Werburgæ, MS. in the Cott. Lib. marked Caligula, A. 8.
‖ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 9.
** Bede, in loc. cit. & Malmſ. lib. i. & Chron. Johan. Brompton.
†† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 664.

EGBERT, *the eighth* KING *of* KENT.

EGBERT had no ſooner aſcended the throne of his father, than he caſt a jealous eye upon Ethelred and Ethelbert, the two ſons of his uncle Ermenred, and to whom, indeed, the crown, of right, belonged; they had been excluded in the reign of Ercombert, becauſe of their tender age, and Egbert, ſuſpecting that now they were growing to man's eſtate, they would be troubleſome to him, and interfere in the government, reſolved to ſecure the diadem to himſelf alone, by their death. This cruel ſcheme was not long formed before it was put in execution, for he hired a treacherous villain, named Thurno, who, in expectation of a great reward, perpetrated the murder; and that the infamous act might be kept ſecret, their bodies were thrown into a river; but being in a few days caſt aſhore upon the bank-ſide, they were found by the inhabitants, to whom they were known, and were buried by them with great reſpect, and over their tomb they erected a ſmall chapel.* Their bones were afterwards removed, and re-buried in the abbey of Ramſey, in Hampſhire, and by the country people they were honoured as martyrs.† A. D. 664. Egbert murders his two couſins.

Had not the jealous diſpoſition of Egbert hurried him on to the commiſſion of this murder, he would have left behind him the character of a juſt and equal prince; for every other part of his conduct was prudent and honourable. The peace, which had ſo long endured, was not broke through in his ſhort reign, which was only eight years. He died in the month of July, in the year of our Lord 673.‡ Egbert a juſt prince.

Egbert had iſſue, two ſons, Edric and Wigtred, who, after the death of his brother Lothair, ſucceeded to the kingdom of Kent. His iſſue.

LOTHAIR, *the ninth* KING *of* KENT.

LOTHAIR, upon the death of his brother, obtained the government of Kent, and excluded his two nephews from any ſhare of the royal dignity; but Edric, the eldeſt of the two, being a man of an ambitious diſpoſition, ſoon aſſerted his natural right, by raiſing ſeditions, and peſtering the ſtate with continual mutinies, and civil diſcords: ſo that his uncle enjoyed but little pleaſure and ſatisfaction in the honour which he had ſeized upon.§ However, after repeated ſtruggles, he at laſt ſo far prevailed, that Edric left the kingdom quiet for a time, and took refuge amongſt the inhabitants of Suſſex. A. D. 673. Edric makes war upon his uncle.

No ſooner was the kingdom freed from one diſturbance, than another preſently enſued; for Ethelred, king of Mercia, hurried on by his un- A. D. 676. Ethelred, king of Mercia, makes war upon Kent.

* Will. Malmſ. lib. i.
† Chron. Johan. Brompton.
‡ Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 5. & Chr. Sax.
§ Will. Malmſ. lib. i.

bounded

A. D. 676. bounded ambition, entered the weſtern borders of Kent, at the head of a large army, and, like a dreadful inundation, irreſiſtible in its courſe, he waſted and deſtroyed the country wherever he came, plundering the inhabitants, burning their houſes, ruining the churches, ſpoiling them of all their ornaments, and totally overthrowing all the monaſteries and religious houſes which ſtood within the limits of his march.

A. D. 677. Rocheſter deſtroyed.

Enriched with ſpoils, and glorying in the deſtruction which they had made, this ſacrilegious band purſued their path to Rocheſter; that city ſoon felt the fury of their ungoverned rage, for ſparing nothing, however ſacred, with fire and ſword they drove the unhappy citizens from their houſes, robbed them of all their wealth, and then deſtroyed the whole place; leaving the ſmoaking ruins, a horrid trophy of their barbarous conqueſt, they returned back to Mercia of their own accord. So ſtrong was their power, and ſo weak the reſiſtance they had met with, that they had unmoleſtedly directed their courſe wherever their own deſires had led them; for, during the whole of this dangerous invaſion, Lothair, the ſovereign of Kent, had kept himſelf at a diſtance, not daring to take the field againſt theſe deſtructive foes.*

A. D. 684. The death of Lothair.

After the departure of the Mercian king, Kent once again enjoyed a ſhort tranquility, yet it was but ſhort; for now the deſtined time approached apace, in which her former glory ſhould decline, and that independent power which hitherto ſhe had aſſerted, be ſuppreſſed. Edric, the nephew of Lothair, who had taken refuge amongſt the South Saxons, perſuaded them to eſpouſe his cauſe, and aſſiſt him in mounting the throne of Kent; and he ſo far prevailed upon them, that they raiſed a powerful army, at the head of which he entered Kent. When Lothair received information of his nephew's approach, and of the warlike preparations which were made againſt him, he quickly gathered his forces together, and ſet forward to meet him. Several ſharp engagements enſued between the two armies, in the laſt of which he was ſhot through the body with a dart, and died ſhortly after under the ſurgeon's hands,† the 6th of February, in the year of our Lord, 685, after he had reigned near twelve years.

EDRIC, *the tenth* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 685. The rebellion of the Kentiſh men.

THE bar to his ambition thus removed, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, Edric aſcended the throne of Kent; but yet he could not ſo eaſily gain the love and affection of his ſubjects: for regarding him as an uſurper, they deſpiſed his rule, and were continually harraſſing him with civil diſcords; ſo that when he had with the greateſt difficulty weathered out a

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 12. & Chron. Saxon.

† Malmſ. lib. i. Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 686. & Chron. Johan. Brompton.

boiſterous

boiſterous reign of two years,* the people roſe in all quarters, and in endeavouring to ſtop theſe dangerous commotions, he was ſlain.† A. D. 685.

INTERREGNUM.

AFTER the death of Edric, the kingdom of Kent was rent and torn by parties, and civil diſſentions, ſo that it became a prey to deſigning tyrants and uſurpers; yet none of them aſſumed the title of king, but domineered ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another; being raiſed up, or put down, according to the capricious humour of the people. This univerſal diſquietude prevailing amongſt the Kentiſh men, moved the aſpiring Ceadwalla, king of the Weſt Saxons, to make war upon them, as imagining a fair opportunity was now offered of adding thoſe dominions to his own. Wherefore, aſſiſted by his brother Mollo, he entered the borders of Kent with a great army, and laid the country waſte wherever he came. This alarming danger called for a general oppoſition; ſo that forgetting their civil diſcords, the Kentiſh Saxons ran to arms, and uniting their forces together, made head againſt their common foe. After ſeveral encounters, fortune prevailed againſt Ceadwalla, ſo that he was driven back, and the Kentiſh forces purſued him to the confines of their ſtate. In this purſuit, they overtook his brother Mollo, who, with twelve of his companions, had taken refuge in a ſmall fort, to avoid their fury; and becauſe he would not ſurrender himſelf up, they ſet fire to the fort, and he, with all his companions, periſhed in the flames.‡ Ceadwalla no ſooner heard of the unfortunate end of his brother, but vowing revenge, and breathing cruel defiance, he reinforced his army, and entered Kent the ſecond time, where, with fire and ſword, he deſtroyed great part of the country. At laſt, pricked with remorſe of conſcience for the dreadful ſlaughter he had occaſioned, he returned back to Weſſex, and ſhortly after went to Rome, where he died. Kent, thus delivered from the danger of the foreign foe, was not, however, freed from her own internal enemies; for no ſooner was the apprehenſion of ruin, from the arms of the Weſt Saxons, ſubſided, but the inhabitants returned again to their former diſcords, dividing their united force, and purſuing quarrels, without ceaſing, amongſt themſelves. A. D. 687. Ceadwalla, king of Weſſex, makes war in Kent.

About this time there were two petty tyrants, Wycherd and Webhard, who taking the advantage of the capricious humours of the people, aſſumed the rule in Kent, where they for a time ſupported their dignity: but ſoon after, either dying, or being diſliked by their ſubjects, they were put from their authority, to make room for Wihtred, brother to Edric, A. D. 692. Two tyrants in Kent.

* Bede, Brompton, and others, ſay, he reigned a year and a half only. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26. Chron. Johan. Brompt. &c.

† Malmſ. lib. i.

‡ Will. Malmſ. lib. i. Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 687.

A. D. 692. the lawful heir to the crown.* As theſe two men were not of royal blood, and only held their rule by uſurpation, they are not reckoned in the liſt of the kings.

WIHTRED, *the eleventh* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 694. WHEN Wihtred aſcended the throne, freſh dangers alarmed the ſtate; for Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, (who ſucceeded Ceadwalla) thinking the revenge which his predeceſſor had taken upon the Kentiſh men, for the death of Mollo, was not equal to the offence, prepared a great army, intending himſelf to enter Kent, and ſubjugate it to his rule. Wihtred terrified at theſe proceedings of Ina, and finding himſelf in no condition of reſiſtance, ſent ambaſſadors to him, to know what his demands were, and to make fair proffers of peace. Ina inſiſted upon the delivery of thoſe men who had been principally concerned in the deſtruction of Mollo, and alſo that Wihtred ſhould pay him a large ſum of money. The king of Kent was forced to comply with theſe grating demands, and therefore, thirty of the faction who had ſlain Mollo, were ſent to Ina ;† and alſo the whole of that ſum which he had demanded.‡

Wihtred purchaſes peace of Ina.

The death and iſſue of Wihtred.

The conditions of Ina being fairly complied with, he withdrew his army from the borders of Kent, and left Wihtred to enjoy his crown in peace and tranquility. So juſt and equal was the government of this worthy king, that at his death he left the record of a virtuous name behind him. He died, lamented by his ſubjects, in the year of our Lord, 725, after a reign of thirty-one years,§ and left behind him three ſons, Edbert, Ethelbert, and Alric, all of whom ſucceſſively ſucceeded him in the kingdom.

EDBERT, *the twelfth* KING *of* KENT.

A. D. 725. EDBERT, the eldeſt ſon of Wihtred, ſucceeded him in the government of Kent. We have no record left of the civil and military acts of

Edbert, a virtuous king.

* Thus Henry of Huntingdon, Johan. Brompton, and others, expreſly affirm, "Eo tempore erant duo Reges in *Cent.* "non tam ſtirpem regiam quam ſecum- "dum invaſionem. Scilicet, Nithred & "Webhard." Theſe are the very words of Huntingdon, with which Brompton alſo exactly agrees; and both of them afterwards ſpeak of Wihtred as the right heir of the crown, ſucceeding theſe tyrants, only Brompton calls the firſt Wycherd. Bede ſeems to join Webhard with Vihtred, if he does not mean Wycherd; for he tells us, that A. D. 692, "Regnantibus in Cantia, "Victredo & Suebhardo." Matthew of Weſtminſter calls the latter Siward, and ſays, he was brother to Wihtred, and ruled with him. The Saxon Chronicle, Will. Malmſbury, and the Polychronicon, take no notice of either Wycherd, or his colleague, Webhard, but mention Wihtred, as reigning alone. Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. Chron. Johan. de Brompton, Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 9. Flores Hiſtoriarum, ſub anno 692. Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 694. Will. Malmſ. lib. i. Polychr. lib. v.

† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 694.

‡ This ſum, ſays Malmſbury, was thirty thouſand marks of gold: "Triginta "millibus auri marcis." Malmſ. de geſt. reg. Anglorum, lib i. cap. 2.

§ Chron. Sax. Malmſ. and others, make his reign to have been thirty-three years. John Brompton ſays thirty-two.

this prince; but it appears, that he was greatly beloved by his ſubjects, A. D. 725.
becauſe, like his father, he had moderated his actions by the ſtricteſt juſtice. He does not ſeem to have had any iſſue. After a quiet reign of twenty-three years, he ſurrendered up his ſoul to God, and the kingdom to his brother Ethelbert.*

ETHELBERT, *the thirteenth* KING *of* KENT.

THIS prince, following the example of his father and his brother, go- A. D. 748.
verned his ſubjects with great lenity. When he had reigned peaceably eleven years, he died without iſſue, and was buried in the monaſtery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Canterbury, leaving the government of Kent to his brother Alric.† Ethelbert, a worthy prince.

ALRIC, *the fourteenth, and laſt lawful,* KING *of* KENT.

ALRIC, upon the death of Ethelbert, his brother, mounted the throne A. D. 759.
of Kent. This prince is alſo commended for his juſtice and virtue. The peace which flouriſhed in his brother's reign, continued great part of his own; until Offa, king of the riſing Mercian ſtate, ambitious of power and conqueſt, made war upon him. Offa makes war upon Alric.

Alric, who had for ſome time foreſeen the deſigns of Offa, made A. D. 774.
all the preparation that he could to oppoſe him, and a little time ſoon confirmed the juſtneſs of his ſuſpicion; for Offa entered Kent, at the head of a powerful army, and began to lay the country waſte. When Alric heard of his approach, he marched with his forces againſt him, and both the armies met at Otford, where a long and bloody battle enſued; in which, at laſt, the Mercians prevailed, and the Kentiſh men were beaten from the field. Whether Alric, who ſurvived this battle,‡ afterwards obtained the government of Kent to himſelf, or reigned tributary to Offa, cannot ſo eaſily be determined at this diſtance of time; the latter ſeems, indeed, moſt likely, becauſe of the peace which followed in his dominions: for, if Alric had aſſerted his right, it is highly probable, that ſuch a ſtep would have drawn upon him the anger of Offa, and provoked him again to make war in Kent, which does not ſeem by any means to have been the caſe. The battle of Otford.

In this king's reign, by ſome unhappy accident, a fire broke out in A. D. 776.
the city of Canterbury, which raged with ſuch violence, that the whole Canterbury burnt.

* Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 1. &c.
† Ibid. &c.
‡ Matthew Paris, indeed, affirms, that Offa ſlew this king with his own hand; but that could not be, for Malmſbury expreſly declares, that he reigned thirty-four years, and the Saxon Chronicle places this battle in the year 774, ſo that he ſurvived nineteen years. M. Par. vit. Offæ. Malmſ. lib. i. Mat. Weſt. Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. &c.

A. D. 776. city was burnt to the ground; but in what manner this horrid conflagration began is not recorded.*

A. D. 793. After a reign of thirty-four years, Alric deceaſed, leaving behind him no heir to inherit the kingdom; ſo that with him ſunk the royal line of kings. From this time, the glory of the realm began by degrees to die away; and every day advanced the haſty ruin of the ſtate. No lawful ſucceſſor being left to take the government upon him, divers who, either by flattery or riches, had obtained the public favour, were ſeditiouſly ſtriving for the crown. Amidſt theſe various diſtractions of the ſtate, one Ethelbert Pren, a man of no exalted birth, ſet up his claim: and having gained a powerful faction on his ſide, prevailed againſt the reſt of his competitors, and aſſumed the royal dignity.†

The ſtate of the kingdom after the death of Alric.

ETHELBERT PREN, *the firſt* USURPER *after the Death of* ALRIC.

A. D. 794. HAVING mounted the throne, Ethelbert endeavoured to make his footing ſure, and ſtrove to gain the love of his ſubjects; but unfortunately for him, he could not ſucceed in his attempt: for, as he had by force uſurped the dignity, he was diſagreeable to all but thoſe of his own party. Having held his reign ſome ſhort time, amidſt the murmurs and diſlikes of the people, he was at laſt pulled down from his honour, in a manner that he ſeems but little to have expected.‡

Pren not agreeable to his ſubjects.

A. D. 796. Kenulph, king of Mercia, obſerving the diſcontent which prevailed in Kent, determined to try the fortune of war, and ſet upon that ſtate, in order to join it with his own. To accompliſh his deſire, he entered the borders of Kent, and began in a hoſtile manner to deſtroy the country. Pren alarmed at this threatening danger, marched with all the forces he could collect, to meet the Mercians. The end of this war proved fatal to Pren, for his forces were routed, and he himſelf being made priſoner, was carried into Mercia; where, after he had been detained ſome little time, he was at laſt releaſed by Kenulph, at the altar of a church which he had lately cauſed to be built. Rejoiced at having thus obtained his liberty, Pren returned into Kent, expecting to re-aſſume his crown; but in this he was moſt dreadfully miſtaken; for his ſubjects openly refuſed his rule, and would by no means admit of his re-eſtabliſhment in the ſtate: ſo that he was again returned to that obſcurity from whence he had ſo lately emerged, after a ſhort reign of three years.§

Kenulph enters Kent.

CUTHRED, *the ſecond* USURPER.

A. D. 797. PREN thus expelled from the kingdom, another uſurper, named Cuthred, ſet up a claim to the government; and what by the help of a ſtrong

Cuthred uſurps the kingdom of Kent.

* Marinus ex collect. in MS. in Cotton. Lib. marked Julius C. vi.
† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 1.
‡ Ibid. & alia; & Chron. Sax. ſub anno 796.
§ Malmſ. ut ſup.

party,

party, and the power of Kenulph, he ſucceeded ſo well in his attempt, A. D. 797.
that he ſoon obtained the crown: but yet he gained not the good-will of his ſubjects, who, far from ſubmitting quietly to his rule, were continually troubling him with rebellious and private diſſentions. In this uneaſy manner he paſſed through a ſhort reign of eight turbulent years, when he died, and left the kingdom to another aſpiring chief, named Baldred.*

BALDRED, *the third, and laſt* USURPER.

THIS pretender to the Kentiſh crown, however unfortunate in the end, A. D. 805.
was in the beginning far more proſperous than either of his predeceſſors, and held the government of the ſtate a conſiderable time; ſo that it is likely, by ſome prevailing means or other, he ſoftened the tempers of his ſubjects, and taught them to prefer peace and order, to the noiſe and riot of rebellion.

Baldred favoured by his ſubjects.

In the eighteenth, and laſt, year of Baldred's reign, Egbert, the king of A. D. 823.
Weſſex, made war upon his dominions, and defeated all his forces in a fierce battle; he himſelf being put to flight, eſcaped the fury of the enemies, and paſſing the Thames, forſook his kingdom, and returned no more to moleſt the conqueror, or make good his own claim.† Where he died, or what became of him afterwards, is not known; perhaps, preferring the ſatisfactory enjoyments of a private life, to the noiſy tumult of his kingly ſtate, he might take up ſome lowly diſguiſe, and reſt in that, contented. Happy the man that can be ſo contented; for thus, beneath the envy of the great, the ſtorms of fortune blow over his homely cell, and wake him not: for, armed with innocence, and bleſſed with peace, his mind is eaſy, and his reſt ſecure!

Baldred driven out of Kent.

Kent thus forſaken by her king, and over-run with the forces of her A. D. 824.
conqueror, ſoon ſubmitted to his deſires; and from this time, ceaſing to be a diſtinct ſtate, was joined to the kingdom of Weſſex.‡ Thus have we ſeen the riſe, the glory, and the fall of this firſt Saxon dominion! begun in the year of our Lord 457, by Hengiſt, the great general of the Saxons; and upheld for the ſpace of three hundred and thirty-ſeven years, by his valiant deſcendants; and after that again, thirty-one years, by the three ſucceeding uſurpers.

The end of the kingdom of Kent.

Idleneſs and eaſe, to a people inured to war, and fond of military honours, are pernicious and deſtructive; and theſe evils purſued, have frequently been the overthrow of nations. To human knowledge, and to human grandeur, the deſtined bounds are fixed by Providence; to ſuch a point they are permitted to advance, and when they have reached the ſummit of

Reflections on the fall of nations.

* Malmſ. ut ſup. & Chron. Sax. ſub anno 805.

† Ibid. Ibid. 823. & Chron. Wintonienſis.

‡ Ibid. Ibid.

their

their glory, they muſt again decline. It ſeems, perhaps, at firſt, as extraordinary as it is true, that thoſe very arts which are the adornments of a nation, ſhould prove, in the end, its ruin; for with refinement of taſte, and correctneſs of manners, luxury and effeminacy by degrees creep in unſeen, and lay a powerful hold upon the minds of men: ſo that in our very aiming at perfection, we deceive our own wiſhes; and in our moſt exalted deſigns, betray the weakneſs of human nature. Such, we have ſeen, is the tranſitory ſtate of nations, of which man himſelf is a perfect picture; as they advance in wealth and honour, ſo he increaſes in ſtrength and knowledge; and as they decline again, ſo ſinks he to the duſt, and leaves his room to others new ſprung up.

END OF THE KINGDOM OF KENT.

SUSSEX;

SUSSEX;

THE SECOND KINGDOM OF THE

HEPTARCHY.

THE rapid ſucceſs of Hengiſt and his party in Britain, being underſtood in Germany, tempted ſeveral other chiefs to follow his example, and ſeek for better fortune in that very land, where he, their friend and relation, had obtained ſuch valuable poſſeſſions. Big with the expectation of future advancement, Ælle, a brave and warlike Saxon, left his native home, accompanied with his three ſons and a powerful army of bold adventurous youth, and landing upon the borders of Suſſex, began the ſecond kingdom of the heptarchy. The firſt beginning of the kingdom of Suſſex.

The kingdom of the South Saxons, contained the counties of Suſſex and Surry; it was bounded on the eaſt by Kent, on the weſt by the territories of the Weſt Saxons, on the ſouth by the main ocean, and on the north by the river Thames. The extent of the kingdom of Suſſex.

ÆLLE, *the firſt* KING *of the* SOUTH SAXONS.

ÆLLE, with his three ſons, Cymen, Wlenching, and Ciſſa, together with their army, came from Germany in three large ſhips, and landed in Britain at a place called Cymenes ſhore, in the year of our Lord 477; and twenty-eight years from the firſt arrival of the Saxons under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa. Their landing was vigorouſly reſiſted by the Britons, who, in a powerful party, ſtood upon the ſhore to oppoſe them: but ſuch was the valour and ſucceſs of the Saxons, that, after a bloody conflict, they gained a complete victory, and chaced the Britons from the ſea-ſide;* purſuing them to a large extenſive wood, called Andredſleage,† ſituate upon the borders of Kent, where they took refuge, and hid themſelves in their ſecret retreats. Thus Ælle gained his firſt footing in the land; but the Britons ſuffered him not to enjoy in quietneſs the poſſeſſions which he had conquered: for, iſſuing from the wood, they aſſailed his army, and harraſſed him continually with ſudden attacks, and private ambuſhes. In this poſture his affairs continued for the ſpace of eight years, during all which time, he ſeems not to have gained any A. D. 477. Ælle fights with the Britons.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 477.

† Alſo ſometimes called Andredſweald. It took its name, ſays Camden, from Caer Andred, or Andredeſceſter; of which city we ſhall ſpeak in a ſucceeding note.

very

A. D. 477. very conſiderable advantage over the Britons; but was wholly employed in defending himſelf from their aſſaults. In theſe wars, it is thought that his two eldeſt ſons, Cymen and Wlenching, loſt their lives; becauſe we find no mention made of them afterwards.

A. D. 485. Aurelius Ambroſius, the valiant leader of the Britons, having joined thoſe parties which were aſſembled together againſt the South Saxons, determined to try the ſucceſs of one pitched battle:* nor was Ælle, and his ſons, leſs deſirous of purſuing their fortune in the field. Both armies met at a place, called Mercredſbourn, and fought on either ſide with ſuch courage, that, after a prodigious ſlaughter, it was hard to determine to which party the victory properly belonged.† However, the Britons, weakened by this obſtinate conflict, withdrew from the field; and the Saxons alſo made their retreat; nor one, nor other, chuſing to ſecond the blow which was already ſtruck. Immediately after this battle, Ælle diſpatched meſſengers into Germany, declaring his ſucceſs, and intreating his friends to ſend him a freſh reinforcement of troops, to purſue his conqueſts, and ſettle the kingdom which he had begun, upon a ſtrong and permanent baſis, by expelling the Britons from their ſtrongholds. However it was, this flattering invitation had not the ſudden effect which one might have expected amongſt a ſet of reſtleſs people, who were ever waiting for favourable opportunities to plunder and moleſt others; for it appears to have been upwards of four years before he had ſufficiently recruited his army, to take the field again againſt the Britons.

The battle of Mercredſhourn.

A. D. 490. Having now reinforced his army, and thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to encounter with his opponents, he marched againſt them; and becauſe he had been greatly incommoded by their frequent excurſions from the woods and ſecret receſſes, he was determined to deſtroy thoſe dangerous retreats; and, in order the more effectually to accompliſh this important deſign, he firſt marched againſt their chief city, called Andredes ceſter,‡ which was the aſylum from whence they iſſued forth to the woods, and to which they inſtantly retreated on the approach of danger. The proceedings of Ælle, juſtly alarmed the Britons, who, anxious for the ſafety of this conſequential place, had recourſe to every artifice and contrivance which they thought could ſecure its defence: within its walls they planted a ſtrong garriſon, to reſiſt the aſſaults of the Saxons, the remaining parties retired to the woods, and hid themſelves in

The ſiege of Andredes-ceſter.

* Chron. Roſſenſis, MS. in the Cotton Lib. marked Nero D. ii. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 485.

† Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii. Chron. Roſſen. ut ſup. & Chron. Sax. ſub anno 485.

‡ Andredes ceſter, or *Caer Andred*, Camden apprehends to have ſtood upon the ſame ſpot where the town of Newendon is now built, by the ſide of the river Lymen, which ſeparates Kent from Suſſex. Camd. in Kent, & vide Lambardes Peramb. of Kent, fol. 207.

private

private ambuſhes, to annoy the march of Ælle, as he approached, and to diſturb him in the rear, whilſt he was making an attempt upon the city. Theſe prudent meaſures they purſued for ſome time, with great ſucceſs, continually harraſſing the army of the Saxons, and delaying the proſecution of the ſiege. Ælle, vexed to the ſoul at theſe tedious interruptions, bethought him of a new method to carry on his deſign: he divided his whole army into two parts, one of which he commanded vigorouſly to aſſault the city, whilſt the other diviſion was employed in reſiſting the Britons who were ſcouting in the field, and prevent their diſturbing thoſe who were making their attempts upon the beſieged. By this means, he ſoon took the city by ſtorm, and raſed it to the ground. Provoked at the reſiſtance which had been made againſt him, in his anger he miſerably murdered all the inhabitants, ſparing neither women nor children.* When he had effected this important conqueſt, he ſoon gained all the other paſſes, and drove the Britons from his dominions; taking full poſſeſſion of Suſſex and Surrey. A. D. 490.

When Ælle had thus extended and ſecured his kingdom, he ruled in peace the remainder of his days, and departed this life about the year of our Lord 514,† thirty-ſix years after his firſt arrival in Britain; leaving the government of Suſſex to his ſon Ciſſa: for Cymen and Wlenching, the two elder ſons, are ſuppoſed to have been ſlain in the wars between the Britons and their father, during the firſt eight years from his arrival. The death of Ælle.

CISSA, *the ſecond* KING *of the* SOUTH SAXONS.

Cissa accompanied his father in all his warlike undertakings, and was alſo with him at the ſiege of Andredes ceſter; but after he aſcended the throne, either from his love of peace, or becauſe the Britons, in his father's time, were thoroughly ſubdued and driven from his territories, he did not undertake any further war during his whole reign. It is true, that he aſſiſted Cerdic, the Weſt Saxon prince, with money, to carry on his conqueſts againſt the Britons, yet he never appears to have attended in perſon to his aid; but ſeems rather to have employed his time in ſecuring his own dominions, and reſtoring quietneſs at home. He built Cicheſter, then called Ciſſa ceſter, or the city of Ciſſa, after his own name; and Chiſburg, or Ciſsbury,‡ theſe were two large and conſiderable cities. A. D. 514. Ciſſa reigns in peace.

The quiet reign of Ciſſa, is ſaid to have endured the ſpace of ſeventy-ſix years, when he died, in the year of our Lord, 590; leaving the kingdom to Edelwalch. The death of Ciſſa.

* Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 490. Chron. Roſſen. Matt. Weſt. ſub anno 492. & Ethelwerd, lib. i. &c.

† The Chron. Wintonienſis places his death, A. D. 508.

‡ Hard by Offington there is a fort, encompaſſed with a bank rudely caſt up, where, the inhabitants are perſuaded, that Julius Cæſar entrenched, and fortified his camp; but *Ciſsbury*, the name of the place, plainly witneſſeth it to have been the work of Ciſſa, the ſon of Ælle, king of the South Saxons. Camd. Britannia, in Suſſex.

ATHELWALD, *or* EDELWALCH, *the laſt* KING *of the* SOUTH SAXONS.

A. D. 590. THIS prince, like the former, did not acquire any great degree of fame in military affairs, eſpecially in the beginning of his reign. He is, indeed, more juſtly noted, as being the firſt perſon who received the Chriſtian faith, amongſt the South Saxons: he was baptized in Mercia, at the intreaty and advice of Vulfhere, the king of that realm. In this king's reign, there happened a dreadful famine in Suſſex, which raged ſo violently, that the unhappy people were driven to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and, in the height of deſpair, threw themſelves from the mountains, and were daſhed in pieces, or drowned in the ſea; eſteeming it far more preferable, in this deſperate manner to put a ſudden end to their wretched beings, than wait the lingering ſtroke from the hand of death, which hovered over them:* ſo true it is, that the ſhocking apprehenſions of diſtant deſtruction, are often far more dreadful than even inſtant death; nor has the comfortable doctrine of Chriſtianity itſelf been able entirely to remove theſe ideas from the minds of men; it is a lamentable truth, that even in the preſent and enlightened age, almoſt every day produces ſome ſtriking inſtance of ſelf-deſtruction. What muſt the horrid reflection of ſuch a moment be, when flying from the miſery of this ſhort and tranſitory world, men launch precipitately into the unknown regions of eternity?

Edelwalch becometh a Chriſtian.

A. D. 680. Edelwalch, after having paſſed all his youthful days in peace, was even in his old age called forth to the field: for, a valiant young man, named Cadwalla, of noble parentage, amongſt the Weſt Saxons, being baniſhed from his country by the prevalence of ſome faction, brought with him a ſtrong band of ſoldiers, and fell upon the kingdom of Suſſex with undaunted fury. This alarming news being made known to the king, he collected his forces together, and placing himſelf at their head, conducted them againſt Cadwalla, and gave him battle. The end was unfortunate to the South Saxons, who were put to flight by Cadwalla and his party; and in this battle their aged monarch was ſlain.†

The death of Edelwalch.

BERTHUNUS *and* ANTHUN, *two* RULERS *of the* SOUTH SAXONS.

A. D. 681. No ſooner was the death of Edelwalch made known amongſt his ſubjects, than Berthunus and Anthun, two noblemen, of Suſſex, took upon them the management of the war, and gathered a freſh army to oppoſe Cadwalla; who, proud of his late victory, was making haſty advances into the kingdom. Fortune favoured the attempts of the two valiant chiefs; for, in ſeveral encounters, they obtained the victory, and drove

Berthunus and Anthun prevail againſt Cadwalla.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 13. † Ibid. cap. 15.

Cadwalla

Cadwalla and his party from the kingdom. After the flight of their inveterate foe, the South Saxons enjoyed a little ſpace of peace, under the rule and governance of the two chiefs who had delivered them from their oppreſſors.* A. D. 681.

During this tranquility in Suſſex, Cadwalla had returned into the kingdom of Weſſex, and, after the death of Centwine, obtained the crown. No ſooner had he ſeated himſelf firmly in his royal dignity, than he remembered his former enterprizes amongſt the South Saxons; and conſidering the weakneſs of their ſtate, conceived that the conqueſt would not be difficult to achieve. Theſe ambitious reflections led him into the field, and once more he turned his arms againſt Suſſex. Berthunus, and his colleague, did all which lay in their power to ſupport their bleeding country, and prevent her ruin; but all their noble ſtruggles were in vain; and the death of Berthunus (who was ſoon after ſlain in battle) finally determined her wretched fate! What became of Anthun, after the defeat and death of Berthunus, his aſſociate, is not recorded; but it is very certain, that after this he bore no further rule in the ſtate. The victorious Cadwalla continued his march through the whole kingdom, and added to his former conqueſts the iſle of Wight.† From this time Suſſex ceaſed to be a diſtinct kingdom, and was by Cadwalla united to that of Weſſex, over which he bore his rule, in the year of our Lord 686; ſo that the duration of this monarchy exceeded not two hundred and nine years, from the firſt arrival of Ælle. A. D. 685.

The end of the kingdom of the South Saxons.

The kingdom of the South Saxons, notwithſtanding it was begun ſo early, and held with ſuch glory under Ælle, its firſt king, was yet by far of the ſhorteſt continuance of any one of the heptarchy. Indeed, from the death of Ælle, its glory began to die away, and its ruin was completed by the inaction of the ſucceeding kings: for, weakened and effeminated by the long duration of peace, the whole ſtate became an eaſy prey to their warlike neighbours. The little conſequence this monarchy acquired, after the death of Ælle, is, without doubt, the chief reaſon why all the ancient accounts of it, (which are handed down to the preſent time) are ſo very imperfect.

The accounts of this kingdom imperfect, and why.

Before I conclude the hiſtory of this kingdom, I ſhall make one ſhort remark on the long ſpace which is taken up with only the two reigns of Ciſſa, and his ſucceſſor, Edelwalch, making together one hundred and ſixty-ſix years. With regard to Ciſſa, I have followed the Saxon chronnicle; but, if we conſider that he came to Britain with his father, A. D. 477, and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe he was then old enough to bear arms, making him but ſixteen, he will be in the year 590, when he is ſaid to have deceaſed, one hundred and thirty-nine years of age. His ſucceſſor, Edelwalch, alſo (to make the date in the leaſt agree with the age, and time of Cadwalla's mounting the throne of the Weſt Saxons)

Obſervations on the great ages of Ciſſa and Edelwalch.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 15. † Ibid. cap. 16, & alia.

did reign the full ſpace of ninety years, excluſive of his age before he came to the crown; and we know, at this period, youths of an age incapable of governing, were ſeldom ſuffered to aſſume the diadem; ſo that at the moſt moderate computation, his age muſt alſo have exceeded one hundred years. And it is far from impoſſible, but that theſe two monarchs might have lived to theſe extraordinary ages, eſpecially when we conſider, that the latter part of the Ciſſas, and all the reign of Edelwalch, was peaceable and quiet, which, together with ſtrong conſtitutions, and minds at eaſe, might greatly conduce to the preſervation of their health, and the lengthening of their lives.*

* Modern authors have conjectured, and not without great ſhew of reaſon, that ſome other prince might be advanced to the South Saxon throne, immediately after the death of Ciſſa, and before the ſucceſſion of Edelwalch, whoſe name is loſt in the confuſion of thoſe times, or neglected by the ancient authors, as doing nothing worthy of mention: and this is the more likely to be true, when we reflect on the declining ſtate of the kingdom, which had now loſt its former conſequence; and even Edelwalch himſelf might, perhaps, have ſhared the ſame fate, had not his, and the ſtate's, converſion to Chriſtianity, an event of great importance, recalled them from the oblivion into which they had ſunk. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. II. part i.

END OF THE KINGDOM OF SUSSEX.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF WESSEX,

THE THIRD KINGDOM OF THE HEPTARCHY.

THE next monarchy which ſprang up in Britain, was that of the Weſt Saxons, firſt begun by Cerdic and his ſon Cenric: and was by far more glorious, and of longer continuance, than any of the reſt; all of which were by degrees overcome, and the inhabitants, by force of arms, brought under the ſubjection of the kings of Weſſex. This dominion contained the counties of Berkſhire, Southampton, Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, Devonſhire, and part of Cornwall. Its boundaries were Suſſex on the eaſt, the Thames on the north, the main ocean on the ſouth, and alſo on the weſt beyond Cornwall.

The extent of the kingdom of Weſſex.

CERDIC *and* CENRIC, *the firſt* KINGS *of* WESSEX.

CERDIC, with his ſon Cenric, accompanied with a large army, on board of five great ſhips, arrived at Britain in the year of our Lord 495, and landed at a place thence called Cerdiceſhora.* The Britons were quickly alarmed, and gathering their forces together, came down to the ſea-ſhore without delay, to give them battle. The Saxons boldly withſtood their approach, and reſiſted their furious attacks with great vigour: the fight continued the whole length of the day, ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other, appearing to prevail. Yet when the night and darkneſs prevented their further combat, the conflict ſtill remained doubtful; however, the Saxons by degrees, got firm footing in the land. It is true, the Britons would not ſuffer them to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace, but were continually diſturbing them with ſudden aſſaults and repeated ſkirmiſhes. In this troubleſome ſort, the Saxons held their poſſeſſions for the firſt twelve years; yet, fearleſs of danger, and hopeful of better fortune, they ſtood the ſtorm with confirmed reſolutions, and baffled all the attacks of their inveterate foes.†

A. D. 495.

Cerdic lands in Britain.

Port, another German chief, with his two ſons, Biedda and Mægla, following the fortune of their fellow-countrymen, arrived in two ſhips on that part of Hampſhire, ſince called Portſmouth, and ſaid to have

A. D. 501.

Port and his two ſons land in Britain.

* Cenbicerhopa, or Cerdic's ſhore, Chron. Sax.

† Ibid. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.

taken

A. D. 501. taken its name from him. They brought with them a ſtrong band of hardy youths, and at their firſt landing gave battle to the inhabitants. Their undertakings proved victorious; they chaced the Britons from thoſe parts, taking poſſeſſion of all their wealth, and ſettling in their habitations; remaining there till greater occaſion of ſignalizing their valour called them forth to the aid of the Weſt Saxons, who were extending their rule under the leading of Cerdic, their warlike chief.*

A. D. 508. Natanleod, the Britiſh chief, ſlain by Cerdic.

Diſtreſſed on all ſides, the hapleſs Britons knew not which way to turn themſelves, nor whither to direct their power, to make the moſt important reſiſtance; freſh numbers daily poured upon them, freſh invaſions called aloud for their ſalutary help. But now, above all, the riſing glory of the Weſt Saxons ſeemed to threaten the greateſt danger to the land, wherefore all uniting in a powerful band, they marched againſt Cerdic, under the conduct of Aurelius Ambroſius, who, in honour of his indefatigable labours for the defence of his country, was ſirnamed Natanleod.† Of this chieftain we have ſpoken before; he is reported to have been the deſcendant of that Conſtantine, who, in the reign of Honorius, was elected emperor in Britain by the mutiny of the army.‡ Alarmed at theſe great preparations which were making againſt him, Cerdic diſpatched meſſengers into Kent and Suſſex, to beg aſſiſtance from Octa and Ciſſa, who ruled in thoſe realms. He alſo ſent preſſing invitations to Port and his two ſons, who, pleaſed with the opportunity

* Henry Hunt. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 501. Ethelwerd, lib. i. & Henry Hunt. lib. ii.

† This name ſignifies the defender or protector of his country. To avoid all interruptions in the body of the work, I have thrown into this note ſuch obſervations as I thought were neceſſary to be made, on my having expreſsly declared, that Aurelius Ambroſius and this Natanleod, are but one and the ſame perſon; and I may the more particularly be thought bound to ſay ſomething in my defence, as I have not the authority of ancient hiſtory to vouch for me. It is ſtrange, as Camden has obſerved, that ſo ſingular a perſonage, and alſo ſo famous, (as from the declaration of Huntingdon, as well as from the import of his name, we may eaſily find he was) ſhould ſo ſuddenly ſpring up amongſt the Britons, and be only known to have fought this ſingle battle: and it will alſo appear ſtill more extraordinary, if we recollect, that Aurelius Ambroſius, (as we may judge from the words of Gildas, and other authentic authors) was at this time living; and to whom could this honorary ſirname ſo well belong, as to him, who had often fought the battles of the Britons, and led them to frequent conqueſt. This opinion, I acknowledge, is neither new, nor my own, but has been long ſince ſtarted by the ſearchers into the ancient records. I may obſerve, that another competitor is ſet up againſt Ambroſius, which is Uther Pendragon, ſaid to be his brother; but as his exiſtence is very doubtful, and it appears not, ſave in the fables of Geoffry Monmouth, that he ever acquired that honour which was ſo juſtly due to the former; for this cauſe, I hope I may be excuſed in ſetting him aſide, and placing in his ſtead, a man, to whom this title with greater reaſon may be ſaid to belong; and a man, who, from all the beſt authorities, we may be aſſured was in being, and that at this very time. Vide Camb. Uſſer Primord. Milton's Hiſt. Eng. Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. II. &c. &c.

‡ Radulph Dicetus de reg. Brit. & vide page 54, of this Chron.

which

which offered to ſettle them in the land, obeyed the ſummons, and joined the Weſt Saxon army; Cerdic receiving alſo reinforcements from Kent and Suſſex, found himſelf in good condition to abide the fortune of war, and reſiſt all the attempts which the Britons might make upon his poſſeſſions. In the mean time, Natanleod advanced at the head of his troops, and prepared to give battle to the Saxons, who, when they heard of his approach, advanced to meet him; and at a place, which was after called Cerdic's ford, a grievous conflict enſued. This day proved fatal to the Britons, who there loſt their king and defender, and with him five thouſand of their braveſt troops;* whilſt the Saxons, elated with their ſucceſs, retired from the field, and for a conſiderable time remained unmoleſted by the Britons. A. D. 508.

Six years after this famous battle, there arrived in Britain a freſh ſupply of troops from Germany, under the conduct of Stuf and Witgar; who were both of them nephews to Cerdic. They came in three large ſhips, and landed at Cerdic's ſhore, where their uncle had firſt diſembarked. The neighbouring Britons aſſembled together, and endeavoured by battle to ſtop their advancement into the land; but theſe young men being trained up to war, and regardleſs of the danger, ſtrove to ſignalize their names by the greatneſs of their courage, and abode the conflict with undaunted reſolution. In the end they triumphed over their opponents, and forced their paſſage through the midſt of them, making a prodigious ſlaughter, as well of their leaders, as of the private men.† When they arrived in Weſſex, they were joyfully received by their uncle, and the fame of their victory at Cerdic's ſhore was ſpread through the land, to the no ſmall terror of the diſtreſſed Britons. A. D. 514. The arrival of Stuf and Witgar.

Now ſurely had Britain been loſt at once, had not Arthur, a noble prince, who ſucceeded Natanleod in the command, by the bravery of his conduct, put freſh ſpirits into the aching hearts of the natives, and once more revived in their ſouls the glimmering light of hope. This prince is particularly unfortunate, in having all his actions wrapped up in ſuch a cloud of fable and romance, that it would be more than an Herculean labour to unravel the knotted clue, and ſeparate the truth from fiction. That there was ſuch a man, and that he was a great and valiant chief, is hardly to be doubted, ſince ſuch authentic vouchers are to be produced, to prove his exiſtence; but that he ſhould have performed all thoſe wonderful acts which are aſcribed to him, cannot be true: for, the great ſucceſs and advancement of the Saxons in Britain, and that during the time in which he is ſaid to have lived, plainly contradict thoſe groundleſs aſſertions.‡ Juſt as much are we in the dark concerning his birth, his parentage, or the exact time of his death; how- The hiſtory of Arthur full of uncertainties.

* Ethelwerd, lib. i. & Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii.

† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 514. Ethelwerd, Hiſt. lib. i. & Huntingdon, lib. ii.

‡ Geoffry Monmouth Hiſt. Brit. lib. vii.

ever,

A. D. 514. ever, the moſt likely report is, that he was ſon to Pendragon, the brother of Aurelius Ambroſius.*

A. D. 519. Another battle at Cerdic's ford.

Cerdic, and Cenric, his ſon, ſtrengthened by the reinforcement which they had received from Germany, and preſuming on the conſequence of their laſt important victory, were ſtill ſtriving to extend their poſſeſſions, and ſecure their footing in the land, by weakening the Britons, and driving them from their borders; nor had this wretched people for a long time dared to attack them, or reſiſt the grievous oppreſſion, until uniting together, they were led on by Arthur, and began to ravage the borders of the Weſt Saxon kingdom. This being made known to Cerdic, he and his ſon, with a potent army, marched out to defend their territories, and give battle to the Britons. Both powers met again at Cerdic's ford, and another ſharp conflict enſued;† but to which party the victory fell, is not recorded; yet, as far as we may judge from ſucceeding circumſtances, there is little doubt to be made, but that the Saxons had the upper hand: for, preſently after the engagement, Cerdic, who until this time had only acted as the chief general, graſped at new honours, aſſuming the title of king, and began his rule as ſuch over the kingdom of Weſſex, making Cenric, his ſon, his partner in the royal dignity; and it is not likely that he would have proceeded in this manner, unleſs Fortune had ſtill continued to ſmile upon his attempts.‡

A. D. 527. The battle between the Britons and Saxons at Cerdic's leah.

From the time that Cerdic and Cenric took upon them the monarchical government, to the year of our Lord 527, the ſpace of eight years, they ſeem to have enjoyed their dominions in peace; or, at leaſt, during the whole of that period, they were not moleſted with any conſequential war. How they employed this leiſure, it is impoſſible to diſcover; but yet they could not ſo thoroughly ſtrengthen their frontiers, but the enemy would at times be breaking in upon them. About this time, the Britons having recovered their loſſes, and reinforced their army, were determined once more to try the fortune of war, and ſtrive by battle to ſave their ſinking country from total ruin. Under the conduct of Arthur, they reſorted to the field, and began afreſh to ſet upon the borders of Weſſex. Rouſed at the alarm, the valiant kings trained out their forces, and haſted to put a ſtop to the advancing danger. When they had reached a place, after called Cerdic's leah, they met the Britiſh army, with whom they engaged;§ but what was the ſucceſs of this encounter is not known, unleſs it could be abſolutely determined that this was the battle, which, ſeveral of the ancient hiſtorians have informed us, was fought at Mount Budon, near Bath, where the Saxons

* Ranulph Dicetus Hiſt. Brit.

† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 519. Henry Huntingdon, & Ethelwerd, ut ſupra.

‡ Ibid. Ibid. &c.

§ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 527.

were

were hemmed in by the Britons, and received a grievous overthrow.* This action is ſaid to be the laſt, in which the Britiſh chieftain carried the conqueſt over his enemies; after which time, perhaps, he either died, or was ſlain in the defence of his country.† A. D. 527.

Cerdic, after this encounter with the Britons, retired back with his army, and fought no further to moleſt them; ſo that a ceſſation of arms enſued, which was continued for ſeveral years. But though he ceaſed his attempts upon ſuch of the inhabitants as lay round about him upon the main land, yet ſtill he paſſed not the reſt of his reign in continual idleneſs; for, three years after the laſt battle, accompanied with his ſon Cenric, and his nephews, Stuf and Witgar, he invaded the iſle of Wight, and overcame the inhabitants in a ſet engagement, at a place which was after named Witgara burg, (becauſe Witgar there built a city) and brought the whole iſland under his ſubjection.‡ A. D. 530.

Cerdic invades the iſle of Wight.

When Cerdic had thus begun and ſettled the kingdom of Weſſex, he found full employment to defend its frontiers from the incurſions of the Britons. Various were the ſkirmiſhes and battles which enſued, and as various the ſucceſs; ſometimes the Britons, ſometimes the Saxons, bearing away the palm of victory: yet none of theſe actions were conſiderable enough to ſhake the ſtate, or affect the general welfare of Weſſex; A. D. 532.

Various ſkirmiſhes between the Britons and Saxons.

* Gildas Hiſt. cap. 26. Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 16. W. Malmſ. lib. i. Nennii, Hiſt. &c. &c.

† And it is not without great reaſon, that modern authors have ſuppoſed that this battle of Cerdic's leah, was the ſame with that of Badon Hill; for the peace which followed it, ſeems plainly to prove, that Cerdic was not willing any more to riſk his fortune in the field, but rather choſe to ſit down quietly in his preſent poſſeſſions. The time alſo, and every other circumſtance relative to theſe important actions, agree exactly; ſo that we may with as much certainty as can be gained from reaſonable conjecture, reſt aſſured they are both the ſame engagement, under different names. Milton, in his Hiſtory of England, has taken great pains to prove this fact, and has ſucceeded, in my opinion, as well as the nature of the ſubject would admit of; to which book the reader is referred, where he may find that author's opinion at large. Before I conclude this note, I ſhall juſt add, that Nennius, and after him, Henry of Huntingdon, have aſcribed to Arthur twelve ſeveral victories over the Saxons. The firſt battle was fought by the mouth of the river Glem, or Gleyne; the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth, were fought near another river, called Duglaſs, which is in the county of Lineux: the ſixth upon the banks of the river Baſſus. The Scala Chronica ſays, Arthur fought with Calgryne by the water of Duglaſs, now called Done. Scal. Chr. lib. i. The ſeventh in the wood Calidon: the Sca. Chr. adds, Arthur chaſed Cheldrik into a great wood, by Baclings; the eighth was beſide the caſtle of Guinien; in this battle, he carried the image of the croſs of Chriſt, and the Virgin Mary, upon his ſhoulders; the ninth at Carleon; the tenth at Rither wood; the eleventh on a mountain, named Agned Cathregonion; and the twelfth at Badon Hill. But at what particular time theſe battles were fought, or againſt what parties of the Saxons, (if it is true that they were all fought) cannot at preſent be determined; therefore I have put them into a note, rather than burthen the body of the work itſelf with uncertainties. Vide all the authors quoted in the preceding note.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 530. & Will. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

A. D. 532. for which reaſon they are not particularly noted by the ancient hiſtorians.* In this warlike manner, Cerdic held his rule in Britain thirty-eight years, from his firſt arrival, when he died, in the year of our Lord 533, fourteen years after he had aſſumed the title of king.

CENRIC *alone, the ſecond* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 533. The peaceable beginning of Cenric's reign.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Cerdic, his ſon Cenric took the government of the whole kingdom upon him, and held it with a powerful hand. ‖ The firſt nineteen years of his reign appear to have been paſſed in perfect peace; the Britons were either afraid of oppoſing him, or elſe hindered by their want of leiſure, being employed, perhaps, in other wars; or, what is more likely, by their civil diſſentions amongſt themſelves: for, notwithſtanding the danger of their ſituation, no ſooner could they gain the leaſt proſpect of peace, but, turning their thoughts from the Saxons, their general enemies, they fell to diſcords and jarring in their own diſtricts.† Cenric, ſoon after his advancement to the throne, gave the government of the iſle of Wight, to his couſins, Stuf and Witgar, the latter of which aſſumed the title of king, and built a city, which he named Witgara's burg, (or Witgar's city) where he was buried.

A. D. 552. Battle between the Britons and Saxons.

The Britons now fearing the growing greatneſs of Cenric, were juſtly apprehenſive of the daily encroachments which that prince was conſtantly making upon their territories, laid aſide for a time their private diſcords, and united themſelves againſt the Weſt Saxons. To oppoſe this torrent, Cenric collected his army, and reſolutely took the field. Both armies met near Saliſbury, where a deſperate engagement enſued; the Britons fighting vigorouſly for the recovery of their country, and the Saxons as valiantly reſiſting, to preſerve their former conqueſts; at laſt, (after great ſlaughter on both ſides) the Saxons prevailed, and chaſed the Britons from the borders of their kingdom.‡

A. D. 556. The battle at Beran burg.

After the laſt victory obtained by Cenric and his party, the Britons ceaſed for ſome time to moleſt them, and employed the whole of that leiſure time in recruiting their forces, and ſtrengthening the army; for their late loſs had not ſo much depreſſed their ſpirits, but they reſolved again to try the fortune of the field, and ſet their hopes of liberty once more at ſtake. The news of their approach was no ſooner brought to the court of Cenric, than, calling his army together, and aided by his ſon

* Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.

‖ Chron. Sax. &c. &c. Speed, Sammes, and other modern hiſtorians, gave Cerdic another ſon, named Chelwolf, from whom, they ſay, ſprang Eſcwine, King of the Weſt Saxons, who aſcended the throne, A. D. 674; but the Saxon Chronicle declares, that he was deſcended from Ceolfulf, the ſecond ſon of Cenric. Vide Chron. Sax. ſub anno 674.

† Gild. Hiſt. cap. ult.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 552. Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii. & Ethelwerd, lib. i.

Ceawlin,

Ceawlin, he marched forth to defend his dominions. At Beranburg he A. D. 556.
came up with the forces of the Britons, and gave them inſtant battle; the conflict, which was ſharp and bloody, continued all the day; nor did they on either ſide give back, till the approach of night obliged them to retire; the ſlaughter, which was very great, ſeems to have been nearly equal on either ſide; for neither the one nor the other could challenge the victory. The loſs which both armies ſuſtained in this engagement, moderated the rage of their irritated minds; for, when the morrow's ſun was riſen upon the plain, they had no inclination to renew the battle; but after performing the laſt honours to their departed friends, they left the field: the Britons returning to their own confines, and the Saxons retreating to their ſeparate homes.*

This was the laſt battle of any conſequence that happened in the reign A. D. 559.
of Cenric, who was now advancing in years, and ſpent the remainder of his life in peace. This warlike chief came over with his father, and was aſſiſting in the eſtabliſhment of the Weſt Saxon kingdom, which he ſupported with great glory during the whole of his life; being nothing inferior to his father, either in courage, or conduct. When he had reigned rather better than twenty-ſix years, (after the death of his father) he departed this life, and left the kingdom to the government of Ceawlin, his eldeſt ſon.† The death of Cenric.

Cenric had three ſons; the firſt was Ceawlin, who ſucceeded him; the ſecond, Ceolfulf; and the laſt, Cuth. Ceolfulf aſſiſted his brother Ceawlin in his wars, and was often partaker with him in his victories. He died in the year 571, leaving behind him one ſon, named Ceol, or Cearlic, who is ſaid to have chaſed his uncle Ceawlin from the kingdom, and ſeated himſelf upon his throne. Cuth, the third ſon of Cenric, was famous rather for his iſſue than for any particular acts of his own; he had three ſons, the firſt was Chelwulf, who was king of the Weſt Saxons; the ſecond was Chel, who was father to Cingils, another king of the Weſt Saxons, and grandfather to Kenwal and Cenwine, alſo kings of Weſſex. Ched, the laſt ſon, was father to Kenbert. The iſſue of Cenric.

CEAWLIN, *the third* KING *of the* WEST SAXONS.

AFTER the death of Cenric, his ſon Ceawlin, mounted the throne of A. D. 560.
Weſſex. This prince had given great proofs of his valour at the battle of Beranburg, where he was preſent, and aſſiſted his father. The early part of his reign ſeems to have been ſpent without the leſt diſturbance; for the Britons, the chief enemies of the ſtate, had drank of late ſo deep of the bitter cup of misfortune, and were driven to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were glad to enjoy in quietneſs the favourable ray of peace which ſhone Ceawlin's ambitious deſigns.

* Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 556. Henry Huntingdon, Ethelwerd, &c.
† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 559, &c.

A. D. 560. upon them. Now ſecure in his poſſeſſions, this welcome tranquility gave Ceawlin leiſure to look round upon the neighbouring kingdoms: this careful ſurvey raiſed in his mind an ambitious thirſt for war, and led him to attempt the enlargement of his ſtate. Such is the effect of ambition upon the minds of men, that the greateſt injuſtice will wear the maſk of glory, and the unlawful ſpoils forced from a diſtreſſed nation, be called the honourable gifts of fortune, due to valiant deeds. Till this time the wars of the Saxons had been only carried on againſt the Britons, a firm cordiality exiſting amongſt their own different ſtates; but Ceawlin firſt made a breach upon that love and friendſhip which had hitherto prevailed: for, conſidering the youth of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and the inactivity of his ſubjects, who had for a long time lived in profound peace, he thought the conqueſt of that kingdom would not be difficult to effect; therefore, he reſolved to begin the war, and accordingly made every preparation neceſſary to accompliſh his deſign.*

A. D. 568. The battle of Wibbandune. Ceawlin's intentions were not ſo ſecretly conducted, but that Ethelbert was made acquainted with them. Theſe alarming proceedings cauſed him to make the moſt ſpeedy proviſion for the defence of his kingdom. His army conducted by two valiant chiefs, called Oſlac and Cnebban, met the forces of Ceawlin, at Wibbandune, where a ſevere battle enſued, in which Ceawlin proved ſucceſsful; for the two leaders of Ethelbert's army were ſlain in the field, and all his forces routed; himſelf hardly eſcaping by a precipitate flight.† Notwithſtanding this favourable beginning of Ceawlin, he ſeems to have met with ſome further oppoſition, which cooled the ardour of his ambition, and prevented his making any greater advances into the kingdom of Kent; for we hear not of any other conſiderable action which he performed. But ſoon after this battle he ſeems to have returned to Weſſex, and dropped the further purſuit of his deſign.

A. D. 571. The battle at Bedford. About this time, the Britons began once more to make head againſt Ceawline, and were entering the borders of Weſſex. This alarming circumſtance called his forces to the field, who, under the conduct of Ceolfulf, his brother, marched againſt the advancing foe. We are not acquainted with the reaſons that with-held the king himſelf from being preſent at this war, which was entirely left to the management of Ceolfulf; who was ſo fortunate in his undertaking, that, in a deciſive battle, fought near Bedford, he routed the Britiſh army, and crowned his conqueſt with the capture of four of their chief towns, namely, Lygean burg, Egelsburg, Benſington, and Eveſham.‡ This diſtreſſing accident ſo deeply

* Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.

† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 568. Will. Hunt. lib. ii. &c. Malmſ. Hen. Hunt. &c. &c.

‡ Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 571. Hen.

affected

affected the ſpirit of the Britons, that, in woeful ſilence, they made their retreat from the face of their enemies, lamenting the misfortunes which every day increaſed upon them; not that all theſe appearances of ſpeedy ruin could prevail upon them to leave their own inordinate purſuits, or follow ſuch methods as prudence and diſcretion would dictate; for, inſtead of continuing ſtrong in their confederacies, and uniting firmly together, they ſtill kept up their own civil diſputes, and laid themſelves open to the attacks of their opponents, who were not backward in ſeizing upon the leaſt occaſion of purſuing their advantage. Soon after this laſt important victory, Ceolfulf returned home to the court of his brother Ceawlin, and died the ſame year. A. D. 571.

Ceawlin now enjoyed about ſix years in tranquility, at the end of which the war was again renewed with the Britons, who had brought into the field a greater army, headed by three of their kings, named Comail, Condidan, and Farinmail; they met the forces of Ceawline (who was accompanied by Cuth, his eldeſt ſon) at a place called Deorham, where a ſevere battle was fought, which ended in favour of the Saxons; for all the three Britiſh kings were ſlain in the field, and their army put to flight. Ceawlin and his ſon purſuing their victories, took from the Britons three other large towns, as Glouceſter, Cirenceſter, and Bathanceſter. After this action, Ceawlin returned home, and peace was again eſtabliſhed for the ſpace of ſix years.* A. D. 577. The battle at Deorham.

Ceawlin, during this tranquility, made great preparations for the defence of his territories; and was now determined to ſet upon the neighbouring Britons, who, taught by woeful experience the conſequence of their fatal diſcords, had entered into a ſtronger combination than before, and were reſolutely making head in the defence of their native rights. Ceawlin himſelf (aſſiſted by his ſon Cuth) conducted the army againſt them, who had by this time completed their recruits, and were not backward in oppoſing the marches of their deteſted foes. Both armies met at a place called Fethan leag,† where the battle was preſently begun: at the firſt onſet, Cuth, the ſon of Ceawlin, was overpowered by numbers, and ſlain in the field, and all the party which he commanded was put to flight; Ceawlin ſeeing this alarming accident, made a fierce charge upon the wing of the Britons with which he was engaged, and putting them to the rout, came up with thoſe who had oppreſſed the Saxons, and were taking the advantage of their victory; this unexpected aid revived the ſpirits of the flying troops, ſo that rallying their forces, and returning again, the onſet was renewed; while the Britons hemmed in on all ſides, were unable to reſiſt the ſudden and repeated A. D. 583. The battle of Fethan leag.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 577. Hunt. ut ſup. &c.

† Suppoſed to have been ſomewhere near Fekenham foreſt, in Worceſterſhire. Vide Samme's Brit. vol. I. p. 563.

ſhocks;

A. D. 583. ſhocks; their main body began to give way, and in the end a total overthrow enſued, the Saxons remaining abſolute maſters of the field. This important victory opened the way for Ceawlin, who, purſuing his fortunes, ſeized upon ſeveral towns, where obtaining great ſpoils, he and his army returned home laden with riches, and glorying in their extended conqueſts.*

A. D. 591. The unfortunate overthrow of Ceawlin at Woden's mount.

This conſiderable loſs to the Britons, though for a time it prevented their undertaking any war againſt the Weſt Saxons, was far from extinguiſhing that implacable hatred which they bore towards them: and now grown deſperate in their reſolutions, they only kept up the appearance of peace, until they had ſufficiently ſtrengthened their army, to take the field again; which was no ſooner done, than they ſet upon the borders of Weſſex. Nor was Ceawlin behind hand in making head againſt them; he came up with their army at a place called Woden's Mount,† where a ſevere engagement enſued. But here the glory which had before accompanied Ceawlin in his undertakings, left him ſuddenly; for his forces were totally overthrown, and the Britons bore away the victory, making a great ſlaughter of the flying Saxons. Ceawlin, oppreſſed with grief, returned to his court; but there alſo the change of fortune awaited him: for now his ſubjects, who had hitherto received him with applauſe, and extolled his victories to the ſkies, began by open murmurs, and continued diſcontents, to fall from their allegiance, and riſe in rebellious parties. Struck with their ingratitude, and ſeeking to avoid their miſchievous deſigns, this unfortunate monarch left the kingly dignity, and abandoned the realm, dying in poor eſtate, about the year of our Lord 593.‡ Whilſt conqueſt crowns the hero's bold attempts, his name may be idolized by the people, and his actions mentioned with repeated praiſe; but turn the ſcale, and view him in diſgrace, one fatal battle loſt may quite eclipſe his former glory, though the due reward of many years hard toil, and many victories gained! This was the unequal fortune of Ceawlin, who, after gaining ſo many important conqueſts, was thruſt from the throne for one unlucky overthrow, after he had reigned gloriouſly thirty-one years.

The iſſue of Ceawlin.

Ceawlin had two ſons; the eldeſt, Cuth, who ſerved under his command, and was ſlain at the battle of Fethan leag; this Cuth was the anceſtor of Ceadwalla, king of Weſſex. The youngeſt ſon was named

* Thus the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, and Henry Huntingdon, have it. Mat. Weſt. indeed mentions the death of Cuth, and the Saxons' flight, but takes no notice of the recovery of the day by Ceawlin. But beſides the foregoing authority for the truth of this laſt circumſtance, the eight years peace which followed, ſeems plainly to confirm it. Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 583. Chron. Ethelwerd, & Hiſt. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 584.

† Woddnes beopliʒe, in the Saxon Chron. or Woden's Mount, in Wiltſhire. Vide Sammes, &c. Speed tranſlates it Woden's Ditch. See his Chron.

‡ W. Malmſ. lib. ii. & Chron. Saxon. Vide Holingſhed, Stow, Speed, &c.

Cuthwin: he ſurvived his father, but ſucceeded not in the kingdom, (being, perhaps, too young to take the government upon him.) Cuthwin was the anceſtor of Ina and Egbert, two famous kings of the Weſt Saxons; the latter being him, who overcame all the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and joined them with his own. A. D. 591.

CEOLRIC, *the fourth* KING *of* WESSEX.

CEOLRIC, the ſon of Ceolfulf, the brother of Ceawlin, ſuceeded him in the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons, and by ſome ſuppoſed to have had great hand in the expelling of his uncle Ceawlin from the realm, in order to make way for his own advancement to the throne: however this may be, his reign exceeded not five years; and during all that time, he does not appear to have been concerned in any buſineſs of conſequence, nor to have undertaken any war of importance enough to claim the notice of the antient hiſtorians; nor does he ſeem to have left any iſſue behind him to inherit the kingdom. A. D. 592.

Ceolric's actions not known.

CEOLWULF, *the fifth* KING *of* WESSEX.

CEOLWULF, the next ſucceſſor in the realm, was the ſon of Cuth, the brother of Ceawlin. The riſing ſtate of Weſſex had now attracted the envy of the ſurrounding powers, ſo that the whole reign of this prince was ſpent in continual warfare. As ſoon as he had aſſumed the royal dignity, the Eaſt Angles, under the conduct of Redwald their king, ſet upon his territories; theſe with great reſolution he oppoſed, and his firſt encounters were crowned with ſucceſs, for Redwald and his party left the borders of Weſſex preſently after, and returned home. No ſooner had this enemy quitted the kingdom, than another ſprang up to diſturb its peace. The Britons, who for a time had kept themſelves quiet, broke forth again, and renewed the war; theſe alſo ſubdued, the Picts and Scots made their way from the north, and aiding the Britons, begun afreſh to ravage the borders of Weſſex. Thus was Ceolwulf continually harraſſed; new dangers breaking out, as faſt as the old ones were ſubſided. In the end, with conſtant reſolution and undaunted courage, he quelled theſe troubles: but yet it was not ordained, that he ſhould hold his reign in peace; for when he had thus long acted only on the defenſive, his ambition led him on to retaliate, in ſome meaſure, upon his neighbours, the wrongs which he himſelf had received; therefore in an evil hour, he meditated an expedition againſt the South Saxons, in the proſecution of which he loſt his life; after he had reigned fourteen years.* He does not appear to have left any children behind him to inherit his dignity. A. D. 597.

Ceolwulf's continual warfare.

* Chron. Sax. ſub ann. 597 & 607. Huntington. lib. 2. Mat. Weſt, &c. &c. W. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Chron. Winton.

CYNE-

CYNEGILS, *the ſixth* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 611. CYNEGILS, the ſon of Ceol, brother to Ceolwulf, ſucceeded him in the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons. This prince aſſociated with him his ſon Cwichelm, who jointly managed the affairs of the ſtate, in all matters of conſequence, either relative to peace or war.† The early part of their reigns, they ſeem to have employed in confirming the love and unity which prevailed amongſt their ſubjects, in ſtrengthening their army, and putting themſelves in the beſt poſture of defence.

Cynegils makes his ſon his partner in the throne.

A. D. 613. When theſe princes had finally ſettled the affairs of the kingdom, they turned their thoughts againſt the enemies of the ſtate; and principally the Britons, who had been ſo troubleſome to their predeceſſor, attracted their regard; and becauſe they were not yet reduced to perfect tranquility, they determined to march out againſt them with a large army. Theſe proceedings being made known to the Britons, they got their forces together with all the expedition they could, reſolving boldly to oppoſe the encroachments of their advancing foe. At Beandune ‡ the armies met, and a bloody battle enſued, which ended in the total overthrow of the Britons, who were put to flight with ſuch prodigious ſlaughter, that upwards of two thouſand of them were left dead in the field.§ By this victory the Weſt Saxons ſecured the peace of their country, and reduced the Britons to ſo low an ebb, that for a long time after they dared not enter the field again.

The Britons overthrown at Beandune.

A. D. 628. The kingdom of Weſſex now enjoyed a perfect peace for the ſpace of fifteen years, at which time the blood-thirſty and reſtleſs Penda, king of Mercia, envying its happineſs, invaded its borders, and rouſed the inhabitants from their pleaſing tranquility. To oppoſe his march, Cynegils and his ſon, at the head of their army, advanced as far as Cirenceſter, where they met the foe and gave them battle; the fight was obſtinately continued all the day, with prodigious ſlaughter on either ſide; the night at laſt put an end to the conflict, but yet it was impoſſible to determine which party had the upper-hand: however, in the morning, on both ſides they found their loſs ſo great, that neither the one nor the other were willing to renew the engagement; but after ſome conſultation between Penda and his party, and Cynegils, his ſon, and their army, propoſals were agreed to, and a fair peace was concluded upon and confirmed. This done, Penda returned to Mercia, and Cynegils, with his ſon Cwichelm, to their own court.*

Penda invades Weſſex.

A. D. 635. After this battle, the reign of Cynegils was paſſed in peace; this circumſtance gave him leiſure to attend to the ſalutary doctrine of Chriſ-

Cynegils receives the Chriſtian faith.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

‡ Beamdune in the Sax. Chron. now *Bindon*, in Dorſetſhire. Camden Brit.

§ The Saxon Chron. ſays two thouſand and forty-ſix, but Henry Hunt. makes them to be two thouſand and ſixty-two.

* Chron. Sax. ſub an. 628. W. Malmſ. Hen. Hunt, &c. ſup.

tianity

tianity, which now began to be preached in his dominions by Berinus: and what by the impreſſion that his diſcourſes made upon the heart of Cynegils, and the perſuaſion of Oſwald the Pious, king of Northumberland, (who afterwards married his daughter) he was convinced of the divine truths, and was baptized at York. The example of the king was preſently followed by his ſubjects, who joyfully received the Chriſtian faith, and forſook their former errors.† A. D. 635.

The next year after Cynegils had been baptized, Cwichelm, his ſon, was alſo lead to the font, at the city of York, and died in that very year, leaving his father in ſole poſſeſſion of the kingdom. In the mean time the Chriſtian religion flouriſhed exceedingly in every part of Weſſex.‡ A. D. 636. Cwichelm is baptized and dieth.

Cynegils outlived his ſon and colleague only ſix years, and died in the year of our Lord 642, greatly lamented by his ſubjects, after he had glorioufly reigned thirty-one years, and was buried in the monaſtery of Winton, which he had newly founded.* Cynegils had three ſons and one daughter, the eldeſt was Cwichelm, who had reigned with and died before his father; the ſecond was Cenwalh, who ſucceeded his father; and the third was Centwine, who was alſo king of the Weſt Saxons. The daughter of Cynegils was named Kineburga; ſhe was, in her father's life-time, married to Oſwald, king of Northumberland. The death and iſſue of Cynegils.

Beſides the actions which are already attributed to the proweſs of Cynegils, and his warlike ſon, Cwichelm, they made war upon the three ſons of Sebba, (who, after the death of their father, ruled in the kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons) and ſlew them in the field, and brought the power of that dominion to a very low ebb.‖ Eaſtſex ſubdued by Cynegils and his ſon.

CENWALH, *the ſeventh* KING *of* WESSEX.

AFTER the deceaſe of Cynegils, his ſecond ſon, Cenwalh, aſcended the throne of Weſſex. In the early part of his reign, this prince gave himſelf up to vice, and ſtill continued in the idolatry of his anceſtors, utterly refuſing to receive the Chriſtian faith, after the example of his father, and the greater part of his ſubjects. Amongſt other unlawful actions, he put away his wife Sexburga, who was the ſiſter of Penda, king of Mercia.§ This laſt imprudent ſtep had nearly ended in his total deſtruction; for the diſgrace which was thrown upon Sexburga, drew down upon him the anger of Penda her brother, whoſe fierce and ferocious temper needed but little offence to ſtimulate his revenge. A. D. 643. Cenwalh puts away his wife.

Cenwalh ſoon found, by woeful experience, that the ſtorm which he had raiſed was too great for him to withſtand, for Penda, invading the A. D. 645. Penda drives Cenwalh from his kingdom.

† Bede Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 7. Hiſt. Ethelwerd. Chron. Sax. ſub ann. 635. Malmſ. Hunt. &c. ut ſupra.

‡ Ib. ib. &c.

* Chron. Wint. J. Redbourne, &c.

‖ Matt. of Weſt. places this tranſaction in the year 616, about which time perhaps it may have happened.

§ Bede Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 7. W. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

A. D. 645. borders of Weſſex, at the head of a powerful army, paved his way with ruin and deſtruction. Alarmed at the approaching danger, Cenwalh abandoned his kingdom, and fled for refuge to the court of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles, where he was received in a friendly and hoſpitable manner. By the advice and perſuaſion of that virtuous prince, he was converted to the Chriſtian faith, and the year following his flight from Weſſex, received baptiſm at the hands of Birinus.* After he had taken upon him the true religion, he entirely changed his former courſe of life, and again received Sexburga, as the conſort of his bed.

A. D. 648. When Cenwalh had reſided three years at the court of Anna, he was, by the aſſiſtance of that prince, reſtored to the throne of Weſſex;† and his haughty brother, Penda, appeaſed by his ſubmiſſion, and the reſtoration of Sexburga to her former honours, turned his arms another way, and ceaſed to moleſt his kingdom. Cenwalh thus unexpectedly re-eſtabliſhed in his kingly dignity, held the government with an equal hand; his actions he moderated by juſtice and mercy, ſeeking by virtue and diſcretion to gain the love of his ſubjects, and to promote their peace.

Cenwalh re-eſtabliſhed in the kingdom.

A. D. 652. Notwithſtanding the great lenity with which this excellent prince did bear his rule, there yet were murmurs and diſcontents prevailing amongſt many of his ſubjects; agitated, perhaps, by evil-deſigning men. From private diſcords they proceeded to open rebellion, and took the field againſt him. To ſuppreſs this dangerous revolt, he gathered all the forces together that he could, and aſſiſted by his faſt friends, gave battle to the rebels, at a place called Bradenford, by Afene;‡ but which party prevailed, as well as the general cauſe of the rebellion, is not known: however, by Cenwalh's enjoying his dignity with great honour for a conſiderable time after this event, it is highly probable, that he gained the victory, and entirely ſubdued the rebellious faction.§

The Weſt Saxons revolt.

A. D. 658. Peace thus reſtored in Weſſex, for the ſpace of ſix years Cenwalh received no further diſturbance; but at the expiration of that term, the neighbouring Britons, who had long lain quiet in their own ſtates, began again to lift up their heads, and meditate a renewal of the war. Theſe commotions being made known to Cenwalh, he inſtantly cauſed preparations to be made, in order to reſiſt their attempts, and with his army met them at a place called Peonnum,‖ where a ſharp engagement enſued,

The Britons overcome at Pennum.

* Bede & Malmſ. ut loc. cit. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 646, & Hiſt. Ethelwerd.

† Ibid. Ibid. &c. &c.

‡ This place, Camden tells us, is Bradford, in Wiltſhire, near the river Avon. Vide Camd. in Wiltſhire.

§ Ethelwerd, Hiſt. lib. ii.

‖ Penor, or Pennum, in Somerſetſhire. Vide Camden. Here I may take notice, that Will. Malmſbury mentions two battles fought by Cenwalh, againſt the Britons; the firſt at Witgornes burg, of which he relates nothing of the particulars, nor which army was victorious; the ſecond at Peonnum, as above; but the Sax. Chron. Ethelwerd, Henry Huntingdon, Matt. Weſt. Higden, &c. &c. make mention of but one battle.

in which the Britons were totally routed, and purſued by the Weſt Saxons as far as Pendridan; a ſmall remnant eſcaping with great difficulty. The prodigious ſlaughter which was made of the Britons during the courſe of this battle, and the purſuit which followed, was ſo great, that they were glad to make peace, and retire from the borders of Weſſex. A. D. 658.

After three years reſt, freſh diſturbances called Cenwalh to the field again; for Wulfere, king of the Mercians, ſon of Penda, moved by his irreſiſtible ambition, and thirſt for glory, and nothing regarding the tie of relationſhip which was exiſting between himſelf and Cenwalh, invaded his dominions, and deſtroyed the country wherever he came. The Weſt Saxons, under the conduct of their king, had recourſe to arms, and at a place called Poſſentes burg, fought with the Mercians, but without ſucceſs; for Fortune favouring the attempts of Wulfere, his army prevailed, and Cenwalh with his party were put to flight.* The Mercians having thus gained a paſſage in the kingdom, purſued their victories to Pendridan, and invaded the iſle of Wight, which they took; and Wulfere afterwards gave it to Edelwalch, the king of the South Saxons. A. D. 661. Wulfere invades Weſſex.

When Wulfere, king of Mercia, departed from Weſſex, Cenwalh enjoyed his kingdom in peace till the day of his death, which happened in the year 672. He reigned thirty years, including the three years that he was abſent from the kingdom. His body was buried in the cathedral church at Wincheſter.† He had but one wife, Sexburga, the ſiſter of Penda, who outlived him; and by whom he does not ſeem to have had any iſſue to ſucceed him in the kingdom. The death of Cenwalh.

SEXBURGA, GOVERNESS *of the* WEST SAXONS.

AFTER the deceaſe of her huſband, Sexburga, his queen, (a woman of great abilities) took the government of Weſſex upon her. She was well acquainted with the affairs of ſtate, and ſupported her charge with uncommon ſpirit. When ſhe had ruled the ſpace of one year,‡ ſhe was either depoſed by her ſubjects, or prevented by death, from making a greater figure in the realm: the former, indeed, is moſt likely; for we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the minds of this fierce people, and the warlike ideas which they imbibed from their anceſtors, could not in theſe early times be ſo refined, as to permit them to ſit down contented under the government of a woman, even though ſhe might have been a perfect A. D. 673. Sexburga aſſumes the government.

* Ethelwerd relates the ſucceſs of this battle in a manner totally different from all other authors; for he declares, that the victory was gained by Cenwalh, and that he took Wulfere priſoner: but this is not likely to have been the caſe, from the circumſtances which follow. The account of this battle, as it ſtands in the text above, is confirmed by the Saxon Chron. Malmſ. Hunt. Mat. Weſt. and all the authors quoted before.

† Chron. Winton. per T. Redbourne.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 673. Chron. J. Brompton & Vet. MS. in Bib. Cotton. marked Julius D. vi. Huntingdon, &c.

A. D. 673. politician; they rather choſe the bold and hardy warrior for their chief, who would lead them on to acquire their honour in blood and ſlaughter, than the poliſhed ſtateſman, by whoſe direction they might enjoy full peace and affluence, whilſt their ſwords were ruſting in their ſcabbards.*

ESCWINE, *the eighth* KING *of* WESSEX.†

A. D. 674. WHEN this extraordinary woman had ceaſed to rule in Weſſex, Eſcwine, the deſcendant of Ceolfulf, the ſon of Cenric, was advanced to the throne. Centwine, the brother of Cenwalh, was indeed the next lawful heir, but it ſeems that Eſcwine made him partaker of his dignity.‡

Eſcwine joins Centwine with him in the kingdom.

A. D. 675. In the ſecond year of his reign, Eſcwine fought a bloody battle againſt Wulfere, the king of Mercia, who had entered the borders of Weſſex, and was ſpoling the country. The place where the armies met, was called Bidanheafod, and, after a prodigious ſlaughter on either ſide, the victory remained doubtful.

Eſcwine fights with Wulfere.

Eſcwine leaves no iſſue.

After Eſcwine had reigned two years, he deceaſed, leaving neither wife nor children behind him to ſucceed him in his dignity; therefore, Centwine, his colleague, after his death, took upon him the government of the whole kingdom.

CENTWINE, *the ninth* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 676. BY the death of his colleague, Centwine remained unrivalled in the kingdom of Weſſex. Few of the actions of this prince are recorded; but yet his wars with the Britons prove him to have been a brave and valiant commander; againſt whom he ſo prevailed, that he drove them from their poſſeſſions in the weſt, and chaſed them even to the ſea-ſhore.§ Overcome with this perpetual ſtream of misfortunes, the ſpirit of reſiſtance amongſt theſe wretched people (who inhabited the weſtern angle of Britain) was quite broke down; ſo that deſpairing of ſucceſs, they forſook their arms, and in extreme indigence fled to mountains and ſecret places, mournfully reflecting on the miſeries of their preſent ſtate. What immediately followed amongſt them is not known; but, perhaps at laſt inured to their woes, and familiar with diſtreſs, their misfortunes might by degrees be leſs felt; and becauſe they found they could not better their ſituation, they might uſe the utmoſt of their endeavours to render it as comfortable as poſſible.

Centwine overcomes the Britons.

Centwine dies without iſſue.

Centwine reigned nine years, in great repute, after the death of his colleague, and died in the year of our Lord 685. He left no iſſue behind

* Will. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

† This king and his aſſociate, who outlived him, are by Bede, for what reaſon I know not, called "*Subreguli*," or petty kings. Ecc. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 12.

‡ Thus much we may gather from the words of Bede, and the more expreſs declaration of Malmſbury; though Huntingdon, Mat. Weſt. and others, have ſet them down as reigning ſeparately.

§ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 681.

him to inherit the kingdom, ſo that it fell to Ceadwalla, an aſpiring young man, of noble birth.* He ſprang from Cutha, the eldeſt ſon of Ceawlin. A. D. 676.

CEADWALLA, *the tenth* KING *of* WESSEX.

CEADWALLA ſeems in the early part of his life to have diſcovered the ſeeds of an ambitious temper. By the prevalence of ſome particular faction, he was, during the reign of Centwine, baniſhed from his country; yet ſuch was his intereſt in the realm, that a ſtrong party of valiant men attended upon his ſteps, and made themſelves partakers of his fortune. After he left Weſſex with his little army, he invaded the neighbouring kingdom of Suſſex, where he ſlew Edelwalch, who ruled in thoſe dominions, and routed all his forces; purſuing his conqueſt, he ravaged the country wherever he came, and his followers loaded themſelves with the ſpoils. When he had for ſome time continued his marches in Suſſex, two valiant chiefs, named Berthunus and Anthun, aroſe in the defence of their ſuffering country, and with a ſtrong army which they had collected together, gave him battle. Fortune ſo far favoured their couragious attempts, that they drove the invading Ceadwalla and his party from the borders of Suſſex, and took the government of the kingdom upon themſelves.† A. D. 680. Some account of Ceadwalla before he ſucceeded to the crown.

After Ceadwalla had left Suſſex, he returned into his own country; about which time the death of Centwine opened the way before him to the throne of Weſſex: nor was he backward in ſeizing upon the favourable opportunity, but quickly ſet up his claim to the crown, and ſucceeded in his deſigns. When he had ſettled himſelf ſecurely in the government, he turned his ambitious eyes again upon Suſſex. In his former wars he had diſcovered the weakneſs of that kingdom; and though he had been expelled by force from thence, yet he readily conceived, that with a ſtronger army he might in a ſecond expedition eaſily ſubdue the whole realm, and add it to his own dominions. Elated with theſe aſpiring thoughts, he collected a large army together, and marching to the borders of Suſſex, began his invaſion, deſtroying with fire and ſword as he paſſed through the land. Theſe alarming dangers called for the ſpeedy aſſiſtance of the two valiant dukes, who had before reſtored peace to their bleeding country: at the head of all their forces they marched forward, to oppoſe the paſſage of Ceadwalla. But the engagement proved unfortunate to the South Saxons; for Berthunus was ſlain in the field, and Anthun with the army put to flight. This misfortune reduced the power of Suſſex to ſo low an ebb, that the miſerable inhabitants were no longer in condition to reſiſt their conquering foes: ſo that the whole country was ſeized upon by Ceadwalla, and became ſubject to his dominion.‡ A. D. 685. The South Saxons overcome.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 15.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.

Suſſex

A. D. 686. The isle of Wight conquered.

Suſſex thus overcome, Ceadwalla marched to its ſouthern borders, near the ſea, and determined upon the conqueſt of the iſle of Wight; wherefore, with his army he invaded that little kingdom, and obtained a ſignal victory over the unfortunate inhabitants, who ſubmitted themſelves to their conqueror. The two ſons of Arvald, the king of that iſland, had (on the firſt notice of Ceadwalla's deſign) withdrawn themſelves from thence, and lay hid not far off: but ſoon after, being betrayed, they were taken from their retreat, and delivered up to Ceadwalla, at whoſe command they were firſt baptized, and after put to death.*

A. D. 687. Ceadwalla makes war in Kent, and his ſucceſs.

The ſucceſs which had crowned the attempts of Ceadwalla upon Suſſex and the iſle of Wight, was far from ſatisfying his aſpiring wiſhes; on the contrary, it proved a ſpur to his ambition, and hurried him on to greater undertakings. By the conqueſt of the South Saxon kingdom, he opened a free paſſage into Kent. Conſidering the peace and tranquility which had ſo long prevailed in that diſtrict, and that having at this time no lawful heir to inherit the crown, the kingdom was divided into various factions, and diſturbed by civil diſſentions, he looked upon the opportunity which now offered for his invading it, as too favourable to be neglectfully paſſed by; wherefore, aſſiſted by his brother Mollo, he led his army, animated by their victories already gained, and big with the hopes of future ſpoils, into the borders of Kent. The alarm of this approaching ruin, contrary to the thoughts or deſires of Ceadwalla, put an end for a time to the civil diſcord which had prevailed amongſt the people, and they all unanimouſly united together in one body againſt their general foe; therefore, the firſt attempts of Ceadwalla were far from being ſo fortunate as he had expected: yet he continued his march, and did great damage. In one of theſe encounters, his brother Mollo was ſlain as he was making his retreat, with twelve brave warriors who accompanied him; for, being encompaſſed by the Kentiſh men, they had taken refuge in a ſmall fort, which was at hand, where they defended themſelves for ſome time, refuſing to yield themſelves to the beſiegers. The Kentiſh men enraged at the oppoſition which they made, ſet fire to the fort, and Mollo, with his followers, periſhed in the flames. This unfortunate accident ſo highly exaſperated Ceadwalla, that with his army he returned again to Kent, and began in moſt bloody ſort to revenge his brother's miſerable death. Wherever he came he laid the country waſte; the cities and towns he burnt with fire, and ſlew the inhabitants with the ſword: nor were the wretched inhabitants, with all their combined forces, able to beat him back, or ſtop the progreſs of his rage.†

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 16. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 686, &c.

† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 687. & alia. The author of the Scala Chronica ſays, that "Ceadwalla killed Edric and Elwalki, who began to rebel in Weſſex; this ſo much diſpleaſed the Kentiſh men, that they roſe againſt him. To quell this diſturbance, he ſent his brother Mollo into Kent." Thus, he reports, the war began, (but on what authority I know not.) The reſt of his account agrees with that in the text. Scala Chron. lib. ii.

In

In all theſe engagements Ceadwalla had ſpilt ſuch a profuſion of guiltleſs blood, that when he came ſeriouſly, and in a religious light, to reflect upon the dreadful conſequences of his cruel conqueſts, he was ſtruck with remorſe; and in order to expiate in ſome meaſure the offence, he quitted his kingly dignity, after a reign of little more than three years, and went in an humble manner to Rome, where he received baptiſm at the hand of Sergius, (who was then pope) and was called Peter. In the ſame year, being about thirty years of age, he died in that city, and was there buried in St. Peter's church, having a long Latin epitaph engraven upon his tomb.* He does not appear to have been married, ſo that he left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed in the kingdom. A. D. 688. Ceadwalla goes to Rome.

INA, *the eleventh* KING *of* WESSEX.

AFTER the departure of Ceadwalla from Weſſex, Ina, a noble young man, deſcended from Cuthwine, the ſon of Ceawline, took upon him the government of the kingdom. His character, as drawn in the early hiſtories, is truly amiable; he was a powerful and wiſe prince, bearing himſelf with conſtant valour in war, and ruling with equal prudence in time of peace. He alſo greatly forwarded the Chriſtian religion, which at this time began to flouriſh in much purity. At laſt, attending, perhaps, rather more than was neceſſary to the doctrine of the prieſts, he gave way to an enthuſiaſtic zeal, which led him to forſake his worldly honour, and undertake a fooliſh, though faſhionable, pilgrimage to Rome. A. D. 689. The character of Ina.

In what particular actions the firſt five years of his reign were employed we know not; for the peace which endured till then, and ſome time after, gave him no occaſion of ſignalizing his valour. Aſhamed of this inactive life, he pretended (about this time) to call to mind the deſtruction of Mollo, the brother of Ceadwalla; and declaring to his people, that he thought the revenge, which his predeceſſor had taken, was not equal to the cruelty of the fact, he therefore held himſelf juſtified to invade the kingdom of Kent again, and quite complete the ruin of that ſtate: thus were his ambitious deſigns maſked under the ſplendid appearance of juſtice! The alarming news of Ina's preparations to invade Kent was ſoon made known to Wihtred, who then reigned in that diſtrict; and his apprehenſions of the conſequences were ſtill more dreadful, becauſe he found himſelf in no condition to oppoſe his adverſary by force of arms. In this extremity, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to Ina, who made large demands to pacify his wrath: wherefore, a prodi- A. D. 694. Ina prepares to invade Kent.

* The original of this epitaph, as given in Bede, is as follows: "Hic depoſitus eſt "Cedval, qui & Petrus, Rex Saxonum, "ſub die duodecimo kalendarum Maja-"rum, indictione ſecundâ; qui vixit an-"nos plùs minùs triginta, imperante Do-"mino Juſtiniano piiſſimo Auguſto; anno "ejus conſolatûs quarto pontificante apo-"ſtolico viro domino Sergio Papâ, anno "ſecundo" And this is preceded by a long Latin poem. Vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 7.

gious

A. D. 694. gious ſum of money was delivered to him, and thirty of the chief actors in the murder of Mollo and his companions.*

A. D. 710. Six years after the confirmation of this peace, the Britons once more began to make head againſt Weſſex; and under the command of a chief, named Gerent, a large army of them entered the borders of the realm. Ina, watchful for the ſafety of his ſubjects, gathered all his forces together, and being joined by his couſin Nun, haſted to ſtop their progreſs. A deſperate engagement enſued, which in the beginning ſeemed to promiſe conqueſt to the Britons, for a valiant leader, on the Saxon's ſide, (named Higebald) being ſlain, the army was for ſome time in confuſion; but being rallied again, by the prudence and conduct of Ina and Nun, the onſet was again begun, and the Britons found ſuch ſharp reſiſtance, that they ſhrunk back, and were cloſely preſſed by the Saxons; at length, being unable to withſtand their force any longer, they fled from the field, and left Ina in full poſſeſſion of his glorious conqueſt.† But yet he oppreſſed them not as his predeceſſors had done, for about this time the noblemen of the Britons began to intermarry with the noble virgins of the Saxons, and the Saxons again with thoſe of the Britons.‡

Ina fights with the Britons.

A. D. 715. His next important wars were thoſe which he ſupported againſt Celred, king of Mercia, with whom he fought a ſharp and bloody battle at Wodens burh, where, after prodigious ſlaughter on both ſides, the victory yet remained doubtful. The true occaſion of theſe wars is not ſet down by the hiſtorians; but it is moſt likely, that ambition on one ſide or the other, might be the firſt and original cauſe.§

Ina wars with Celred, king of Mercia.

A. D. 722. Seven years after the battle of Wodens burh, the South Saxons, who had long groaned under the bondage of thoſe of Weſſex, began to revolt, and with repeated ſtruggles ſought to regain their native liberty. Under the conduct of a chief whom they ſet up, named Ealdbright, they took the field. This rebellion brought Ina with his army into Suſſex, where he fought with the South Saxons; but the immediate ſucceſs of this battle is not recorded.‖

The South Saxons rebel.

A. D. 725. After three years, the war being continued, (and, as we may ſuppoſe, with different ſucceſs) Ina again fought a great battle with the South Saxons, which proved a deciſive one; for Ina and his army prevailed againſt their opponents, and ſlew their leader, Ealdbright, in the field. The loſs which the South Saxons ſuſtained in this encounter was ſo conſiderable, that they were no longer able to make head againſt the

The South Saxons overcome.

* W. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Chr. Sax. ſub anno 694.

† Chron. Saxon. ſub anno 710. Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. Ethelwerd, &c. &c.

‡ Chron. Winton. T. Redbourne.

§ Chron. Sax. Hunt. lib. iv. Ethelwerd. Brompton, &c.

‖ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 722.

Weſt

Weſt Saxons, but ſubmitted themſelves to the will of the conqueror, who once more united the whole of their dominions to his own.* A. D. 725.

When Ina had reigned in glory the ſpace of thirty-nine years,† by the continual perſuaſion of Ethelburh, his queen, he relinquiſhed his crown and ſtate, and journeyed to Rome, where he paſſed the reſt of his life in obſcurity, diveſted of all worldly pomp,‡ and died in poverty. This king has left behind him an excellent code of laws, which were made in his time, and are preſerved to this day. Ina had one brother, named Ingild, who died before him; and two ſiſters, Cwenburh and Cuthburh; the laſt was married to Ealdferth, the king of Northumberland, but ſoon after ſhe was parted from him, preferring a monaſtic life to the married ſtate.§ Ina left no children behind him to inherit the crown of Weſſex. A. D. 728. Ina leaves his kingdom, and goes to Rome.

ETHELHEARD, *the twelfth* KING *of* WESSEX.

AFTER Ina had abdicated the throne of the Weſt Saxons, Ethelheard, a near relation of his, was advanced to the dignity; not indeed by the common conſent of the whole kingdom, but rather by the prevalence of ſome ſtrong parties. For Oſwald, a noble young man, deſcended from Cuthwin, the ſon of Ceawlin, appears to have had a better claim to the crown than Ethelheard himſelf.‖ Moved by the juſtice of his cauſe, there were not wanting many in the realm, who began by murmurings and diſcontent, to ſhew themſelves diſaffected to the rule of Ethelheard, and took part with Oſwald, perſuading him to enter the field againſt his uſurping relation. This flattering advice was preſently purſued by the ambitious youth, who, placing himſelf at the head of his party, broke out in open rebellion. After ſome ſhort continuance of this civil war, Ethelheard and his army gained ſuch ground upon Oſwald, that, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he gave up the ſtruggle, leaving the realm in peace to his opponent, and ſoon after he deceaſed, which put a ſudden end to all the late diſturbance.** A. D. 728. Oſwald rebels in Weſſex.

When Oſwald had fled the kingdom, Ethelheard remained ſecure, and unrivalled in his dignity; the remaining part of his reign was ſpent in perfect peace and tranquility, ſo that we find nothing more recorded of him, than that he reigned fourteen years, and died without iſſue, in the year of our Lord 742.†† The death of Ethelheard.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 725. & alia ut ſup.

† Bede ſays, only thirty-ſeven years and ſome odd months. Redbourne and others ſay, thirty-eight.

‡ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

§ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 728.

‖ Brompton erroneouſly declares, that this Oſwald was ſon to Ethelbald, king of Mercia. In the Saxon Chronicle, his pedigree is more juſtly derived from Cerdic, thus: Oſwald the ſon of Ethelbald, the ſon of Cynebald, the ſon of Cuthwin, the ſon of Ceawlin, the ſon of Cenric, the ſon of Cerdic. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 728.

** Chron. Sax. Malmſbury, Huntingdon, &c.

†† Chron. Saxon. &c. &c.

CUTHRED, *the thirteenth* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 742. AFTER the death of Ethelheard, his brother Cuthred laid claim to the throne of Weſſex, and ſucceeded eaſily in his deſign. The beginning of his reign was uſhered in by dangerous troubles; for Ethelbald, the aſpiring Mercian king, aſſaulted his realm, as well by open war, as private practices. Cuthred, the mean while, reſiſted the attempts of his enemy with unſhaken reſolution; ſo that after ſome ſhort continuance of this diſturbance, there enſued a ſharp engagement between the two kings, where prodigious ſlaughter was made on either ſide. This calmed the fury of their minds, and led them to accept of conditions; for, as neither one nor the other choſe to renew the battle, a fair agreement was preſently made between them, and a firm-eſtabliſhed peace was the reſult.*

Ethelbald makes war upon Cuthred.

A. D. 744. When ſome time had elapſed from the firſt concluſion of this peace, Cuthred joined his forces with thoſe of Ethelbald, and both theſe kings marched againſt the Britons, with whom they fought a great and bloody battle. The Britons, unable to reſiſt the united power of the Saxons, fled from the field, and were purſued by their enemies, who made a prodigious ſlaughter. After this victory, the ſucceſsful kings returned again to their own dominions, and remained peaceable for a conſiderable length of time.†

The Britons overcome.

A. D. 748. Four years of perfect tranquility followed in the kingdom of Weſſex, when the domeſtic peace of Cuthred was diſturbed by a very unhappy accident: Cynric, his eldeſt ſon, a youth of great ſpirit, bearing, as it ſeems, ſome high command in the army, behaved with ſuch haughtineſs, and carried his pride to ſo great a length, that a large party of the ſoldiers roſe ſeditiouſly againſt him, complaining grievouſly of their oppreſſion. In endeavouring to ſuppreſs this dangerous inſurrection, Cynric himſelf was ſlain, to the great grief of his father.‡

Cynric, the ſon of Cuthred, ſlain.

A. D. 750. This trouble was ſoon after followed by another, of ſtill more alarming a nature; for Æthelhun, a nobleman of great repute in the kingdom, taking offence at ſome proceedings of his ſovereign, roſe againſt him in open rebellion, and perſuaded a large party of the people to eſpouſe his cauſe. Cuthred, with his friends who continued faithful to him, marched againſt the ſeditious earl, and gave him battle; after a bloody engagement, the rebels were put to flight, and the king obtained a perfect victory. The earl now driven to the laſt diſtreſs, was forced to ſubmit to his evil fortune; but the king, remembering mercy in the midſt of ju-

The rebellion of Æthelhun.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 741. Henry Huntingdon, lib. iv. &c.

† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 743. & Hunt. ut ſup.

‡ Ibid. Ibid. Et Chron. Vrivallenſis, &c. &c.

ſtice,

ſtice, generouſly forgave him the offence, and reſtored him again to all his former honours. So great was the impreſſion which this unexpected clemency made in the heart of Æthelhun, that, by his future actions, he gratefully ſtrove to convince his maſter that his mercy was not beſtowed in vain.* A. D. 750.

Shortly after Cuthred had compoſed all theſe domeſtic troubles, the war broke out again afreſh between him and Ethelbald, king of Mercia, his old enemy. Unbounded pride and ambition had blown up into a flame the latent ſparks of reſentment in the breaſt of the Mercian, ſo that without the leaſt juſt cauſe he invaded Weſſex, and diſtreſſed the borders with his cruel conqueſts; but it was not long before Cuthred met him with his army, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of his arms. At Beorgford he fought with the Mercians, and gained a complete victory. The ſucceſs of Cuthred in this important battle, is ſaid to have been chiefly owing to the great valour and conduct of Æthelhun, the nobleman who had rebelled againſt his ſovereign, and was pardoned as we have ſeen above. Yet the conqueſt was not gained without conſiderable ſlaughter on either ſide.† A. D. 754. Ethelbald renews the war with the Saxons.

This defeat, far from preventing the deſigns of Ethelbald, ſerved rather to ſtimulate his ambition, and ſwell his pride beyond the bounds of reaſon and diſcretion. In about two years he had again recruited his army, and poured his forces upon the borders of Weſſex. Cuthred marched againſt him, and proved ſucceſsful in the war, cauſing his enemy to retreat as far as Sceandune,‡ where he gave him battle. A long and bloody conflict enſued, in which Cuthred and his party prevailed, and the Mercians were put to flight with the loſs of their king, who is ſaid to have been murdered by the treachery of one of his captains.§ A. D. 757. The battle of Sceandune.

The laſt war of Cuthred was againſt the Britons, whom he overcame without much difficulty; for the wars which they ſuſtained againſt the Weſt Saxons and the Mercians, in the beginning of Cuthred's reign, and the misfortunes which had preceded that time, had ſo weakened their power, that they were not in any tolerable ſtate of reſiſtance. The death of Cuthred.

When this prince had reigned gloriouſly near ſixteen years, he departed from this life, in the year of our Lord 758, and left the kingdom without an heir.‖

SIGEBRYHT, *the fourteenth* KING *of* WESSEX. A. D. 758.

UPON the death of Cuthred, a man of obſcure birth, named Sigebryth, made his way to the throne of Weſſex. The ſucceſs which Sigebryht's evil government.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 750, &c. &c. ut ſup.

† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 753.

‡ This place is ſuppoſed to be about three miles from Tamworth, in Warwickſhire.

§ Hunt. lib iv. Brompton, &c.

‖ Ibid. Ibid. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 756.

A. D. 758. crowned his attempt is the rather ſurpriſing, becauſe his character is drawn in hiſtory as a cruel and tyrannical oppreſſor of the ſtate. The ancient laws and conſtitution of the realm he endeavoured to pervert, and make ſubſervient to his own deteſted ends. Theſe unjuſt proceedings alarmed the nobles, and provoked his ſubjects in general; at laſt, an earl, named Cumbra, (a man of great ſpirit, and much reſpected by the people) reproved him freely for his evil conduct, and ſet before him the conſequences of perſiſting in his errors, entreating him to hold the government with leſs rigour, becauſe the whole nation was univerſally diſcontented, and daily murmurs from all ſides filled the ſtate. This ſpirited admonition, inſtead of meeting with a favourable reply, ſo highly exaſperated Sygebryht againſt the unfortunate Cumbra, that he cauſed him to be put to a cruel death. This laſt imprudent ſtep inflamed the minds of the people to ſuch a degree, that throwing off all allegiance, they roſe againſt the tyrant, and threatening vengeance, deprived him of all his regal honours, and drove him from the throne, before he had enjoyed the crown the ſpace of one year.

The death of Sigebryht.

Sigebryht appears to have been as baſe and grovelling in adverſity, as he was proud and imperious in proſperity: for, fearing the anger of his juſtly-exaſperated ſubjects, he fled alone from Weſſex in a mean diſguiſe, fearfully avoiding the ſight of man, and hiding himſelf in holes and caverns. At laſt, he took refuge in a large wood, on the borders of Kent, called Andredeſweald, where, wandering obſcurely about, he was met by a poor ruſtic, who had formerly been a ſervant of the murdered Cumbra, and the perſon of Sigebryht being known to him, out of zeal to revenge the wrongs of his late lord, he ſlew him upon the ſpot.*

CYNEWULF, *the fifteenth* KING *of the* WEST SAXONS.

A. D. 758. CYNEWULF, a noble young man of the line of Cerdic, who was the chief leader of the ſedition againſt Sigebryht, after his expulſion from the realm, laid claim ſucceſsfully to the royal dignities, and with great prudence calmed the ſtorm which was raiſed in the minds of the people by the late revolt, reſtoring peace and good order to the ſtate. All the former part of his reign is paſſed over by the ancient hiſtorians, who have contented themſelves with informing us, that he gained ſeveral great and important victories over the Britons, the particulars of which are no where ſpecified; but by their fame, he extended his own conſequence; and by his prudent government at home, ſecured the love of his ſubjects.†

Cynewulf's prudent government.

A. D. 775. In the ſeventeenth year of Cynewulf's reign, a war broke out between him and Offa, the ambitious king of Mercia, and a great battle was

The battle of Benſington.

* Chron. Saxon. Ethelwerd, lib. ii. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Chron. John Brompton. J. Redbourne. Chron. Winton. Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. &c.

† Ib. ib. &c.

fought

fought by them near Benſington, in which Offa prevailed, and Cyne- A. D. 775.
wulf was driven from the field: Offa purſuing his victory, took the
town of Benſington. and held it as his own.*

From this time to the end of his reign, Cynewulf enjoyed his dominions A. D. 787.
in perfect tranquility. To which, perhaps, might be owing his unfortunate
end; for, if in the former part of his government he is praiſed for his ju- The cauſe of Cynewulf's death.
ſtice and prudence, in the latter he is accuſed of giving way to his plea-
ſures, and relying with too much ſecurity on his proſperous ſtate. The
conſtant ſmiles of fortune ſo ſenſibly affected his mind, that, forgetful of
the ſlippery foundation of worldly grandeur, he overlooked thoſe cauſes,
which, though trifling in their beginning, ended at laſt in his final de-
ſtruction. For ſome offence which he took againſt Cyneheard, (the bro-
ther of Sigebryht, the late king) he baniſhed him from the kingdom.
Cyneheard diſſembling the matter, ſeemed willing to retire from Weſſex:
but meditating revenge, he prevailed upon a party of deſperate ruffians
to aſſiſt him in his undertaking; and accompanied with theſe, he returned
privately to the court of Cynewulf, watching a proper opportunity to
murder him. He had not been long concealed before he ſucceeded in
his deſign; for the king one evening viſiting a noble woman at Mer-
ton, (who was his concubine) in a private manner, with only a few at-
tendants, he was narrowly watched by the conſpirators, and when he had
entered the houſe, they encloſed it round, and endeavoured to force the door.
The king perceiving his danger, cauſed the entrance to be cloſely barred,
and endeavoured by promiſes and fair words to prevail upon them to diſperſe;
but when he ſaw that he could not ſucceed, and that the more kindly he
ſpoke to them, the more vociferous were they in their vows and declara-
tions of revenge, he ceaſed to argue, and determined with the few faithful
ſervants who accompanied him, to ſally out upon them, and ſet the hazard
of his life upon the chance of war. This deſperate reſolution he executed,
and ruſhing furiouſly from the houſe, encountered with Cyneheard him-
ſelf, whom he nearly killed; but being preſently ſurrounded by the re-
bellious crew, he was beaten down to the earth, and ſlain, all his fol-
lowers ſharing the ſame unfortunate fate. Yet ſome report of this dread-
ful accident was ſoon noiſed abroad, and coming to the ears of two chief
nobles of the realm, Oſric and Wiverth, they called the guards together,
and haſted to revenge the death of their ſovereign. When Cyneheard
ſaw them approach, he ſought by fair means to mitigate the matter, and
in a long ſpeech attempted to gloſs over the heinouſneſs of the crime,
alledging, in excuſe, the injuries he had received. But ſo thoroughly
had the two loyal chieftains inflamed the minds of the ſoldiers with the
ſpirit of reſentment, that Cyneheard ſaw there was no hope left him of
eſcaping, but what depended alone upon his ſword; wherefore, encou-

* The Saxon Chron. places this battle here. Brompton, Redbourne, and others, ſet it down in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

raging

A. D. 787. raging his companions to fight valiantly, the conflict was begun: and ſo deſperately did the rebels ſupport the charge, that the ſcales of victory hung a long time doubtful, till at laſt the cauſe of juſtice prevailed, and they were totally overcome; Cyneheard himſelf, and eighty-eight of his companions, being ſlain upon the ſpot.*

Cynewulf leaves no heir to the realm.

Cynewulf was murdered after he had reigned upwards of thirty years, in the year of our Lord 788. His body was taken up, and carefully conveyed to Wincheſter, where it was honourably buried. This prince was never married, ſo that at his death the kingdom was again deſtitute of a legal heir to the crown.†

BEORHTRIC, *the ſixteenth* KING *of* WESSEX.

A. D. 788. THE death of Cynewulf being known, Beorhtric, a nobleman deſcended from Cerdic, was by the favour of the people advanced to the government. This prince was a man of mild and affable temper; the meekneſs of his diſpoſition led him to prefer a life of peace and tranquility, to that of war and diſturbance: for this reaſon, he avoided all occaſions of offence amongſt the neighbouring ſtates; his equitable behaviour ſecured their reſpect to his character, and ſettled the happineſs of his kingdom upon a ſolid baſis.‡

The character of Beorhtric.

A. D. 791. By theſe proceedings Beorhtric eſtabliſhed himſelf in the throne; and that he might advance the welfare of his ſubjects, as alſo the better to put himſelf in a poſture of defence, if any ſurrounding ſtates might moleſt him, he made firm alliance with Offa, the great and powerful king of Mercia, eſpouſing his daughter Eadburge, a woman of unbounded pride and haughtineſs of ſoul. Yet it is the will of Heaven that human wiſdom ſhall be often baffled, and thoſe very purſuits which promiſe the moſt ſolid ſatisfactions, prove too frequently the fatal ſteps to ruin and deſtruction. Such was the fate of this unfortunate prince: that flattering alliance which appeared of ſo much importance to the ſtate, far from producing the happineſs he hoped for, ended at laſt in his own death.§

Beorhtric marries the daughter of Offa.

A. D. 792. Egbert, a noble young man, of an aſpiring genius, who ruled at this time under Beorhtric, in a province of the Weſt Saxons, by ſome means became offenſive to Eadburge, and ſhe neglected not to fill the king's mind with jealous fears concerning him. Egbert finding the danger he was in, left the kingdom, (adviſed to do ſo perhaps by Beorhtric himſelf) and went to the court of Offa; but not meeting with the reception there which he thought ſuitable to him, he departed thence, and

Egbert baniſhed.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 755. Ethelwerd, lib. ii. Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2. Brompton, Redbourne, &c.

† Ibid. Ibid.

‡ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 2.

§ Rog. Hoveden, pars prior. M. Weſt. Sax. Chron. Malmſ. &c.

went

went into France, where he remained till, at the death of Beorhtric, he was recalled into Weſſex, to take the government of that kingdom upon him.* A. D. 792.

Soon after the marriage of Beorhtric, the piratical Danes (who ſo grievouſly infeſted the kingdom in the ſucceding times) firſt invaded South Britain, and landing upon the coaſt of Weſſex, from three large ſhips, began to ſpoil the country. The governor who preſided in thoſe parts collected the chief of his forces together, and marched down to ſtop their progreſs; but engaging with them too raſhly, he loſt his own life, and his attendants were routed. This news being reported to Beorhtric, he, with the aſſiſtance of Offa, his father-in-law, came ſuddenly upon them, and drove them back to their ſhips with great loſs: their flight was ſo precipitate, that all the ſpoils which they had taken from the inhabitants were left behind.† A. D. 793. The Danes, for the firſt time, land in Britain.

The imperious ſpirit of Eadburge was a conſtant vexation to the ſoul of Beorhtric; his love of peace, and the ſoftneſs of his temper, being ſo diametrically oppoſite to the impatience and uncontroulable diſpoſition of his queen, who, amongſt other of her faults, was alſo a looſe and wanton woman. The general report is, that jealouſy in her amours was the cauſe of her huſband's death; for, though the ſtory is differently related by the ancient authors, yet in the chief circumſtances it agrees. A noble youth in the king's court, who, as ſome affirm, had formerly been her favourite, gave her ſome great cauſe of diſpleaſure; big with revenge, ſhe continually worried the king with complaints againſt him; but finding that they made not the impreſſion upon him which ſhe deſired, ſhe reſolved herſelf to deſtroy the unfortunate culprit; and the better to effect her wicked deſign, ſhe poiſoned a cup of liquor, which ſhe intended to preſent him with: but, in the mean time, the king coming into the room, and being thirſty, took up the cup, and drank the poiſoned draught. It was too late now to remedy the dreadful miſtake; for the king preſently after died, greatly lamented by his ſubjects, who, highly exaſperated at the unhappy end of their monarch, enacted a law, that, from that time the king's wife ſhould be deprived of all her privileges and honours, and ſhould alſo ceaſe to bear the name of queen.‡ This worthy prince reigned near ſixteen years, and died without any iſſue. The death of Beorhtric.

To avoid the fury of the incenſed people, Eadburge fled into France, carrying with her a large quantity of treaſure, and ſought protection of Charles, who was then king of that country. But there following her vicious inclinations, Charles placed her in a monaſtery, where ſhe ſhamefully committed adultery with a layman, and was, for that heinous crime, Eadburge flies into France; her miſerable death.

* Rog. Hoveden, pars prior. M. Weſt. Sax. Chron. Malmſ. &c.
† Ibid. Ibid.
‡ Aſſer. Annal. Hoveden. Mat. Weſt. S. Dunclim, &c.

A. D. 793. expelled from thence, and after from the kingdom; when wandering into Italy, ſhe died at Pavia, in extreme poverty and want.*

A. D. 804. The hiſtory of Weſſex thus far continued, our next ſtep will be to commence the reign of Egbert, who ſucceeded Beorhtric in the kingdom, and by whoſe proweſs the other ſix dominions of the heptarchy were overcome, and joined with this. But before we proceed in the hiſtory of this glorious prince, it will not be amiſs to go regularly on with the accounts of thoſe kingdoms which we have not ſpoken of as yet, and bring their annals down to the preſent important period.

The hiſtory of Weſſex broke off, to purſue the other annals.

EASTSEX;

* Aſſerius, who relates theſe matters as things himſelf had heard for truth, from thoſe who were witneſſes of the facts, alſo adds another circumſtance: While (ſays he) ſhe was in the court of France, Charles aſked her whether ſhe would wed him, or his ſon; to which ſhe replied, Your ſon, of certainty, becauſe he is younger.---Ah, then! cries Charles, ſee how imprudent your peremptory choice hath been; had you choſen me, I would have given you my ſon; but now you have choſen him, you ſhall have neither. Having ſaid this, he ſent her to the monaſtery, from whence ſhe was, for her adultery, expelled.

EAST SEX;

THE FOURTH KINGDOM OF THE

HEPTARCHY.

THE civil and military hiſtory of this kingdom, makes an appearance of ſuch little conſequence in the annals of the heptarchy, that ſcarcely more than a bare catalogue of the names of the ſeveral monarchs, can be collected from the imperfect accounts which are left us by the ancient authors. In its beginning it was held by Erchenwine, (its firſt founder) as feodary from Octa, king of Kent; for we may recollect, that the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex (which form the greater part of this dominion) were given to Hengiſt, in ranſom of Vortigern, detained by him after the maſſacre of the Britons upon the plains of Saliſbury.* But how long this dependance on Kent continued, or whether they ever aſſerted a ſtate of ſeparate freedom, cannot ſo eaſily be determined; but that they did, may appear moſt plauſible, becauſe when they were oppreſſed by the ſurrounding ſtates, the kings of Kent ſeem quietly to have left them to their fate, and neither complained of the injury, nor ſtirred to revenge it; which it is moſt likely they would have done, had Eaſtſex yet been conſidered as a part of their own feodary ſtate.

The little conſequence of the kingdom of Eaſtſex.

I am thoroughly convinced that this dry narrative cannot be entertaining to the readers in general, and becauſe it is impoſſible to ſupply theſe lamentable defects of ancient hiſtory, I ſhall paſs over the whole account as quickly as poſſible, in order the ſooner to arrive at the more important and intereſting parts of the Chronicle.

The kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons contained the counties of Eſſex, Middleſex, and Herefordſhire: on the eaſt it is bounded by the German ocean, on the ſouth by the Thames, on the weſt by Buckinghamſhire, and on the north by Suffolk, the borders of the Eaſt Angles.

The extent of Eaſtſex.

ERCHENWIN, or ERCHWINE, (a noble Saxon, deſcended from Woden) arrived in Britain about the year 527, with a ſtrong party of German troops; and coming into theſe parts, ſettled here, holding the ſame of Octa, the grandſon of Hengiſt, who firſt led the Saxons into Britain.† He reigned peaceably ſixty years, and left behind him a ſon, named Sledda. A. D. 527.

* Vide page 70, of this volume.

† Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. & Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 587.

A. D. 587. SLEDDA, the ſecond king of the Eaſt Saxons, ſucceeded his father, Erchenwine. This prince married Ricula, the daughter of Hermenric, the fourth of Kent. His reign was ten years.*

A. D. 597. SEBERT, the third king of Eaſtſex. This prince was the ſon of Sledda and Ricula; and immediately upon the death of his father, ſucceeded to the kingdom. By the perſuaſion of Ethelbert, king of Kent, (his uncle) joined with the doctrine of Miletus, he was converted to Chriſtianity; being juſtly famous, as the firſt king of this diſtrict who embraced the true faith.† By his queen (whom ſome call Ethelgoda‡) he had three ſons, who all-together ſucceeded him in the kingdom. Sebert reigned about eighteen years, and was buried, together with his queen, in the new church of St. Peter, at Weſtminſter, which himſelf had built.§

A. D. 615. The three ſons of Sebert, namely SERRED, SEWARD, and SIGEBERT, after his death, took upon them the government of Eaſtſex. But far from following the pious example of their father, theſe wicked princes apoſtated from the Chriſtian faith, and, amongſt other enormities, drove Miletus from his ſee at London, becauſe he reſolutely refuſed to prophane the ſacred rites of the communion. But they were not ſuffered long to triumph in their abominations; for, in a fatal war begun againſt the Weſt Saxons, their forces were totally overcome, and they themſelves ſlain in the field,‖ about the year of our Lord 616,** after a ſhort reign of two years. Seward left two ſons, one named Sigebert, who reigned after the death of his father and uncles; and the other, Sebba, who alſo ſucceeded after to the kingdom.

A. D. 617. SIGEBERT, the ſeventh king of the Eaſt Saxons. Ths prince was ſirnamed the Little; but whether this title was beſtowed upon him becauſe he might be ſmall in ſtature, or from his want of importance in the ſtate, is a matter which muſt ſtill remain doubtful. He appears to have reigned about eight and twenty years, and dying, left behind him a brother and a ſon, yet was not immediately ſucceeded by either in the kingdom.

A. D. 645. SIGEBERT the Second, the eighth king of Eaſtſex, was the ſon of Sigebald, brother of Sebert. By the advice and perſuaſion of Oſwy, king

* Malmſbury indeed makes Sledda the firſt king of Eaſtſex, without mentioning his father; but other authors have attributed the firſt beginning of this kingdom to Erchenwin; the latter, and more general, account, I have rather choſe to follow. Vide Mat. Weſt. Hunt. &c.

† Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3. Huntingdon, Mat. Weſt. &c.

‡ Stow, Speed, and others.

§ Bede, &c. ut ſup.

‖ Bede, lib. ii. cap. 5, Malmſbury indeed makes no mention of the third ſon: but the authority of Bede is ſufficient. Vide Hen. Hunt. &c.

** Mat. Weſt. ſub anno 616.

of

of Northumberland, he abandoned his ſuperſtitious idolatry, and became a Chriſtian. Beſides his own piety, and love for the true faith, he took all occaſions to promulgate the goſpel amongſt his ſubjects. Theſe juſt and upright proceedings of Sigebert, however they might gain him the public love, failed not, on the other hand, to create him private foes; at the head of theſe were two of his kinſmen, who put him to death while he was viſiting at one of their houſes,* after he had reigned about ſixteen years. He left a young ſon, named Selred, who ſome time after ſucceeded to the crown. A. D. 645.

SWITHELM, the ſon of Sexbald, the ninth king of the Eaſt Saxons, was, after the murder of Sigebert, advanced to the throne. He received baptiſm at the hands of Ced, Ethelwald, king of the Eaſt Angles, being his godfather at the font. His reign was only three years, or thereabouts, and he died without iſſue.† A. D. 661.

SIGHER and SEBBA ſucceeded Swithelm, and ruled jointly in Eaſtſex. Sigher was the ſon of Sigebert the Little, and Sebba the brother of of the ſame Sigebert. Sebba remained ſtedfaſt in the Chriſtian faith, but his nephew following his vicious inclinations, continued in the idolatry of his forefathers, and repaired the ruined temples which were dedicated to their gods. However, at laſt, by the means of Wulfere, king of Mercia, who ſent Janimanus, a learned biſhop, to preach to Sigher and his people, they were again converted to the true faith, and the king continued conſtant in the ſame to the day of his death,‡ which happened in the year of our Lord 683,§ after he had reigned twenty-two years. He is ſaid to have been married to Oſwith, the daughter of Ethelfrith, king of Northumberland, a devout woman, by whom he had one ſon, named Offa, who ruled in Eaſtſex ſome time after. A. D. 664.

By the death of his colleague, Sebba was left alone in the kingdom, which, when he had governed thirty years in the whole, and eight from the deceaſe of Sigher, he relinquiſhed and exchanged his crown for a monkiſh cowl.‖ However, ſoon after dying, his body was honourably interred in the church of St. Paul, where his monument remained, till it was loſt in the ruin of that venerable pile.** He left behind him two ſons, Sigehard and Senfred, who reigned after him.

SIGEHARD and SENFRED, after the abdication of their father, took the government of the kingdom upon them; but the former tak- A. D. 691.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22. Malmſbury, lib. i. cap. 6. Hen. Huntingdon, lib. ii. Brompton, &c.

† Malmſ. ut ſup. & Chron. J. Brompton.

‡ Malmſ. ut ſup. Bede, lib. lii. cap. 30. H. Hunt. lib. ii. &c.

§ Mat. Weſt.

‖ Bede, ut ſup.

** Vide Speed's Chron.

A. D. 691. ing up the cowl in the ſame monaſtery with his father, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, his brother ruled alone the ſpace of ten years, from his firſt entry.*

A. D. 701. OFFA, the ſon of Sigher, the fourteenth monarch of the Eaſt Saxons, ſucceeded Senfred: he was a fine perſonable man, and of noble preſence. After he had reigned ſeven years, he followed the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of the times, and left his queen, his kingdom, and his native land, to accompany Cenred, king of Mercia, and the biſhop of Worceſter, to Rome, where he became a monk.† Some ſay, that his wife, Kinſwith, the daughter of Penda, perſuaded him to undertake this ſoul-ſaving pilgrimage; and immediately upon his departure, ſhe herſelf, not in the leaſt behind hand with her huſband in ſuperſtition, took the veil upon her in the abbey of Kineburg, where her ſiſter was abbeſs.‡

A. D. 708. SELRED, the fifteenth king of Eaſtſex, mounted the throne at the abdication of Offa; he was the ſon of Sigebert the Second, and proved a pious and juſt prince. After he had reigned thirty-eight years, he was ſlain by the treaſon of his ſubjects, who, by a long ſucceſſion of peaceful days, were grown unruly, and headſtrong in their diſobedience, ſo that the virtues of their monarch became offenſive; and even his clemency, which had prevailed upon him to forgive their former faults, was made the wicked plea by which his rebellious murderers ſought to excuſe the heinouſneſs of their crime. He left neither wife nor iſſue behind him.§

A. D. 746. SWITHED, the ſixteenth, and laſt, king of the Eaſt Saxons, was a nobleman of that realm, who, after the murder of Selred, took upon him the government. His reign was long, and undiſturbed with war, until Egbert, the potent king of Weſſex, (after having conquered Kent) made his way into Eaſtſex, and drove the aged monarch from his throne: the kingdom being left in ſuch an unfavourable condition, was in no caſe able to reſiſt the powerful arms of its invader.‖ From this time (namely, in the year of our Lord 823) Eaſtſex may be juſtly ſaid to have ceaſed to be a diſtinct kingdom; for after its conqueror had ſubdued all its forces, he impoſed his yoke upon the inhabitants, and joined the ſtate to his own extenſive dominions. And though ſome time after Sigeric and Sigehard, two noblemen of that diſtrict, revolted from Egbert, and began a rebellion in the realm, yet their power was preſently cruſhed, and no effectual freedom reſulted from their attempts; ſo that we can by no means review them as in a ſtate of independence, or ſeparation.

* Vide Bede, H. Hunt. lib. ii. Chron. J. Brompton.

† Bede, lib. v. cap. 20. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii.

‡ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 6.

§ Malmſ. ut ſup. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 746, &c.

‖ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 823. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 6.

Thus

Thus ended the kingdom of the East Saxons, after it had endured the space of two hundred and ninety-six years; though in the whole of this time, it never reached that exalted pitch of glory, which at some certain period so effectually distinguished the rest. A. D. 746.

THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF THE EAST SAXONS.

NORTHUM-

NORTHUMBERLAND;

THE FIFTH KINGDOM OF THE

HEPTARCHY.

The extent of Northumberland.

THE kingdom of Northumberland contained the counties of Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Northumberland. On the weſt it was bounded by the Iriſh ſea, and on the eaſt by the German ocean; on the ſouth by the rivers Merſy and Humber, and on the north by Lindiſdale Cheviot hills, and the river Tweed. At the beginning it was divided into two ſeparate governments, Bernicia and Deira: the former ſtretching out from the Tweed to the Tyne; and the latter again from the Tyne to the Humber. But in the end both theſe diſtricts were united into one.

From A. D. 494. to A. D. 547.

The account of affairs in Northumberland before the acceſſion of Ida.

We muſt now remember, that Hengiſt propoſed to Vortigern, the king of the Britons, the entire ſubjugation of the northern inſurgents, (who had ſo long diſtreſſed the ſouthern parts of Britain) and made ſuch fair promiſes of ſucceſs, that Vortigern ſoon permitted him to ſend for additional ſupplies from Germany, that they might ſettle in Northumberland, in order the better to perform this important buſineſs. The king's conſent being gained, Hengiſt invited his brother Octa into Britain, who preſently obeyed the ſummons, and with his ſon Ebuſſa, accompanied with a ſtrong troop of valiant Saxon youth, ſailed from Germany, and landing in the northern parts of Britain, and (according to the directions of Hengiſt) ſettled there. Soon after their arrival, they received intelligence of the wars breaking out in the ſouth, between the Britons and their countrymen, who had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe parts, under the conduct of Hengiſt: this they conſidered as a ſignal made to them, to ſhake off all the appearance of friendſhip which had hitherto ſubſiſted between themſelves and the Britons, who inhabited near them. 'Tis true, this friendſhip was rather a formal name, than an alliance founded on a permanent baſis, even in its beſt ſtate; for the Saxons had from their firſt arrival carried ſo high a hand, and been ſo tyrannical in their proceedings, that the diſguſted Britons were thoroughly convinced of the inſincerity of their profeſſions of amity, and ſaw but too plainly the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and freedom to the country was the leaſt of the Saxons' intentions. It was but too ſoon that this laſt event entirely confirmed the ſuſpicions of the Britons; for, throwing off all diſguiſe, the treacherous Saxons took the field, commencing open hoſtilities, and declaring their reſolutions to gain by the conqueſt of their ſwords, a large

and ample provision for themselves and their families. This plain explanation of their designs gave a just alarm to the Britons, who, desirous of preserving their possessions from the destructive hands of their enemies, rose in arms, as hopeful to subdue them by war. But vain that hope! for the too provident invaders had made a secret league with their old and inveterate foes, the Scots and Picts, and both their powers joined, poured upon the wretched Britons. Unable to resist this combined force, they fled before them, and sought retreat in the lonesome woods, or solitary caverns, whilst the victorious enemy destroyed the country, pillaged the cities and towns, and murdered, without mercy, such of the miserable inhabitants as had spirit enough to resist their designs, or remonstrate on the injustice of them.

The wars between the Britons and Saxons.

Driven to the greatest distress, the Britons saw (though now too late) the horrid effects of their mistaken policy; they saw they had invited, to a fruitful land, a set of men, who, regardless of their promises, were guided only by their own wants and ferocious ideas, and would not easily relinquish the advantages they had gained. They were now, as it were, hemmed in; on the south by Hengist and his army, whilst in the north their new-declared foes were preying upon them without mercy, These extremities caused the distressed Britons to take up arms, and enter into strong combinations against their enemies, which proceedings made, for a time, an alteration in the face of affairs; for, by the bravery of the British chiefs, some present advantage was gained. In this manner the war was continually kept up, sometimes the Britons, sometimes the Saxons, prevailing, for the space of fifty-three years; during which time, the former could not be overcome, nor the latter driven from the land.*

IDA, *the first* KING *of* BERNITIA. A. D. 547.

Ida arrives in Britain with a fresh party of Saxons.

THIS long and troublesome war between the Britons and Saxons, kept up for such a succession of years, without any manifest advantage that might bring it to a final conclusion on either side, most likely in-

* During all this time there was none of the Saxon chiefs that presumed to take upon them the title of king, but were contented with that of Hepetogen, or general. In some histories they are stiled *Subreguli*, or petty kings. In the Scala Chronica is this remarkable passage: "Hengist having conquered Kent, sent "his brother Octa, and his son Jebus, "into Northumberland, and there they "and their successors were dukes under "the kings of Kent, unto such time as "the pride of the Northanhumbers chose "themselves a king, (by this word, I "suppose, we must understand one of the "*Subreguli*, before-mentioned) who was "*Hiring*, that begat *Wodnam*, that begat "*Witeglis*, of whom came *Hors*, the king, "that begat *Uppa*, that begat *Heppa*, that "begat *Hermiger*, that begat *Bernak*; all "which were before the noble king Ida, "and the gestes of them before Ida be "little known by Chroniques." Scala Chron. lib. ii. Here are eight kings before Ida enumerated, but it is a great pity that we have not any other authority to prove it; at least, the author of the present account must have mistaken the title of king, for all the best accounts declare Ida to have been the first.

duced

A. D. 547. duced the latter to ſend preſſing invitations to their friends in Germany, that they might come over into Britain, and aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of that country, for which they had ſo long been ſtruggling without compleat ſucceſs. Either moved by ſuch invitations, or actuated by his own ambition, Ida, a valiant Saxon, (deſcended from Woden) ſailed from Germany, with a powerful reinforcement, and landed at Flamborough, where he joined his countrymen, by whom he was received with the greateſt joy.* The arrival of Ida, who was alſo accompanied with his twelve ſons, cauſed a ſpeedy alteration in the affairs of the Saxons; for the hapleſs Britons, weakened daily by their continual wars, and depreſſed with the melancholy proſpect of their falling ſtate, were no longer able to reſiſt their increaſing foes; who, on the other hand, inſpired with freſh courage, by the aſſiſtance of their new come friends, renewed the war with uncommon chearfulneſs and alacrity.

Ida aſſumes the title of king.

Thus quickly did the additional forces of the Saxons compleat their conqueſt and ſecure their ſucceſs, for the Britons were driven finally from their poſſeſſions, and the conquerors preſently over-run Northumberland, and the adjacent counties, ſettling themſelves in the abandoned eſtates, and erecting a powerful kingdom of their own. Ida, to whom they chiefly owed their rapid ſucceſs, was the firſt who aſſumed the title of a king, and bore his rule over all Bernitia. The better to ſecure the borders of his kingdom, he repaired the caſtle of Beddanborough, which heretofore was only fenced round with wooden pales, and ſet up a ſtrong wall of ſtone about the ſame.† The reign of this prince was not idly ſpent, for continual wars and tumults kept him in the field. The Britons, though they were oppreſſed, and driven from their poſſeſſions, were not totally overcome; they yet continued to annoy the Saxons, and iſſuing from their retreats in large parties, diſturbed their peace with conſtant alarms. It is true, by the vigilance and conduct of Ida, they were prevented from making any important conqueſts; yet thoſe repeated attacks upon the borders of his kingdom, rendered the ſtate of his ſubjects, not only uncomfortable, but even unſafe.

A. D. 559. Ida deceaſed after he had reigned twelve years. His iſſue was twelve ſons, ſix of them by his queen, whoſe name is not mentioned; as Adda, who ſucceeded him in Bernitia; Ethelric and Theodoric, who alſo both ſucceeded ſome time after; Etheric, Omerno, and Theofredum: his other ſix ſons were illegitimate, and their names were Oga, Alric, Eccha, Oſbald, Segora and Segothæ; all theſe came with their father in twelve ſhips from Germany, and aſſiſted him firſt in his early conqueſts, and after in the ſupport of his kingdom.‡

The death and iſſue of Ida.

* Chron. Sax. Ethelwerd, Malmſ. &c.
† Ib. Ib. Huntingdon, lib. ii. &c.
‡ Mat. Weſt.

ADDA,

ADDA, *the ſecond* KING *of* BERNITIA, *and* ÆLLE, *the firſt* KING *of* DEIRA.

PRESENTLY after the death of Ida, Adda, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him in his dignity; and in the firſt year of his reign, Ælle, a noble chieftain, and relation of Ida (who had accompanied him into Britain, and been greatly aſſiſting in his conqueſts) made war upon the Britons that poſſeſſed the province of Deira, and drove them out with a powerful hand. He and his followers immediately ſettled in that deſerted country, which they had gained with their ſwords; and Ælle took upon himſelf the title of king, advancing the glory of his new realm by various important conqueſts.* During the reign of Ælle, Adda, king of Bernitia, died, after a reign of ſeven years, and was ſucceeded by four other princes, of whom we find nothing more recorded than their names, and the number of years which they ruled, as follows: A. D. 560.

Ælle conquers Deira, and aſſumes the title of king.

GLAPPA, the couſin of Adda, the third king of Bernitia, ſucceeded Adda, and reigned five years. A. D. 567.

THEODWALD, brother to Glappa, the fourth king of Bernitia, reigned one year. A. D. 572.

FRETHULF, the ſecond brother of Glappa, the fifth king of Bernitia, reigned ſeven years. A. D. 573.

THEODRIC, the third ſon of Ida, was the ſixth king of Bernitia, he reigned ſeven years.† A. D. 580.

ÆLLE, *the firſt* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

AFTER the death of theſe five princes, Ælle reigned ſole king of Northumberland, bearing rule over Bernitia and Deira: but whether he obtained this additional dignity by force, or the conſent of the people, cannot be determined; yet the latter appears moſt probable, from the perfect tranquility in which he enjoyed his ſtate to the end of his life. He died after a reign of near thirty years, twenty-ſeven of which he ruled only in Deira, and the reſt in both the kingdoms united together. He had iſſue, Edwine, the glorious king of Northumberland, and a daughter, named Acca, who was after married to Ethelfrith, king of Northumberland.‡ A. D. 587.

Ælle takes upon him the government of Bernitia.

ETHELRIC, *the ſecond* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

ETHELRIC, the ſecond ſon of Ida, who had ſpent the whole of his youth in retirement and obſcurity, after the deceaſe of Ælle, was, in his old age, called forth to take upon him the kingly dignities. He ſucceeded in the government of both the kingdoms, and reigned near A. D. 589.

Ethelric, his ſhort reign, death, and iſſue.

* Chron. Sax. Malmſbury, Hen. Hunt. Mat. Weſt. &c.

† Matthew of Weſtminſter, &c.

‡ Ibid. &c.

A. D. 589. five years in profound peace:* at the end of which time, worn out with old age, he departed this life, leaving two ſons behind him; the eldeſt, Ethelfrith, who ruled after his death; and Tedbald, a valiant youth, ſlain by the Scots, in the reign of his brother, at the battle of Dægſtane.

ETHELFRITH, *the third* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 593. ETHELFRITH, the ſon of Ethelric, ſucceeded his father in both the kingdoms. The better to ſecure his throne, (and to prevent all diſturbance from young Edwine, the ſon of Ælle, and lawful heir to the crown of Deira) he married Acca, the daughter of Ælle, beginning his reign with great glory. This prince, becauſe of his ambition and inſatiate love of war, was ſirnamed Fierce;† how well this appellation became him, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Ethelfrith marries Acca, the ſiſter of Edwine.

He wars ſucceſsfully againſt the Britons.

His firſt wars were ſupported ten years againſt the Britons, whom he overcame, and ſo dreadfully diſtreſſed, that, flying from their poſſeſſions, and abandoning the places of their births, the greater part of them wandered in poverty from place to place in ſearch of ſecret, though miſerable, retreats; whilſt others, unwilling to leave their native homes, ſubmitted to the yoke of the conqueror, chuſing rather to endure the cruelties of his oppreſſive hands, than ſeek a life of freedom, accompanied with miſery and pinching want. Ethelfrith purſued his fortune with uncommon ardour, and ſubdued more of the Britiſh countries than any ſingle Saxon king had done before him.‡

A. D. 603. His conqueſts were ſo rapid, and of ſuch importance, that they drew upon him the jealouſy of the Scots and their neighbours; who, that they might, if poſſible, ſuppreſs his riſing glory in the bud, collected their forces together, and took the field againſt him. With their whole army (headed by Ægthan, king of the Scots) they advanced to give him battle. Nor was Ethelfrith unprepared to receive them, for, with all his powers, he met them at a place called Dægſtane, where a long and bloody conflict enſued; great was the proweſs, and deſperate the reſolution on either ſide; but in the end, after prodigious ſlaughter, the fortune of Ethelfrith ſtill ſmiled upon him, and victory crowned his labours: on the other hand, the Scots, unable to reſiſt, were chaſed from the field, with ſuch conſiderable loſs, that for a long time after they found themſelves in no condition to renew the war. Yet this victory was not obtained without great loſs of blood on the Saxons' ſide; for, in the beginning of the battle, Tedbald, the brother of Ethelfrith, was ſlain, and all that part of the army which he commanded, were put to the rout.§

He overcomes the king of the Scots.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 588. Malmſ. Hunt. &c.

† Qui vocatus *Ferus*. H. Hunt. lib. ii.

‡ Bede, lib. i. cap. 34. Hen. Hunt. lib. ii. & alia.

§ Bede, ut ſup. Chr. Sax. an. 603. &c.

The

The former victory, though ſo dearly purchaſed, was far from checking the ardourous purſuits of fame which engaged the mind of Ethelfrith. When four years were elapſed, he marched again towards the Britons, and at Cairlegion overthrew their army with great ſlaughter. Before the beginning of this deciſive battle, the monks of Bangor monaſtery, which was not far from thence, were aſſembled together, and with humble prayer beſought Almighty God to aſſiſt their Chriſtian brethren, the Britons, and repel the fierce invader, who, big with the fame of his former conqueſts, was proudly advancing to deſtroy them from the land. Their actions and geſtures exciting the attention of Ethelfrith, he demanded of his chiefs what thoſe men were, and what their employment? When he received for anſwer, that they were prieſts, who with prayers and ſupplications, were invoking the aſſiſtance of their God, and encouraging their friends by their conſtant devotions. "If that is the "caſe, (ſays Ethelfrith) they are alſo dangerous enemies; for though "they are not armed with ſwords or ſpears, yet do they fight againſt us "with prayers and imprecations; therefore, deſtroy them firſt, and pro-"ceed we after to encounter with their armed forces." The king's command was preſently obeyed; for a ſtrong party of the Saxon ſoldiers fell upon them, and at the firſt onſet, Brocmail, the captain of the guard, (who was ſet to prevent the enemies from diſturbing the pious duties of the monks) deſerted his poſt, and the whole of the guard following the example of their chief, fled away, and left their charge to the relentleſs fury of the enemy, who immediately put twelve hundred of them to the ſword; fifty only ſaved themſelves by flight.* A. D. 607.

The Britons again overcome, and the ſlaughter of the monks of Bangor.

All theſe important victories, which crowned the labours of Ethelfrith, increaſed the conſequence of his government, and raiſed his glory to ſuch a height amongſt the ſurrounding powers, that none of them choſe to moleſt him. This pacific diſpoſition of his neighbours gave him leiſure more cloſely to examine his affairs at home: with a jealous eye he regarded young Edwine, the ſon of Ælle, and brother to his queen; he well knew the right which he had to Deira, the kingdom which his father had gained by the conqueſt of his ſword. This bar to his happineſs he reſolved to remove; for he conſidered the changeableneſs of his ſubjects' tempers, and found his rival daily advancing in popular favour. Such reflections led him naturally to conclude, that the ſparks of ambition, which he plainly ſaw lay ſmothered in the breaſt of Edwine, would, when advantage ſerved, burſt out into a flame, and cauſe him to aſſert his natural right, by raiſing a civil commotion in the ſtate, which might endanger both his crown and life. Aſpiring men will readily ſacrifice all juſtice to ambition, and if the leaſt fear ſhould reign in their jealous minds, which might ſeem likely to affect the glory of their A. D. 616.

Young Edwine flies from Northumberland.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 2. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 607.

A. D. 616. ſtate, there is nothing but the final removal of the object that can give them eaſe, or make them think themſelves ſecure. Such ſuſpicions cauſed Ethelfrith to reſolve upon the death of Edwine; but he, by ſome means being made acquainted with the danger of his ſituation, fled from Northumberland, accompanied with his wife, wandering from place to place, taking refuge at laſt in the court of Redwald, king of the Eaſt Angles. Redwald, perſuaded by his queen, refuſed to deliver up the fugitive prince to the meſſengers of Ethelfrith, who were ſent to demand him at his hands, or denounce war againſt him and his realm, in caſe he gave him protection.

A. D. 617. Redwald, provoked at the inſolent carriage of Ethelfrith, not only preſerved Edwine from the malice of his enemy, but finally aſſiſted him in the recovery of his native right: for, gathering his army together as haſtily as poſſible, he followed the meſſengers of Ethelfrith with ſuch expedition, that they had ſcarely time to relate the ill ſucceſs of their embaſſy, before the alarm was given of his approach. Aſtoniſhed at the ſudden danger which threatened his ſtate, the Northumber collected ſpeedily what forces he could, and advanced to ſtop the progreſs of his enemies. Both armies met upon the banks of the river Idle,* where they fought a cruel battle, in which Regenhere, the ſon of Redwald, loſt his life. Yet the end proved fortunate to Redwald and his party, for Ethelfrith himſelf was ſlain in the field, and after his death his forces made but little reſiſtance. This victory, joined with the death of Ethelfrith, entirely cleared the paſſage of Edwine to the throne of Northumberland; for the ſons of the unfortunate king, hearing of their father's death, were apprehenſive for their own ſafety, and left the kingdom, ſeeking in other parts a place of refuge.

Ethelfrith ſlain in battle.

Ethelfrith had reigned four and twenty years when he was ſlain. By Acca, his wife, the ſiſter of Edwine, he had ſeven ſons; Eanfred, afterwards king of Bernitia; Oſwald, after king of Northumberland; Oſwine, Oſlae, Oſwid, Oſſa, and Offa;† alſo two daughters, canonized for ſaints, Oſwitha and Ebba. Beſides theſe, by his concubine he had another ſon, named Oſwy, who alſo ruled in Northumberland.‡

The iſſue of Ethelfrith.

EDWINE, *the fourth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 617. ETHELFRITH being dead, and his ſons departed from Northumberland, there remained no further obſtacle to ſtop the progreſs of Edwine, who, through the aſſiſtance of Redwald, his friend, was preſently advanced to the throne. Deira he took as his own lawful right, the province of Bernitia he uſurped, and held with a powerful hand. Edwine was now in the twenty-third year of his age, a man of vaſt ambition, and

Edwine advanced to the throne of Northumberland.

* Near Nottingham.
† Matt. Weſt. ſub anno 588.
‡ Vide Speed, &c.

as valiant to execute his great deſigns, as he was forward in conceiving them. He ſubdued all the neighbouring coaſts, whether they were inhabited by the Britons, the Saxons, the Scots, or the Picts, and extended his conqueſts farther than any Engliſh king had ever done before him. Amongſt other of his important actions, he ſubjugated the Orchades and Mevanian iſlands,* adding them to his own dominions. A. D. 617.

Cwenburhga, the firſt wife of Edwine, died whilſt he was with Redwald, in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, ſo that now he began to think of a ſecond marriage: and hearing great praiſes beſtowed upon Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, as well for her ſingular beauty, as for her virtue and piety: he ſought her for the conſort of his bed, and obtained the conſent of her brother, on condition that ſhe ſhould be permitted to retain her own religion (ſhe being a Chriſtian) without interruption, and have Chriſtian attendants, as well as prieſts, about her in his court. All theſe particulars being agreed upon, the lady was ſent into Northumberland, and married to Edwine in the year of our Lord 625, by whoſe pious example his heart was the more readily opened to the conviction of the ſacred truths contained in the goſpel.† A. D. 625. Edwine marries a ſecond wife.

The year after, Edwine very narrowly eſcaped being murdered by a deſperate fellow, named Eumer, ſaid to have been ſent to his court for that purpoſe, by Cwichelm, who ruled jointly with his father Cynegils, in the kingdom of Weſſex. This prince envying the increaſing ſucceſs and glory of Edwine, and fearing the lengths to which his ambition might lead him, reſolved in a treacherous manner to deprive him of his life, and put a ſudden end to all his conqueſts. The wicked Eumer, (to whom the performance of this murder was committed) entered the palace of Edwine, near the banks of the river Derwent, in Yorkſhire, where he kept his court, it being Eaſter day, the traitor came in before the king as an ambaſſador, who had matters of great importance to deliver from his maſter: whilſt the king was liſtening attentively to his converſation, he ſuddenly drew out a poiſoned dagger,‡ and ſtruck at him; but Lilla, one of the king's ſervants, who was ſtanding by, and ſeeing the danger of his ſovereign, thruſt himſelf ſuddenly between him and the weapon. But with ſuch force had the murderer made his blow, that the faithful Lilla was thruſt upon his lord, and the dagger paſſing through his body, wounded Edwine alſo. The alarm was preſently given, and the traitor was ſurrounded by the king's guards; but yet, before he was beat down to the earth, he ſlew another of Edwine's ſervants, named Fordhere, who had haſted to the aſſiſtance of his maſter. The wound which the king received was A. D. 626. Edwine in great danger of aſſaſſination.

* Now called the Hebrides. Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap 9. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.

† Bede, ut ſup.

‡ "Habebat ſicam bicipitem toxicatem," are the very words of Bede. Vide lib. i. cap. 9.

not

A. D. 626. not dangerous; and Paulinus, the biſhop, who attended on Ethelburga, the queen, omitted no opportunity of perſuading him to renounce his errors, and embrace Chriſtianity; therefore, he took the preſent occaſion of repeating his importunities: to which Edwine gravely replied, "If the God whom you and the Chriſtians ſerve will grant me the victory againſt that king, who hath ſent his murderer to kill me, I will "adore and worſhip him alone." In pledge thereof, he delivered to Paulinus, his infant daughter, (who was born the very night after this alarming accident had happened) that ſhe might be baptized.*

A. D. 627. Edwine receives baptiſm.

As ſoon as Edwine was recovered from the wound which he had received, he called his army together, and went againſt the Weſt Saxons, with whom he fought a battle, and either ſlew, or took, all thoſe who had intended his murder, returning victoriouſly home: but yet he did not embrace Chriſtianity till the year following, when he was baptized together with all his houſhold, by Paulinus, the biſhop, on Eaſter, in the year of Chriſt 627.†

The happy effects of Edwine's prudent government.

Whilſt the glory of Edwine's important conqueſts kept the ſurrounding nations in a ſtate of profound tranquility, by his prudent government at home he maintained the moſt perfect peace and good order. He cauſed juſtice to be ſo duly adminiſtered, that theſts and oppreſſions were not heard of in the kingdom: a woman unguarded might have travelled from one end of the land to the other, without the leaſt fear or danger. Amongſt other things for the public good, he cauſed ladles of iron and braſs to be faſtened by the ſide of ſuch ſprings and fountains as were near the main roads, that the travellers might drink and refreſh themſelves, and no man dared to touch them but for his preſent uſe. Not only in time of war, but even in peace, he cauſed a triumphal banner to be borne before him as he rode from town to town, and from province to province, in order to ſee that no injuſtice prevailed amongſt the ſeveral magiſtrates of each diſtrict.‡

A. D. 633. The death of Edwine.

After ſeveral years ſpent in peace, Penda, the reſtleſs monarch of the Mercians, envying the glory of Edwine's reign, perſuaded a Britiſh king, named Cadwallo, who ruled in thoſe provinces conquered by Edwine, to rebel againſt him, promiſing himſelf to be aſſiſtant in the wars. The hopes of regaining his liberty, and ſhaking the yoke of Edwine from his ſubjects' ſhoulders, was an affair of ſuch conſequence, that Cadwallo preſently agreed; and calling together all ſuch as were animated with the ſound of freedom, he took the field, and began with fire and ſword to diſturb the borders of Edwine's dominion. Incenſed to the higheſt degree at this alarming revolt, Edwine placed himſelf at the head of his army, and marched againſt the rebels, in order to chaſtiſe their vio-

* Bede, ut ſup. &c.
† Bede & Chron. Sax. ſub anno 627.
‡ Bede, lib. ii. cap. 16.

lence,

lence, and reduce them again to bondage. In the mean time, Penda, A. D. 633.
agreeable to his promiſe, had joined his forces with the Britons: thus united, they fearleſsly abode the approach of Edwine and his army. At a place called Hethfiled, Edwine came up with the revolters, and in a deſperate battle there fought againſt them, loſt his life; with him alſo Osfrid, his eldeſt ſon, was ſlain: after the death of the king and his ſon, the whole army was put to flight. Cadwallo and Penda having obtained the victory, purſued their fortunes with the utmoſt cruelty. Egfrid, another of Edwine's ſons, was unfortunately taken in the field, and with great inhumanity put to death by the command of Penda.*

The cruelty of the conquerors.

Theſe mercileſs conquerors entered the kingdom of Northumberland, and with fire and ſword deſtroyed the country, ſparing none, however innocent; in the fatal ruin, both women and children periſhed, equally with thoſe who were capable of bearing arms. Whilſt Northumberland was thus miſerably ravaged, Paulinus, the biſhop, with queen Ethelburga, under the conduct of Baſſus, a valiant chief, fled from the kingdom, and returned again by water into Kent, where they were well received by Edbald, her brother, who was yet living there.†

The wives and iſſue of Edwine.

Edwine was ſlain in October, A. D. 633, in the forty-eighth year of his age, after he had reigned upwards of ſixteen years with the greateſt ſplendour and renown. He was twice married; his firſt wife was Cwenburhga, the daughter of Ceorl, king of Mercia,‡ who became his conſort whilſt he was yet a youth, and died before he was king: by this lady he had iſſue, two ſons; Osfrid, the eldeſt, was ſlain in the ſame battle wherein his father fell; and Egfrid, who was cruelly put to death by Penda, contrary to all humanity, or the law of arms. The ſecond wife of Edwine was Ethelburga, (ſirnamed Tace) the only daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent: ſhe was married to him in the year 625, and outlived him ſeveral years. After his death ſhe returned to Kent, and at a place called Lymming, (not far from the ſea-ſide) built a monaſtery of nuns, amongſt whom ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life in pious duties, ſecluded from the world. By this excellent lady, Edwine had two ſons and two daughters; Ethelm, the eldeſt ſon, died in his youth; Uſkfrea, the other ſon, after the death of Edwine, (being then but a child) was carried by his mother into Kent, from whence he was ſent to the court of Dogobert, king of France, where he died: Enfleda, the eldeſt daughter, and firſt child which Ethelburga bore to Edwine, was born on that very night in which her father was wounded by Eumerus; ſhe was afterwards married to Oſwy, the ſixth king of Northumberland: Ethelrida, the youngeſt daughter, died in her infancy.§

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 20.
† Ibid.
‡ Thus ſays Bede, with whom the Chr. Urivalenſis agrees; though Malmſbury, Hen. Hunt. Mat. Weſt. and others, declare ſhe was not the daughter of Ceorl, but of Crida, his grandfather.
§ Bede, ut ſup.

EANFRID,

EANFRID, *the ſixth* KING *of* BERNITIA, *and* OSRIC, *the ſecond* KING *of* DEIRA.

A. D. 633.

The kingdom of Northumberland again divided

AFTER that Edwine was ſlain, and the inhuman conquerors were ſatiated with the effuſion of blood which they had cauſed, they retired from Northumberland, which unhappy province began once more to recover from her late calamities. Eanfrid, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelfrith, and Oſric, the ſon of Elfric, uncle to Edwine, returned from the north, where they (with the other ſons of Ethelfrith) had taken refuge, when Edwine aſcended the throne of Northumberland, and divided the kingdom between them; Eanfrid began his rule in Bernitia, whilſt Oſric aſſumed the government of Deira.*

The apoſtacy and death of the two kings.

Theſe two princes, during their ſtay in Scotland, had been converted to the Chriſtian faith; but no ſooner had they received the kingly dignities, than they apoſtated from their former profeſſion and belief, returning again to the idolatry of their anceſtors. But their triumph over the ſpoils of religion was not of long continuance; for Cadwallo, the Britiſh king, grown haughty and imperious by his former conqueſt, reſolved again to enter the borders of Northumberland, and pull down the faithleſs monarchs from their throne. Like a ſudden ſtorm he came upon them, renewing his former cruelties; firſt, Oſric, who was unprepared to oppoſe him, was ſlain in his own city; and paſſing thence, the victorious tyrant over-run Deira: not like a generous warrior, who amidſt his conqueſts would remember mercy, but like a ruthleſs ſavage, whoſe ſole delight was blood and carnage! This impending danger affrighted Eanfrid, who finding himſelf entirely unable to reſiſt the marches of his foe, was determined to try if by his gentle deportment and ſubmiſſion he could ſoften the ferocious temper of Cadwallo; wherefore, attended only by twelve ſoldiers, he went to the Britiſh camp, but Cadwallo, when he had got the unfortunate king in his power, cauſed him (contrary to all faith and juſtice) to be put to death. The dire misfortunes of this fatal year rendered it ſo odious to the Northumbers, that their hiſtorians have either not mentioned, or haſtily paſſed over, all theſe tranſactions, as too cruel and ſhocking to be more particularly ſet down.† Neither of theſe kings ſeem to have left any iſſue behind them.

OSWALD, *the fifth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 634.

Oſwald determines to defend Northumberland.

OSRIC and Eanfrid being thus miſerably put to death, the inhuman Cadwallo continued to ravage the kingdom of Northumberland without oppoſition. Hopeleſs and deſerted, the unhappy people were not able to oppoſe him. Without a king! without a leader! in divided parties they fled away, ſeeking only to avoid the approach of the Britiſh army. Now had the kingdom ſunk, but Oſwald, the ſon of Ethelfrith, and brother of the ſlaughtered Eanfred, roſe its champion, and reſcued

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 1.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 30.

it

it from diſtreſs. Pierced to the ſoul by the cries of his afflicted country, A. D. 634.
he determined, with the aſſiſtance of ſome valiant ſoldiers, glorioufly to redeem his native land from her ſavage oppreſſor, or die with the honour of an attempt ſo truly laudable. His early years were ſpent in Scotland, where he had taken refuge from the anger of Edwine, and there he not only gained great experience in the arts of war, but alſo learnt the ſacred doctrines of religious truth. This excellent nobleman was as juſtly famous for his ſingular zeal and piety, as for his bravery and conduct in the field of battle.*

Cadwallo thinking himſelf ſecure in his conqueſts, and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that any ſhould be found hardy enough to oppoſe him, ſet no bounds to his oppreſſion; but ere he was aware, and even in the very midſt of his exalted boaſtings, Oſwald with his little army approached his camp. Pious ſupplications, and humble prayers to God for ſucceſs, were the firſt weapons which Oſwald and his followers uſed againſt their foes; and after theſe duties were finiſhed, they joyfully began the engagement, with ſuch undaunted courage, as ſeemed to preſage the victory. For their country, their friends, their lives, and their glory, fought the valiant Saxons; and on the chance of this deciſive battle depended all their future welfare. Concerns ſo important, muſt warm the hero's breaſt, and drive the ſenſe of danger from his ſoul. Such was the effect they had upon the minds of Oſwald and his hoſt; for, with uncommon reſolution, they ſupported the encounter, and though oppreſſed by numbers, thought not of flight. The battle being long continued, ended at laſt in favour of Oſwald; for Cadwallo, with the chief of his officers, were ſlain in the field, and the reſt of his enormous army routed. This glorious action was performed at a place (no great diſtance from the wall of Severus) called Deniſburn, becauſe it was near the banks of a little river, named Denis, which ran into the Tyne. The ſalutary effects which accrued to the Northumbers from this victory cauſed the inhabitants in after times to name the place Heaven Field, as ſuppoſing Oſwald was aſſiſted by ſupernatural aids.† Oſwald overcomes Cadwallo and his forces.

Oſwald having thus reſcued Northumberland from its ruined plight, A. D. 635.
and brought with him the bleſſings of peace, to which they had ſome time been ſtrangers, with joyful gratitude they ſaluted him king; and he was received with equal love, both by the inhabitants of Bernitia and Deira: yet theſe provinces hated each other, as jealous, perhaps, of the fame which either might ſeparately acquire; but Oſwald prudently healed the breach, and united them both by the permanent bond of love and friendſhip; ſo that he began his reign with the greateſt ſplendour. When he had ſeated himſelf in the throne, he thoroughly reformed the manners of his ſubjects, and ſent for a learned Scot, named Aidan, to teach his ſubjects the goſpel diſpenſations in their utmoſt purity; and his pious deſigns were crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs.‡ Oſwald made king of Northumberland.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 1 & 2. † Ib. ib. ‡ Ibid. cap. 6.

A. D. 635. The ſudden conqueſt of the Britiſh army, with the death of Cadwallo, gained Oſwald the reſpect, or fear, of his neighbours; which was ſtill more confirmed by his prudent government after he had aſcended the throne. The Britons, the Scots, and the Picts, ſubmitted to his rule; and over the Engliſh he aſſumed the title of monarch: yet amidſt all theſe glorious advancements he ſtill retained his former affability, and moderated his actions by the ſtricteſt juſtice. He was gracious to all who were in want of aſſiſtance, and particularly bountiful to ſtrangers and travellers; ſo that his fame was ſpread throughout the land, whilſt at home he was honoured and revered by all his ſubjects.*

The glory of Oſwald's reign.

A. D. 641. Penda, the ferocious king of Mercia, provoked at the death of his colleague, Cadwallo, and ſtill more incenſed at the proſperity of Oſwald, whom he had conſtantly beheld with an envious eye, was now determined to make war upon him. The purpoſes of Penda being known, and hoſtile preparations made on both ſides, the armies met at a place called Maſerfield, in Shropſhire, where a long and bloody battle was fought: Penda proved victorious, and the unfortunate Oſwald being ſlain in the field, all the Northumbrian forces were routed. Not content with the conqueſt he had gained, and the death of Oſwald, Penda cauſed his breathleſs body to be mangled and cut to pieces, and hung upon poles near the place where he was ſlain; which loſing its former name of Maſerfield, was after called Oſwalds-tree.† Such was the death of this pious prince, (whoſe loſs was greatly lamented by his ſubjects and allies) after he had reigned nine years. This fatal accident happened the 5th day of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 642, and in the thirty-eighth year of Oſwald's age.‡

The unfortunate death of Oſwald.

The burial of Oſwald.

After the departure of Penda, the mangled limbs of Oſwald were carefully gathered up, and at the command of Osfrida, (queen of Mercia, and daughter to Oſwine, his half-brother) buried with great ſolemnity in the monaſtery of Bradney, in Lincolnſhire; but afterwards they were removed to Glouceſter, and there interred, in the north ſide of the choir of the cathedral church.§

The wife and iſſue of Oſwald.

The wife of Oſwald was named Kineburg, a virtuous lady, daughter to Cynegils, the firſt Chriſtian king of the Weſt Saxons: ſhe was married to him in the year 636, the third of his reign. By this lady he had one ſon, named Ethelwald, who was born in the fourth year of his father's reign, and was yet an infant at his death; he afterwards ſeized upon the kingdom of Deira, and held it to himſelf.‖

* Bede, ut ſup.

† This place is now a fair market town in that county. Vide Camden in Shropſhire.

‡ Bede, lib, iii. cap. 9.

§ Ibid. cap 11.

‖ The Chron. Urivalenſis mentions another ſon of Oſwald, named Dunwald, without any further circumſtance.

OSWEO,

OSWEO, KING *of* BERNITIA, *and* OSWIN, KING *of* DEIRA.

A. D. 642.

Osweo grows jealous of Oswine.

Osweo, the illegitimate ſon of Ethelfrith, ſirnamed the Fierce, ſucceeded his half-brother, Oſwald, in the kingdom of Bernitia; whilſt in Deira, Oſwine, the ſon of Oſric, aſſumed the government. Theſe two princes were of oppoſite diſpoſitions, for Oſweo was of a fierce and turbulent ſpirit, ambitious of power, and envious of others: whilſt on the other hand, Oſwine was meek and amiable; by his civil deportment he ſecured the eſteem of his ſubjects, and he was particularly beloved by all thoſe who were intimately acquainted with him. Theſe virtues cauſed Oſweo to look upon him with a ſuſpicious eye; and when ſeven years were elapſed, in which time Oſwine had governed Deira in peace with the greateſt prudence, the other, envious of his glory, and finding that he daily gained ground in the good-will of the Northumbers, began, by various outrages, to trouble his reign.*

A. D. 650.

Oſweo provokes Oſwine to declare war.

It was long before the deſigns of Oſweo could take effect, for the meek diſpoſition of Oſwine cauſed him to put up with many inſults before he could be wrought upon to commence hoſtilities againſt his unlawful oppreſſor. But at laſt, being beyond meaſure provoked, he was obliged to break through his peaceable determinations, and prepare for war: but here Oſweo had greatly the advantage over him, for as it had long been his intention to provoke him to battle, he had of courſe provided a ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt his army; ſo that when Oſwine took the field, he was ſoon made acquainted with the ſuperiority of Oſweo's power, therefore, deſirous of ſparing Chriſtian blood, he declined engaging with him; and becauſe his people would have perſuaded him to abide the fortune of the war, he withdrew privately from the camp, accompanied only by one ſingle ſervant, named Condhere, and took up his abode in the houſe of an earl, named Humwald, for whom he had a great eſteem, and thought himſelf perfectly ſecure in his friendſhip.†

A. D. 651.

Oſwine betrayed into the hands of Oſweo, by whom he is put to death.

After their king had forſaken them, the Deirian army diſbanded themſelves, and returned home, reſolving to wait patiently the end of all theſe proceedings. Therefore, Oſweo advanced with his forces, and eaſily took poſſeſſion of great part of the country; but in the mean time, Humwald, with whom Oſwine had taken refuge, reſolved to deliver him up to his enemy; for, like a mercenary traitor, he ſaw from the riſing fortune of Oſweo, great expectations might be formed, whilſt from Deira's forſaken prince he had nothing to hope for: therefore, intereſt ſoon prevailed over his duty, and the deſire of future reward over every ſenſe of gratitude and humanity. Oſweo being informed by this deteſtable traitor where the unfortunate Oſwine was to be found, cauſed him pre-

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 14. † Bede, ut ſup. & Vita Oſwini, MS. in Chron. J. Bromton. Bib. Cotton. infig. Julius A. x.

A. D. 651. ſently to be put to death, at a place called Ingithling, on the third of September, in the year 651, and the ninth of his reign.*

A. D. 653. When Oſweo had thus removed the chief bar to his ambitious deſigns, he took upon himſelf the government of Deira; yet after he had held it the ſpace of two years, with ſome difficulty, a new enemy, and that a formidable one, roſe up againſt him, which was Ethelwald, the ſon of Oſwald, who at the death of his father was left an infant, and by Oſweo (his uncle) ſecluded from the government. But now arrived at the age of ſixteen, and being a youth of uncommon abilities, as well as great courage, he took the advantage of the diſcontents which prevailed in Deira, and coming thither, ſet up his claim to the kingdom againſt his uncle. The people were all glad of a pretext which wore the face of juſtice, to ſhake off the yoke which Oſweo had impoſed upon them, and therefore preſently acknowledged him for their king; for they deteſted Oſweo, as the murderer of their lawful ſovereign, and the cauſe of all their preſent diſquiets. Ethelwald thus elected to the regal dignity, held the realm with a powerful hand, ſo that Oſweo, with all his combined forces, was not able to diſpoſſeſs him of his ſtate; but after repeated ſtruggles, in which no great advantages were gained, he was obliged to deſiſt from further moleſtation.†

Ethelwald ſeizes upon the kingdom of Deira.

A. D. 654. No ſooner was this trouble ſubſided, than freſh alarms called Oſweo to the field again; for Penda, the mortal enemy of Northumberland, renewed his former wars; and after ſeveral ruinating invaſions, reduced Oſweo to ſuch dreadful extremities, that, fearful of taking the field againſt him, he ſought all the means that he could to pacify his fury, and bring him to accept conditions of peace; but all his rich gifts were refuſed, and his fair promiſes made in vain; for the ſavage Mercian would liſten to no propoſals, as diſdaining to treat with one who was already in his power. To add to the diſtreſs which now fell heavy on Oſweo, his profeſſed enemy, Ethelwald, king of the Deirians, with his army joined Penda, and with him took part againſt his uncle and his country. Affairs grown deſperate, no hope was left to Oſweo, but what depended on the fortune of war; death was before him if he yielded to the enemy, and deſtruction to the kingdom. By flight, indeed, he might, perhaps, have ſaved his own life; but this was a thought ſo diſgraceful, that he could not harbour it: therefore, with a few valiant men, aided by his ſon Alcfrid, he determined to truſt the whole of his fortune on one deciſive battle, when offering up humble prayers and hearty vows to God, he led his little army to the field.

Penda renews the war againſt Northumberland.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 14. Vita Oſwini. † Bede, ut ſup. Malmſ. Hunt. &c. Bromton, &c.

The

A. D. 655. The important battle, on which depended the fate of Oſweo and Bernitia, was fought in the month of December, at Loidis,* near a river called Winwed, which, at the time of the conflict, ſuddenly overflowed its banks, and did conſiderable damage to the hoſt of Penda; ſo that, what with the deſperate and irreſiſtible bravery of the Bernitians, and the fortunate overflow of the waters, the huge hoſt of Penda, which by report was thirty times larger than the Northumbers, was overcome, and himſelf, who ſo long had triumphed in his cruelties, ſlain in the field; with Penda alſo fell Ethelheard, the brother of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles; Ethelwald, the Deirian, eſcaped the fury of the fatal field, and returned with the remains of his army to Deira, in the greateſt diſgrace.†

Penda ſlain, and his army overcome by Oſweo.

A. D. 658. This wonderful victory raiſed the glory of Oſweo to ſo high a pitch, that now elated with his ambition, he purſued his fortunes, and carried the war into Mercia, which, by the ſudden and unexpected death of Penda, was deſtitute of a chief capable of taking the rule upon him; ſo that by degrees he ſubjugated the kingdom, and extended his conqueſts both to the northern and ſouthern parts of the whole iſland. He had received Peada, the ſon of Penda, very kindly, and beſtowed his daughter upon him in marriage, on the condition of his becoming a Chriſtian; and, by way of dower, he gave him all the ſouthern part of Mercia: but after the murder of Peada, the chieftains of Mercia rebelled againſt Oſweo, and advanced Wulfhere, the brother of Peada, to the throne, by whoſe proweſs Mercia was again recovered from foreign ſubjection.‡

Oſweo conquers Mercia.

A. D. 659. When Oſweo had reigned with great renown the ſpace of twenty-eight years, he fell ſick, and being ſtruck with remorſe for the murder of Oſwine, and the blood which he had ſpilt in his wars, he vowed a pilgrimage to Rome, where he purpoſed to have been buried, but death prevented his deſigns. He departed this life the fifteenth of February, in the year 670, aged fifty-eight years, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, at Streanſhalch.§

The death of Oſweo.

The wife and iſſue of Oſweo.

The wife of Oſweo was Eanfled, the daughter of Edwine, who was the firſt Chriſtian baptized in Northumberland; from her father's death, ſhe had lived with her mother, in Kent, until the time of her marriage. After the deceaſe of Oſweo, (whom ſhe ſurvived ſeveral years) ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life in the monaſtery of Streanſhalch, (her daughter Elfleda being abbeſs there) where ſhe died, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, cloſe by her huſband. By this lady Oſweo had iſſue, two ſons and one daughter; Egfrid, the eldeſt ſon, was born in the third year of his father's reign, A. D. 645: this prince ſucceeded his father in the government of Northumberland. Elſwin, the ſecond ſon, was born in

* Now Leeds, in Yorkſhire. Vide Camden, in Yorkſhire.

† Bede, lib. iii. cap. 24.

‡ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 21 & 24.

§ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 5

the

A. D. 669. the year 661, the ninth of his father's reign; he was ſlain in the eighteenth year of his age, in a battle fought by his brother againſt the Mercians, A. D. 679. Elfleda, the daughter, was born in September, A.D. 654, the twelfth year of her father's reign. Oſweo, before the battle which he fought with Penda, vowed to God, that if he would grant him the victory, his infant daughter ſhould be conſecrated to the divine duties, and kept in perpetual virginity. After the conqueſt, according to his promiſe, Elfleda was committed to the care of the renowned Hilda, abbeſs of Streanſhalch, where ſhe lived a nun, and ſucceeded Hilda as the abbeſs. She died in the year 714, the ſixtieth of her own age, and was buried in the church within the ſaid monaſtery.

The natural iſſue of Oſweo.

Oſweo had alſo two natural children; Alcfrid, a ſon, who after the death of his brother Egfrid, ſucceeded in the government of all Northumberland;* and Alkfleda, a daughter, who was born before her father was king, in the year of our Lord 653. She was after married to Peada, the ſon of Penda, the famous monarch of the Mercians.

EGFRID, *the ſixth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 670. IN the early part of his life, and at the time which Oſweo, his father, fought with Penda the laſt deciſive battle, Egfrid was in Mercia, held as an hoſtage by Kinſwith, the queen of that dominion; but being releaſed by the conquering arms of his father, he returned to Northumberland, and in the twenty-fifth year of his age aſcended the throne, holding under his dominion both Bernitia and Deira. He was a man ambitious of power, and of an unquiet diſpoſition, which ſometimes hurried him on to raſh undertakings, and ended at laſt in the loſs of his life.

The character of Egfrid.

A. D. 679. His firſt wars of conſequence were againſt Ethelred, the king of the Mercians, which broke out in the ninth year of his reign; and upon the borders of the Trent was fought a great battle between them, in which was ſlain, Elſwin, the brother of Egfrid, a young man of an amiable diſpoſition; his loſs was equally lamented by both the kings, for he was much eſteemed by Ethelred, and had married Oſtrida, his ſiſter. It is

Egfrid makes war with Ethelred, king of Mercia.

* Bede ſays, that the reign of Oſweo was troubled by the rebellion of his ſon Alcfred: yet the particulars of this rebellion, or the time when it happened, are not ſet forth; perhaps, indeed, he might have taken part with Ethelwald, and been aſſiſtant in placing him on the throne of Deira: and ſome have poſitively affirmed, that on the death of Ethelwald, Alcfred ſucceeded him in Deira, and that by the laſt will of Ethelwald. But ſo much are we in the dark relative to this affair, that it would be folly to pretend to aſſert all theſe matters as facts. At the battle againſt the Mercians, in which was Ethelwald, Alcfred aſſiſted his father; and Bede expreſsly declares, that at the death of Egfrid, he had been ſome time in Ireland, where he had made great progreſs in religious learning. Why, or when, had he relinquiſhed the crown of Deira, if he had ever been in poſſeſſion of it, before his brother's death?

hard

hard to ſay which party had the victory in this battle; but ſome time af- A. D. 679.
terwards, we find a reconciliation took place between Ethelred and Egfrid, at the earneſt perſuaſion of Theodore, the biſhop.*

A conſiderable time was now ſpent in peace, which proved at laſt ſo diſ- A. D. 684.
taſteful to the diſpoſition of Egfrid, that he was determined by ſome means or other to keep his ſubjects in action: wherefore, he ſent a chieftain, named Berte, againſt the Iriſh, who had always been friends with the Engliſh, and were a very harmleſs, inoffenſive people. When he arrived there, he fought againſt them, and they were eaſily overcome; yet did he cruelly make a prodigious ſlaughter amongſt them, whilſt they, unable to reſiſt the fury of his arms, were driven to diſtreſs and wretchedneſs; from all ſides they fled before him, praying fervently to Heaven for vengeance.† Berte deſtroys the Iriſh.

The year after the invaſion of Ireland, Egfrid, contrary to the advice A. D. 685.
of his chieftains, and the earneſt perſuaſion of Cuthbert, biſhop of Landisfarne, commenced a war againſt the Picts, who bordered upon Northumberland, and over raſhly purſuing them when they made a feint retreat, he was by degrees led into a narrow place amongſt the mountains, where a ſtrong ambuſh was appointed, ſo that he was hemmed in by the forces of his enemies, and ſlain on the ſpot. This accident happened in the month of June, 685, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His body was afterwards buried in St. Columb's iſland.‡ Egfrid is ſlain by the Picts.

Egfrid left no iſſue behind him; for his wife, who was named Ethel- The extraordinary character of Etheldreda.
dreda, the daughter of Anna, king of the Eaſt Angles, refuſed to accompany with her huſband, or partake of his bed: and it is yet more extraordinary, that Egfrid was her ſecond huſband, for ſhe had been before married to a nobleman, named Tonberct, governor of the fenny countries of Norfolk, Huntingdonſhire, Lincolnſhire, and Cambridgeſhire, during all whoſe life ſhe remained a pure virgin; nor could any perſuaſion or intreaty, either with one huſband or the other, prevail upon her to alter her mind. She was married to Egfrid twelve years; but after a time, when the king found that ſhe would not yield to his allurements, he permitted her to leave him, and retire to the abbey of Coddingham, where ſhe was a veiled nun, under Ebba, the abbeſs; and afterwards, departing from thence, ſhe went to Ely, and built St. Peter's church, and herſelf became abbeſs there, where ſhe died, and was buried. This extraordinary and enthuſiaſtic notion of virtue in Etheldreda, cauſed her afterwards to be canonized as a ſaint, and her memory was held in the greateſt reverence.§

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 21.
† Ibid.
‡ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26.
§ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 19.

EALDFERTH,

EALDFERTH, *or* ALCFRID, *the ſeventh* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 686. EALDFERTH, the natural ſon of Oſweo, ſucceeded his half-brother, Egfrid, in all his dignities. This prince, during the whole reign of his brother, (either through conſtraint or inclination) took up his reſidence in Ireland; but was ſpeedily recalled from thence at his deceaſe, to take the government of the kingdom upon him. He was a learned man, and particularly well verſed in the ſcriptures; and though the bounds of his dominions were not ſo large as thoſe which ſome of his progenitors had poſſeſſed, yet he ruled all which he held, with ſuch wiſdom and diſcretion, that he juſtly acquired the eſteem of his ſubjects.*

Ealdferth, a learned man.

His fortunate wars.

The unfortunate undertaking of Egfrid, his predeceſſor, had opened a paſſage to the Scots, Picts, and Britons into Northumberland, and gave them occaſion to recover great part of their country, which had been ſubdued by the Northumbrian kings. Theſe people Ealdferth kept under; and though he could not reconquer all thoſe provinces which had been loſt, yet a conſiderable part of them were through his proweſs and activity redeemed again. In theſe wars he loſt a valiant chieftain, named Berctred, who was ſlain by the Picts in the year of our Lord 698.†

His wife and iſſue, &c.

Ealdferth reigned upwards of nineteen years, and died in the year 705, leaving behind him one ſon, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom. The wife of Ealdferth was Kenburg, the daughter of Penda, king of Mercia, who was married to him ſome time before he was king, but we do not find that he had any other children than Oſred, the ſon juſt mentioned.‡

OSRED, *the eighth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 705. OSRED, the only ſon of Ealdferth, ſucceeded him in the realm, although he was then a child of only eight years of age. But inſtead of walking prudently in the ſteps of his father, and endeavouring by moderation and juſtice to ſecure the love of his ſubjects, as ſoon as he was able to judge for himſelf, he neglected all the eſſential duties of a good king, following the impulſe of his own wicked inclinations; and for the gratification of his luſt, ſpared not to violate the chaſtity of the veiled nuns, and moſt zealous votaries of religion.§ It is true, he is ſaid to have married Cuthburga, the ſiſter of Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons; but with ſuch pollutions did he abuſe her bed, that ſhe, in abhorrence of his continual adulteries, obtained a divorce, and departed from him, retiring to a nunnery which ſhe had previouſly built at Winburne, in Dorſetſhire.‖ His wars were chiefly againſt the Scots and

Oſred, a wicked prince.

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.
† Bede, in epitome, &c.
‡ Chron. Sax. &c.
§ Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.
‖ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 718.

Picts. In the ſeventh year of his reign, one of his captains, named Berthfrid, fought with the Picts betwixt two places called Heve and Cere, where he obtained a conſiderable victory, and put a great number of the enemies to the ſword.* A. D. 705.

After this prince had reigned eleven years, he was ſlain by two of his kinſmen, whoſe names were Cenred and Oſric: theſe men taking the advantage of the diſcontent which prevailed amongſt the Northumbers, and knowing that the king had no lawful iſſue to ſucceed him in the government, perpetrated this murder to advance themſelves in power.† The death of Oſred.

CENRED, *the ninth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

After the death of his prince, Cenred, one of the conſpirators, (a man of noble lineage, ſprung from Ida) mounted the throne of Northumberland, but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his treaſon; for after a reign of only two years he deceaſed, leaving nothing behind him that was worthy of record.‡ A. D. 716. The actions of Cenred not known.

OSRIC, *the tenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

When Cenred was departed this life, his colleague and fellow-traitor, Oſric, the ſon of Alfrid, ſucceeded in the government. All the actions of his reign, which was thirteen years, like thoſe of his predeceſſor, are buried in oblivion: only it appears, that at the end of this term, he was ſlain; but for what particular cauſe, or by whom, cannot at preſent be determined. We do not read of any wife or children left by this king, or his predeceſſor, ſo that after the death of Oſric, the crown was given to Ceolwulf.§ A. D. 718. Oſric ſlain.

CEOLWULF, *the eleventh* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

Ceolwulf, the next prince that ſwayed the ſcepter of Northumberland, was deſcended from Oga, ſon of Ida, firſt king of Bernitia. This man was remarkable for his piety and ſingular zeal for religion; and his example was ſo prevalent, that the greater part of his ſubjects followed the virtuous example of their king, ſo that thoſe days are ſet down as the moſt happy which the Northumbers enjoyed; when men laid aſide their armour, and applied themſelves to holy contemplation, ſeeming rather deſirous of becoming profeſſors of religious houſes, than heroes in the field of battle.‖ A. D. 731. Ceolwulf a very religious prince.

But as true goodneſs, and a proper warmth for the promotion of religion, are juſtly eſtimable, and ought, for the benefit and peace of a na-

* Vide Hollinſhed, vol. I. &c.

† Chron. Winton. Bromton ſays, "juxta mare pugnans belli infortunio eſt occiſus."

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 716.

§ Ibid. ſub anno 718. & Chron. Winton. &c.

‖ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 24. & Simon Dunelm, lib. i. cap. 13. & lib. ii. cap. 1, &c.

A. D. 731. tion, to prevail in the minds of men; ſo ought a furious and inflated zeal to be avoided with equal care: the one is to the full as deſtructive as the other is beneficial; a ſtriking inſtance of this truth we have now before us. The miſtaken notion, which was of ſuch diſadvantage to the Northumbers, was this: that a man, to be truly religious, ſhould quit all his mundane concerns, and ſeek the ſolitary cell; whereas, no doctrine can be more oppoſite to the purpoſes for which we are placed in the world, or the general benefit of mankind, which it is the duty of every individual to forward, as much as lies in his power, and not like an idle drone to live upon the labours of others, or ſecluded from thoſe he ought to aſſiſt! But this abſurd idea of religion cauſed many of the noble Northumbers to retire from their lands and poſſeſſions, and quit their offices in the ſtate, in order to purſue a life of idleneſs and inactivity; by this means the kingdom was left without a proper defence, and lay open to the invaſion of the enemy. This inviting opportunity was obſerved by Ethelbald, the proud Mercian king, and during the reign of Ceolwulf he entered the borders of Northumberland, where finding no parties conſiderable enough to oppoſe his march, he proceeded unmoleſted, and obtained great ſpoils, returning with his army triumphant back to Mercia.* All theſe misfortunes could not open the eyes of this infatuated people; and the king himſelf, by far more blind than the reſt, after he had reigned nearly eight years, gave up at once all pretenſions to worldly honour, forſook his crown, and bid adieu to his kingly ſtate; when retiring to the iſle of Lindisfarn, he took up the cowl, as a more worthy ornament, and there ended his life.† He left neither wife nor children behind him, but bequeathed his crown to his couſin-german.

The zeal for religion which prevailed in Northumberland.

EGBERT, *the twelfth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 738. EGBERT, the ſon of Eata, and couſin-german to Ceolwulf, after his departure, mounted the throne of Northumberland. When he firſt entered the kingdom, he found the boiſterous neighbours, who bordered upon his realm, beginning to raiſe commotions amongſt themſelves, and ſeveral of them aſſerting a ſtate of independance. Theſe alarms obliged him to take the field, and the earlier part of his reign was ſpent in a continual ſucceſſion of wars and diſturbance; particularly the Picts and Britons were the moſt troubleſome and dangerous.

Commotions in the ſtate of Northumberland.

A. D. 740. Whilſt he was buſied in ſubduing the Picts and Britons, Ethelbald, the Mercian, (who had in the preceding reign obtained great ſpoils in Northumberland) taking the advantage of the abſence of Egbert, came again to this kingdom, and renewed his former outrages. The people

Ethelbald again invades Northumberland.

* Vide Chron. J. Bromton.

† Bede, lib. v. cap. 24. Malmſ. lib i. cap. 3. &c.

not able to reſiſt his powerful arms, were forced to ſubmit themſelves to his will, and ſuffer their poſſeſſions to be plundered and deſtroyed, according to the pleaſure of the conquerors, who, regardleſs of all faith or honour, uſed their advantage with great cruelty.* A. D. 740.

When Egbert had in great meaſure quieted the diſturbances that alarmed the beginning of his government, like his predeceſſor, infected with the enthuſiaſm of the times, he gave up by degrees the management of worldly matters, and after a reign of twenty-one years, quitted his throne and ſtate, retiring with great contentment to the more quiet ſcenes of a monaſtic life, where aſſuming the cowl, he alſo became a monk. He left behind him one only ſon, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom.† Egbert quits his crown, and becomes a monk.

OSWULF, *the thirteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND. A. D. 759.

AFTER the abdication of Egbert, Oſwulf, his ſon, was advanced to the throne. Of this unfortunate prince we find but little recorded. It appears, that before he had quite completed one year of his reign, he was ſlain in a treacherous manner by his own ſervants, at Mikilwoughton; but for what cauſe is uncertain.‡ Oſwulf ſlain by treaſon.

EDILWALD, *or* MOLLO, *the fourteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND. A. D. 759.

AFTER the unfortunate murder of Oſwulf, Edilwald, a nobleman, obtained the government of the kingdom. The beginning of his reign was troubled by a dangerous rebellion; for one Oſwin, a nobleman of Northumberland, took up arms againſt him. This inſurrection called him to the field, and at a place named Edwine's clive, a pitched battle was fought, which proved favourable to Mollo; for the rebellious earl was ſlain in the field, and all his army routed. After this ſucceſs, the king enjoyed his dominions in peace. When he had reigned ten years, he was ſlain by the treaſon of Alured, who, impatient to gain the kingdom to himſelf, perpetrated this villainous murder.§ This prince left behind him one ſon, named Ethelred, who was kept from the throne by the traitor Alured; but after his expulſion, Ethelred was advanced to the kingdom by the voice of the people. Edilwald; his reign and death.

ALURED, *the fifteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND. A. D. 770.

ALURED, the chief conſpirator againſt Edilwald Mollo, was deſcended from Alric, the natural ſon of Ida, firſt king amongſt the Northumbers; Alured ſucceeds in the kingdom.

* Bede, in epitome.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3. S. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelm. lib. ii. cap. 3. Redbourne ſays, only nineteen years.

‡ Simon Dunelm. Hen. Hunt. & J. Redbourne.

§ Malmſ. ut ſup. J. Redbourne. Hunt. &c. Simon Dunelm ſeems to ſay, that he was not ſlain, but reſigned the government; but whether by force, or his own free-will, does not appear.

A. D. 770. and after the death of Mollo he aſſumed the royal dignity. The actions of this prince are not known; but however, it may ſeem likely, that they were by no means worthy of record, or, at leaſt, not pleaſing to his ſubjects; by whom he was driven from the throne, after he had poſſeſſed it near ten years.*

ETHELRED, *the ſixteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 779. WHEN Alured was expelled from the government by the people, Ethelred, the ſon of Edilwald Mollo, was choſen to ſucceed him; but this his advancement, either becauſe it was not by the full conſent of the community in general, which might make him odious to thoſe who had other views than his welfare; or elſe becauſe his behaviour as a king was harſh and diſpleaſing to ſome of his electors: for, early in his reign, we find rebellions breaking out, which ſoon became more general, and productive of evil conſequences.

Ethelred ſet up in the kingdom.

Ethelred by rebellion driven from the kingdom.

After he had reigned near four years, two noblemen, named Edelbald and Herebert, headed a prodigious number of the mal-contents, and broke out into open rebellion: againſt theſe, the general of Ethelred's forces, named Aldulfe, marched out. A bloody conflict enſued between him and the inſurgents; but ill fortune purſuing the general, his troops were overthrown, and he himſelf ſlain in the field: this battle was fought at Kingſclif. The hopes of the rebels being elevated by this fortunate beginning, they purſued their march with great alacrity, and at a place called Holythorn, fought a ſecond battle with the forces of Ethelred, under the conduct of two valiant chiefs, named Kinwulf and Egga, which, after great ſlaughter, ended, like the former, in the total overthrow of the king's troops, and the death of the two leaders. Theſe fatal blows coming ſo ſuddenly on the back of each other, depreſſed the courage of Ethelred, and extinguiſhed all his hopes of ſucceſs; on the other hand, the minds of the people were greatly agitated; different factions and parties diſturbing the ſtate. Whilſt things were in this confuſion, Ethelred left his crown, and got him privately out of Northumberland, where he plainly ſaw he could not abide any longer in ſafety.†

ALFWOLD, *the ſeventeenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 782. THE flight of Ethelred completed the conqueſts of the two rebellious dukes, who preſently after ſet up Alfwold, the brother of Alured: and ſo much was the kingdom weakened by the foregoing civil diſcords, that none were able or willing to oppoſe theſe riotous meaſures; therefore, Alfwold mounted the throne, and held the reins of government with an equal hand. Yet neither the mild diſpoſition of their prince, nor his

The virtuous government of Alfwold.

* Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3.

† Ibid. Chron. Simon Dunelm. Hen. Hunt. Hoveden, &c.

virtue

virtue and juſtice, could prevail on the turbulent Northumbers quietly to ſit down, and enjoy the bleſſings of peace under a juſt and equitable adminiſtration: parties were prevailing in every diſtrict, and alarming diſturbances ariſing from every quarter. When this worthy prince had weathered through a troubleſome reign of near ten yeats, the civil diſſentions broke out afreſh, and in a violent commotion of the ſtate, he was treacherouſly ſlain by the conſpiracy of a chief of the mal-contents, named Siga, in the month of October, the year of our Lord, 791, at a place called Scythle ceſtre, and his body was buried at Hauguſtald. He left behind him two ſons, Celf and Celfwin, who were both of them ſlain by Ethelred.* A. D. 782.

OSRED, *the eighteenth* KING *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

AFTER the murder of Alfwold, the prevailing party ſet up Oſred, his nephew, the ſon of abdicated Alured. He enjoyed his royal dignities but a very little time; for by the ſame capricious multitude, through whoſe power he had been advanced to the throne, in leſs than a year he was again pulled down: ſo that quitting all his honours, together with his country, he fled away, and ſought for ſafety in a foreign realm.† A. D. 791. The ſhort reign of Oſred.

ETHELRED *again reſtored to the* KINGDOM.

AFTER the expulſion of Oſred, Ethelred, who had been abſent from Northumberland ten years, returned again, and by the favour of ſome parties, who were yet his friends, he once more mounted the throne. When he had re-aſſumed the reins of government, he remembered the injuries which were formerly done him by many of the nobles, theſe he now revenged, and the chief of thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his expulſion he put to death. To render his crown ſtill more ſecure, by intreaties and fallacious promiſes he drew the ſons of Alfwold from their aſylum, the cathedral church of York, and cauſed them to be ſlain at a place called Wanwaldremere. Not yet content, his next ſtep was to enſnare the unfortunate Oſred, who had been ſo lately driven from the throne of Northumberland. Deceived by the ſplendid offers of Ethelred, in an evil hour, Oſred left his retreat, and truſted himſelf to the faithleſs promiſe of a faithleſs man, who had no ſooner enticed him to enter the kingdom, than he cauſed him to be inſtantly put to death, at a place called Cunburge. Now thinking himſelf ſeated firmly on the throne, he put away his wife without the leaſt offence on her ſide, merely to ſtrengthen his party by a powerful alliance; and he married Elfled, the ſecond daughter of Offa, the glorious Mercian king. But how vain this his boaſted policy and craft! for, in the midſt of all his power and ſecurity, he was tumbled from his throne, ending his life in a miſerable manner. All A. D. 792. Ethelred made king a ſecond time.

* Chron. Simon Dunelm. Hen. Hunt. † Ibid. & Chron. J. Redbourne. Hoveden, &c.

theſe

A. D. 792. theſe cruel and unjuſt actions which he had committed were ſo highly diſpleaſing to his ſubjects in general, that continual murmurings filled the ſtate; but regardleſs of this, he continued his tyrannies, till even his friends and partizans were diſguſted: ſo that in one univerſal clamour, his own ſervants roſe againſt him, and at Corbre he was ſlain, the 18th of April 795, when he had reigned near four years after his return to the kingdom.*

The DECLINE *of the* KINGDOM *of* NORTHUMBERLAND.

The decline of Northumberland.

BUT now began the glory of the kingdom of Northumberland to fade away, and all thoſe who from this time aſſumed the title of kings, were chiefly tyrants and uſurpers, whoſe rule was upheld by the prevalence of parties; for, rent and torn into various factions, new opinions were daily broached, and conſtant diſturbances harraſſed the ſtate.

A. D. 796. Soon after the murder of Ethelred, the inconſtant multitude ſet up one Oſwald in the kingdom; but ſcarcely had he graſped the reins of government, when changing their minds, he was driven from the throne, after he had ruled only eight and twenty days.†

Oſwald's ſhort reign.

Eardulf, his troubleſome reign.

When Oſwald departed the kingdom, a nobleman, named Eardulf, aſſumed the royal dignity, and held it ſome time amidſt the conſtant troubles and commotions which prevailed in the realm. Early in his reign, a nobleman, named Wadda, who was one of the principal conſpirators againſt Ethelred, (wanting, perhaps, to advance his own power) made war upon Eardulf, and fought a battle with him at Billingaheth, near Walalege, where great ſlaughter was made on either ſide; but in the end the conqueſt remained with Eardulf, and Wadda, with his army, was driven from the field. Various battles and commotions followed this, with ſucceſs as various; all of which are ſet down in ſuch confuſion by the ancient authors, that it will be impoſſible to make out a clear and diſtinct hiſtory. Eardulf, however, having made himſelf odious by the murder of Alchmund, the ſon of Alured, and brother of Oſred, joined with other unpopular actions, was driven from his throne, not long after he had fought a fierce battle with Cenulph, king of Mercia.‡

A. D. 826. For ſome time after the expulſion of Eardulf, we have no certain account of Northumberland; but it is moſt likely, that, different parties prevailing, different rulers were ſuddenly ſet up in the kingdom, and as ſuddenly pulled down again, either through the changeableneſs of their electors' diſpoſitions, or the decline of their ſtrength. In this truly lamentable ſtate, the whole kingdom ſeems to have been involved when Egbert, the powerful king of the Weſt Saxons, having conquered Mercia, brought his army into Northumberland, where he found the peo-

Egbert overcomes the Northumbers.

* Ibid. ibid. ut ſup.
† Simon Dunelm. Geſt. reg. Ang.
‡ Ibid. Chron. J. Redbourne.

ple

ple divided amongſt themſelves, and the whole nation* in a ruined condition; ſo that, without much difficulty, he preſently ſubdued their forces, and brought them under ſubjection. A. D. 826,

From this time the kingdom of Northumberland owed obedience to the Weſt Saxon kings, and was held as tributary to that ſtate, until, by the conqueſt of the Danes, it was over-run, and the way opened to thoſe cruel invaders, which they purſued to the ruin of all England. What yet remains of the hiſtory of this kingdom, as well as its total ſubverſion by the Danes, will follow hereafter in the ſucceeding part. The hiſtory of Northumberland ended for the preſent.

* S. Dunelm, &c. &c.

THE

THE EAST ANGLES;

THE SIXTH KINGDOM OF THE HEPTARCHY.

The extent of the kingdom of the East Angles.

THE next kingdom of the Saxons eſtabliſhed in Britain, was that of the Eaſt Angles; which contained the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeſhire, and the iſle of Ely. On the north and the eaſt it was bounded by the ſea; on the weſt by St. Edmund's Dyke, and part of Hertfordſhire; and on the ſouth by Eſſex.

UFFA, *the firſt* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 575.

Uffa conquers Norfolk, and aſſumes the title of king.

UFFA, a noble German, deſcended from Woden, about the year 575, arrived in Britain with a ſtrong party of Saxon troops, and landed upon the borders of Norfolk. By degrees he drove the Britons from their poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, and with his followers ſettled there in their ſtead; at which time he aſſumed the title of king. His military acts, as well as his civil ordinances, are not handed down to poſterity; yet we may ſuppoſe he was ſucceſsful in both, for ſo much was he honoured by his ſubjects, that long after his death the ſucceeding kings of the Eaſt Angles were ſirnamed Uffings,* as a token of reſpect due to the memory of their deceaſed chief. His reign is ſaid to have been ſeven years, when he died, and left the kingdom to his only ſon.

TITULUS, *the ſecond* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 582.

Reaſon why the reigns of theſe two kings are paſſed over ſo haſtily.

WE have no traces left of the government and military actions of this prince: for ſo much have the hiſtorians been taken up with the reign of Redwald, who ſucceeded in the kingdom, that Titulus and his father could obtain no ſhare in the records. The reign of Titulus appears to have been eleven years, or thereabouts, and he was ſucceeded in the kingdom by Redwald, his ſon.†

REDWALD, *the third* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 593.

Redwald, the greateſt monarch of the Eaſt Angles.

REDWALD, the moſt potent king of the Eaſt Angles, mounted the throne upon the death of his father: he had been ſubſtituted chief under

* Vuffa a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum, Vuffingus appellant. Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 15.

† Huntingdon, lib. ii. Bromton. Mat. Weſt. &c.

Ethel-

Ethelbert, king of Kent, and ruled as viceroy in all his territories. In this capacity he acquired the higheſt pitch of honour and renown. To this prince did Edwine, the great king of Northumberland, owe his advancement; for he not only protected him from the purſuits of Ethelfrith, his brother-in-law, but with his own army overthrew the Northumbrian powers, and placed Edwine upon the throne, Ethelfrith, the late king, being ſlain in the conflict: but in this battle, which was fought cloſe upon the banks of the river Idle, Redwald, to his great grief, loſt his eldeſt ſon, named Regenhere. When Redwald had thus advanced the glory of his friend, he returned back to his own kingdom. Edwine was no ſooner converted to Chriſtianity, than he perſuaded Redwald alſo to be baptized, though to but little purpoſe; for, not being ſtedfaſt in his new faith, the intreaties of his wife prevailed upon him to forſake the ſame, and return again to the worſhip of his idol deities.* Redwald enjoyed his kingdom but a ſhort time after his apoſtacy; for when he had reigned about thirty-ſix years, he deceaſed, leaving the kingdom to his younger ſon. A. D. 593.

The name of his wife is not recorded; but ſhe is ſaid to have been the wife of a nobleman, deſcended of the royal blood of the Saxons. She was an enemy to the Chriſtian religion, and the chief cauſe which prevented its earlier propagation in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles; excepting this, ſhe was poſſeſſed of many virtuous qualities: for it was entirely through her perſuaſion that Redwald refuſed to deliver the fugitive Edwine to the ambaſſadors of Ethelfrith, which he himſelf at firſt had reſolved to do. This lady had a ſon, named Sigebert, by her firſt huſband; and by Redwald, two ſons, Regenhere and Eorpwald; the former was ſlain in the battle againſt Ethelfrith, and the latter ſucceeded his father in the realm.† The wife and iſſue of Redwald.

EORPWALD, *the fourth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES,

THIS prince appears to have been of a meek and gentle diſpoſition; and though it is true he bore the title of a king, yet it was the title only; for, after the death of Redwald, the influence of aſpiring Edwine was ſuch, that he may much more juſtly be ſtiled the ruler of the kingdom. At the earneſt perſuaſion of the Northumbrian monarch, Eorpwald was baptized, in the year of our Lord 632, and was the firſt king of this province that openly profeſſed the Chriſtian faith.; but his ſubjects, diſpleaſed with him before, becauſe of his meek deportment, were now enraged to the greateſt degree; for he had not only profeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, but cauſed the ſame doctrine to be preached, and received by the chief of his people. The ſudden change in their religion was highly offenſive, inſomuch that they conſpired againſt him, and determined by his death to put a ſtop to theſe diſtaſteful proceed- A. D. 629. Eorpwald, a virtuous prince.

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 15. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 5, &c.

† Ibid. ibid.

A. D. 629. ings; and not long after, this worthy prince was ſlain by a traiterous Pagan, named Richbart, when he had reigned ſix years, or thereabouts. He left no wife or iſſue behind him, therefore he was ſucceeded in the kingdom by his half-brother, Sigebert.*

SIGEBERT, *the fifth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 635. SIGEBERT was the ſon of Redwald's wife by a former huſband, whoſe name is unknown. Redwald, after his marriage, looked upon Sigebert with a jealous eye, and ſuſpected that he was ſecretly aſpiring to the crown; the chief motive of this ſuſpicion, was the great love which the people in general bore towards him. Vain were the endeavours of Sigebert, (who aſſerted his innocence with great conſtancy) to drive theſe painful thoughts from the mind of Redwald; all his arguments appeared but as ſpecious coverings to his unlawful deſigns, and ſerved rather to inflame, than extinguiſh the king's miſtruſt. When the unfortunate Sigebert ſaw that it was impoſſible for him to convince his father-in-law of the purity of his intentions, he prudently left the court, and retiring from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, went over into France, and remained there during the whole reign of Redwald, and his ſon, Eorpwald.†

Sigebert wrongfully ſuſpected by Redwald.

Sigebert choſen to be king by the people.

After the death of his half-brother, he returned again to his native country, and was preſently choſen by the people, by whom he was dearly beloved, to ſucceed the murdered ſon of Redwald in the throne. As ſoon as he had begun his reign, he declared his zeal for the Chriſtian religion, and earneſtly exhorted his ſubjects to embrace the ſame: ſuch was the effects of his arguments, and the preaching of the religious men, that the people, who had before been ſo inveterate againſt the doctrine of the goſpel, liſtened with great humility to their teachers, and with one conſent received the true faith.‡

A. D. 640. Thus far Sigebert acted like a worthy king, and the true father of his people. The better to ſecure their minds in the love of Chriſtianity, he cauſed proper places of inſtruction to be erected, and the new-taught religion began greatly to flouriſh in the kingdom. Now was the time for Sigebert to have completed his duty, by keeping the kingdom in a poſture of defence, leſt any deſigning power ſhould come ſuddenly upon them, and not only interrupt their religious ſtudies, but even ſubvert the whole government. Yet, led from this noble purſuit, he followed the impulſe of enthuſiaſtic fury, and left his people, to their great grief, like ſheep without a ſhepherd, whilſt he himſelf retired to a monaſtery, and ſought an inglorious ſolitude. Soon after, he appointed Egric, his

Sigebert leaves his crown, and retires to a monaſtery.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 3 & 5. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 642, &c.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 5.

‡ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18, &c.

couſin,

couſin, to hold the government in his ſtead. Sigebert left his crown when he had ruled about five years.* A. D. 640.

EGRIC, *the ſixth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

EGRIC ruled near three years in peace, when Penda, the Mercian king, made war upon the Eaſt Angles; and Egric not being able to oppoſe his furious march, the people ran to the monaſtery where Sigebert had retired, and brought him from thence, cauſing him (againſt his will) to take the command of the army upon him; but he would not by any means be prevailed upon to put on his armour, or take any offenſive weapon in his hand, but holding a ſlender rod, he gave the command. The Eaſt Angles loſt the day, as may reaſonably be expected; what chance had they for victory, when their chief himſelf refuſed to lead them to the battle with that bravery and courage neceſſary to confound the enemy, and ſecure the conqueſt? The inactivity of a chief is doubly miſchievous; for whilſt on the one hand it damps the ſpirits of his ſoldiers, on the other it gives the nimble foe frequent occaſions of diſtreſſing them. Sigebert himſelf was ſlain in the field, and with him fell Egric, his couſin, who held the government for him.† This unfortunate action happened about the year 643. Sigebert, as well as his ſubſtitute, Egric, died without iſſue, ſo that the kingdom fell to Anna, the next in blood to Eorpwald. A. D. 641. Sigebert and Egric ſlain in battle.

ANNA, *the ſeventh* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

ANNA, the ſon of Eric, the brother of Redwald, was the next who mounted the throne of the Eaſt Angles. Like his predeceſſor, Sigebert, he was a juſt and devout man, and like him unfortunate; not, indeed, becauſe he neglected the government of his people, for he ſeems to have held his rule with the greateſt care and prudence. He gave reception to Cenwalh, king of Weſſex, who was driven from his kingdom by the cruel Mercian, Penda, in revenge of his ſiſter, that Cenwalh had put away. Nor did Anna ceaſe, till, by his conſtant perſuaſion, Cenwalh received the Chriſtian faith, and was baptized; after which, by Anna's aſſiſtance, he was again reſtored to the throne of Weſſex. Some time after this, Penda again made war upon the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles: the cauſe, indeed, is unknown, (if there really was any other motive than Penda's irreſiſtible ambition); however, he came againſt Anna with a mighty power, in the eleventh year of his reign, and in deſtructive marches aſſaulted the borders of the realm; when finding none there able to oppoſe him, he marched into the heart of the kingdom, and being joined by Æthelhere, the brother of Anna, in a fierce battle he over- A. D. 643. Anna a juſt and pious prince.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18, &c.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 18. Malmſ. lib i. cap. 5, &c.

A. D. 643. came the forces of Anna, and ſlew that unfortunate prince himſelf in the field. This battle was fought in the year 654.*

The wife and iſſue of Anna.

Anna married Heriſwida, the daughter of Hereric us, the nephew of Edwine, king of Northumberland, by whom he had iſſue, two ſons; Firmius, who was ſlain in the ſame battle with himſelf; and Erkenwald, abbot of Chertſide, and biſhop of London: alſo three daughters; Etheldreda, the eldeſt, was firſt married to Tonberct, governor of the fenny countries of Norfolk, Huntingdonſhire, Lincolnſhire, and Cambridgeſhire; after his deceaſe, ſhe was married to Egfrid, king of Northumberland; notwithſtanding her marriages, ſhe remained a pure virgin to the day of her death; ſhe died at Ely, where ſhe had been abbeſs, and was buried in St. Peter's church, the which herſelf had built.† Anna's ſecond daughter, named Sexburga, was married to Ercombert, king of Kent, after whoſe death ſhe took upon her the habit of a nun, and ſucceeded her ſiſter as abbeſs of Ely, where ſhe died, and was buried.‡ The third daughter was Ethilburga, made abbeſs of Barking, near London, by her brother Erkenwald, where ſhe lived and died. Beſides theſe, Anna had a natural daughter, whoſe name was Withburge, a profeſſed nun, in the monaſtery of St. Brigges, in France.§

ÆTHELHERE *the eighth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 654. AFTER the death of Anna, his brother Æthelhere laid claim to the crown of the Eaſt Angles, and by the aſſiſtance of Penda (whoſe forces had over-run the kingdom) he mounted the throne. This deſigning prince, ambitious of power, had in his brother's life-time manifeſted his aſpiring genius; and the ſooner to attain the heighth of his wiſhes, joined with Penda in the ſlaughter of his king and brother, and the deſtruction of his country. But Heaven would not long permit him to triumph in his wickedneſs; for, ſoon after, he became the principal inſtrument of his own ruin.

The aſpiring genius of Æthelhere.

A. D. 655. He conceived, but for what cauſe is unknown, a mortal hatred againſt Oſweo, the king of Northumberland; and, by his ſubtle inſinuations, prevailed upon Penda, the Mercian, to make war upon him, whilſt he himſelf would be aſſiſtant with all his power. Penda, big with the glory of his many important conqueſts, approved the ſcheme, and accordingly joining both their armies together, they entered Northumberland, and purſued the war with unrelenting rigour. Oſweo driven to the greateſt diſtreſs, and finding that by fair means he could in no wiſe appeaſe the fury of his enemies, gave them battle. In this engagement all the forces of Penda and Æthelhere were routed, and they themſelves ſlain in the field. This happened in the year 655, ſo that Æthelhere enjoyed his ill-got crown but one year, and barely that.‖

Æthelhere ſlain in battle.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18.
† Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 19. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 8.
‖ Ibid. cap. 24.

The

The wife of Æthelhere was Hereſwitha; ſhe was ſiſter to the famous Hilda, abbeſs of Streanſhalch, and grandchild to Edwine, king of Northumberland. By this lady he had iſſue, three ſons, Adulf, Elſwulf, and Beorn, who all of them ſucceeded his brother Ethelwald in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

The wife and iſſue of Æthelhere.

ETHELWALD, *the ninth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

AFTER the ſlaughter of Æthelhere, his brother Ethelwald ſeized upon the government, and held it from the children of the late king the ſpace of nine years; during all which time he ſeems not to have performed any action worthy of note.* He is ſuppoſed to have left behind him one ſon, named Ethelred, who afterwards ſucceeded to the crown, and was the father of the unfortunate Æthelbyrhte.

A. D. 656.

The reign of Ethelwald not known.

ADULF, ELSWULF, *and* BEORN, *the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth* KINGS *of the* EAST ANGLES.

WHEN Ethelwald, their uncle, departed this life, the three ſons of Æthelhere took the government upon them, bearing rule jointly in the kingdom. Of theſe princes we have no records left, nor can we with certainty trace out the exact time of their particular deaths; however, it appears from ſucceeding circumſtances, that they held the dominion amongſt them the full ſpace of fifty years. Some modern authors, indeed, have made them rule ſeparately, and ſet down the particular time that each prince reigned; but as all this parade is mere matter of uncertainty, and eſpecially as Malmſbury makes them all reign together, there is no ſubſtantial reaſon appears why they ſhould be ſeparated.†

A. D. 665.

The three ſons of Æthelhere ſucceed in the realm.

ETHELRED, *the thirteenth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

THIS prince is ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of Ethelwald, which is, indeed, very uncertain. Though Ethelred appears to have reigned the full term of fifty-two years, all that we can collect concerning him is, in general, that he was a juſt man, and much beloved by his ſubjects.‡ His wife is called Laonorin; by her he had one ſon, (more famous than himſelf) named Ethelbyrhte, who reigned after him.

A. D. 715.

Uncertainties relative to Ethelred.

* Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 5.

† Thus Speed, with other moderns, have formally ſet down the extent of their reigns as follows: Adulf ſucceeeds his uncle A. D. 664, and rules nineteen years; Elſwulf ſucceeds his brother, and reigns ſeven (Hollingſhed, indeed, ſays twelve) years; and Beorn again ſucceeds Elſwulf, and reigns twenty-ſix years, making together the term of fifty-two years; or, if you add the five years more, according to Hollingſhed, given to Elſwulf, fifty-ſeven. But I have given my reaſons above for making them reign together. Vide Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 5.

‡ Ibid.

ETHEL-

ETHELBYRHTE, *the fourteenth* KING *of the* EAST ANGLES.

A. D. 767. The character of Ethelbyrhte.

IN the ſame oblivion which envelopes the actions of the father, is buried thoſe of the early part of the ſon's life, who ſucceeded him. We read, indeed, that he was a fine perſonable man, well learned for the times in which he lived, of an amiable temper, and inclined to no particular vice; on the contrary, his actions were all guided by the ſtricteſt juſtice and piety. Even this excellent character we owe, perhaps, to his unfortunate end, which made him lamentably conſpicuous to the world in general.

A. D. 792. The unfortunate murder of Ethelbyrhte.

To make amends for what is wanting in the former part of Ethelbyrhte's reign, the monks and legend-writers have ſwelled their account of his death with fables and miracles, in order to honour his memory; which, together with his being ſainted, has given him room enough in the monkiſh annals. But ſetting aſide all the miraculous tales which are interwoven with the murder of Ethelbyrhte, we will (as briefly as poſſible) run over what appears as truth, and is well authenticated. Long had this excellent prince been importuned by his ſubjects to marry; but becauſe, perhaps, he had not yet experienced the effects of love, he ſtill delayed to comply with their wiſhes, as waiting till he ſhould find a partner worthy of his affections: but overcome at laſt by the intreaties of his people, and the deluding offers which were made him by Offa, king of Mercia, of his daughter Elfrida, he accepted the propoſal; and complying with the repeated invitations of Offa, went to the Mercian court, in order to conſummate the marriage. But ſoon after his arrival, the ambitious Mercian (intending nothing leſs than the performance of his promiſe) cauſed him to be put to death, contrary to all humanity, the law of nature, and common hoſpitality. This being privately performed, the crafty king marched with his army into the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, whilſt the people, deprived of their ſovereign, and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the treachery of Offa, were unable to reſiſt his forces; and in a little time the Mercians conquered the whole realm.*

The burial of Ethelbyrhte.

The body of Ethelbyrhte was firſt privately buried, on the bank of the river Lugg, in Herefordſhire, near the palace of Offa, at Sutton Wallis, where he was ſlain; but not long after, was taken up at the command of Offa, (who pretended to be ſtruck with remorſe for his crime) and honourably entombed at Hereford, where, over his remains, a ſpacious church was ſome time after built. Ethelbyrhte reigned twenty-five years over the Eaſt Angles, and was ſlain in the year of Chriſt 792.

The DECLINE *of the* KINGDOM *of the* EAST ANGLES.

Egbert conquers the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

AFTER the death of Ethelbyrhte, the kingdom fell to decay: for not only the Mercians, but the Weſt Saxons, and thoſe of Kent, oppreſſed

* Malmſ. ibid. Chron. J. Bromton. Simon Dunelm, &c. &c.

the

the people; through this complication of misfortunes, it was deſtitute of proper rulers between fifty and ſixty years. In this ſcene of confuſion lay the affairs of this province, when Egbert, king of the Weſt Saxons, entered the borders, and made the people tributary to him.

Some time after theſe troubles in the ſtate, a pious man, named Offa, was advanced to the throne of the Eaſt Angles; and he was ſucceeded by Edmund, ſlaughtered by the Danes. From which period it continued under the government of the Daniſh powers, till Edward, the elder, drove them out, and annexed this dominion finally with his own. But as all theſe circumſtances muſt naturally follow in the third part of the Chronicle, we ſhall here take our leave of this kingdom, which, from the death of Ethelbyrhte, was not conſidered as a ſeparate or independent ſtate. A. D. 855.

The hiſtory of this kingdom broke off, and why.

MERCIA;

MERCIA;

THE SEVENTH KINGDOM OF THE HEPTARCHY.

The extent of the kingdom of Mercia.

THE ſeventh, and laſt, kingdom which the Saxons eſtabliſhed in Britain, was Mercia; which was larger in circuit, and contained more counties, than any of the reſt; as Glouceſterſhire, Herefordſhire, Cheſhire, Staffordſhire, Worceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Shropſhire, Warwickſhire, Derbyſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Northamptonſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Lincolnſhire, Bedfordſhire, Rutlandſhire, Huntingdonſhire, and part of Hertfordſhire. This extenſive dominion was bounded on the weſt by the river Dee, and the Severn; on the eaſt by the ſea, the Eaſt Angles, and the Eaſt Saxons; on the ſouth by the Thames; and on the north by the Humber, and the Merſy. Mercia was at firſt divided into three parts, as Eaſt Mercia, Middle Mercia, and Weſt Mercia.

CRIDA, *the firſt* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 585. IN the year of Chriſt 585, a noble Saxon chieftain, named Crida, (who, like the former kings of his country eſtabliſhed in Britain, derived his pedigree from Woden) arrived in Britain, and, with his followers, over-run the middle part of the iſland without much difficulty; for the Britiſh power was conſiderably cruſhed and kept under by the powerful arms of thoſe Saxon princes, who, long before this time, were ſettled in the ſurrounding provinces. Crida aſſumed the title of king, and from the time of his arrival held his dominions in peace. His reign was about eight years.* He left one ſon, named Wibba, behind him, who ſucceeded to the throne of Mercia.

Crida firſt aſſumes the title of king, in Mercia.

WIBBA, *the ſecond* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 593. CRIDA being dead, Wibba took the government upon him; and after many ſucceſsful engagements with the Britons, drove them from the borders of his kingdom, and greatly enlarged its extent. His reign appears to have been about three and twenty years,† but unfortunately his actions are negligently paſſed over, and nothing but the ſlight mention

The actions of Crida not known.

* H. Hunt. lib. ii. Higden ſays, that he reigned ten years.

† Ibid. R. Higden ſays, twenty years.

of his Britiſh wars recorded; whilſt even of them, there is left no particular account, either of the time when they happened, or the places where the battles were fought: but indeed, from this general gleam of light, as faint as it is, we may conclude him to have been a valiant prince, and deſerving of a more important place in the annals of the heptarchy. He left behind him three ſons; the eldeſt was Penda, the ſecond Cenwalk, and the laſt Eoppa: and one daughter, named Sexburga, after married to Cenwalh, king of the Weſt Saxons. A. D. 593.

CEORL, *the third* KING *of* MERCIA.

AFTER the deceaſe of Wibba, his ſons did neither of them ſucceed him in the kingdom; but Ceorl, his nephew, the ſon of his brother Kinemund, was advanced to the throne. Yet whether by the conſent of the people, he was choſen in preference to the iſſue of Wibba, or whether he uſurped the dignity by force, or fraud, cannot be determined: however, his reign appears to have been ſpent in profound tranquility, for the ſpace of ten years, when he deceaſed, and left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed in the realm.* A. D. 616. The reign of Ceorl not known.

PENDA, *the fourth* KING *of* MERCIA.

No ſooner was Ceorl departed from this life, than Penda, his couſin, the eldeſt ſon of Wibba, mounted the throne of Mercia. He was a man of a moſt turbulent diſpoſition; fierce and valiant in the field, violent in his councils, cruel in his temper, and inſatiate in his revenge. With war and deſtruction he ſhook the borders of the ſurrounding Saxon kingdoms, and ſpread an univerſal terror through the land. The chief cauſe of his wars ſeems to have proceeded from his own reſtleſs diſpoſition, and the end propoſed to himſelf no more than the cruel ſatisfaction of making others wretched; for, as thoſe wars were madly begun, ſo were the ſeveral advantages which his powerful forces had gained, as imprudently relinquiſhed.† A. D. 626. Character of Penda.

His firſt war was commenced againſt Cynegils and Cwichelm, his ſon, who ruled jointly in the kingdom of Weſſex: with theſe he fought a great battle at Cirenceſter, which continued till both armies were parted by the approach of night. In this bloody conflict, ſo much ſlaughter was ſuſtained on either ſide, that, in the morning, inſtead of renewing the fight, a parley enſued, and agreements of peace were made.‡ A. D. 628. Penda makes war in Weſſex.

Five years after this, he perſuaded Cadwallo, a Britiſh king, to rebel againſt Edwine, king of Northumberland, whilſt he himſelf with a mighty A. D. 633. The ſlaughter of Edwine and his hoſt.

* H. Hunt. lib. ii. & Mat. Weſt. Polychron. &c.

† Bede, Malmſ. Hunt. &c.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 628, & alia.

A. D. 633. mighty force assisted him. These two armies joined together, fought against Edwine and his host at a place called Hethfield, where, after a sharp battle, Edwine was slain, and all his forces put to flight. This conquest gained, they entered the kingdom of Northumberland, and dreadfully wasted the country wherever they came. Penda now left Cadwallo to revenge his own cause, and returned to Mercia, where he continued some time in peace.*

A. D. 642. Oswald slain in battle. Nine years after, the glory of Oswald, the pious king of Northumberland, (who, in defence of his country, had overthrown the army of Cadwallo, and reduced the Britons to subjection) became offensive to him; wherefore, to depress his rising fame, and revenge the cause of his ally, he re-entered the borders of Northumberland with a mighty host, and slew the unfortunate Oswald in the field.†

A. D. 643. Sigebert and Egric slain by Penda in battle. The year after this bloody expedition in Northumberland, hurried on by the impetuosity of his temper, Penda went with his army into the kingdom of the East Angles, and made war upon Egric, their ruler. After he had wasted the country by his destructive marches, and slaughtered a great number of the distressed inhabitants, he was met by the forces of Egric, under his command, joined with Sigebert, the former king, (whom the people had forced from the monastery where he had retired, and placed at the head of the army.) Both these unfortunate princes were slain by Penda, and all their forces put to flight; so that he pursued his march throughout the country without the least opposition.‡

A. D. 645. Penda drives Cenwalh from his kingdom. Returning from the conquest of the East Angles, Penda sat down peaceably for two years, when he again took the field, with a greater shew of justice than he had formerly. Cenwalh, the king of the West Saxons, who had married Sexburga, his sister, without the least offence on her side, put her from his bed, and followed a dissolute life. Incensed at his sister's wrongs, and to revenge the oppressive cause, he entered the borders of Wessex with a powerful army, and drove Cenwalh from his throne. But being cruel in his conquests, the whole nation miserably suffered by his violence, for the fault of their wretched sovereign. Cenwalh, however, fled to the court of Anna, king of the East Angles, where he remained some time, and was afterwards re-instated in the throne of Wessex.§

A. D. 654. Penda enters the East Angles again, and kills Anna. Now again Penda passed nine years in peace, at the end of which he resolved to re-enter the kingdom of the East Angles, and that (as it is generally thought) without the least provocation; unless he still remembered

* Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 20. & alia.

† Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 17.

‡ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18. & Malms. lib. i. cap. 6.

§ Ib. cap. 17. & Chr. Sax. sub an. 645.

bered the protection which Anna had formerly given to Cenwalh, when he had driven him out of the kingdom of Weſſex, and was determined for that offence to take revenge. However this may be, with a prodigious force he invaded that dominion; againſt whom the diſtreſſed Anna brought his army: but Fortune ſtill favouring the attempts of Penda, the Eaſt Angles were overthrown, and Anna himſelf ſlain in the field of battle. After this conqueſt, he ſet Æthelhere, the brother of Anna, upon the throne, as a reward for the aſſiſtance which this wicked prince had given him againſt his brother, and his country.* A. D. 654.

Scarcely was Penda returned to Mercia, when the traitor, Æthelhere, perſuaded him to make war once more in Northumberland; for he ſet the riſing fame of Oſweo, who then ruled in that kingdom, in ſuch a dangerous point of view, that, fired with jealouſy, and fearful of a rival in glory, he followed the advice which was given him, and being joined by the army of Æthelhere, went into Northumberland, and began with great cruelty to deſtroy the country wherever he came. Oſweo, on the other hand, was unwilling to meet his adverſary in the field, and ſtrove by large gifts and fair promiſes, to pacify his fury, but in vain; for the mind of Penda was bent on blood and deſtruction. When Oſweo ſaw the unrelenting diſpoſition of Penda, he reſolved to abide the fortune of the field. And now the cruel tyrant had run his deſtined race! for, being over ſecure in the ſuperior number of his hoſt, (which is ſaid to have been thirty times greater than the army of Oſweo) and negligent in his arrangement of the battle, he loſt the day, and fell himſelf in the fatal conflict; with him was alſo ſlain the traitor, Æthelhere, at whoſe inſtigation the war was firſt begun. This battle was fought upon the banks of the river Winwed, near Leeds,† which river burſt its banks during the engagement, and ſuddenly overflowed great part of Penda's army; ſo that more men periſhed in the waters, than were ſlain with the ſwords of Oſweo's ſoldiers. Thus ended the life of this furious prince, (who had cauſed the deaths of no leſs than five kings, by far more worthy than himſelf) after he had reigned almoſt thirty years. A. D. 655. Penda and his partner ſlain in Northumberland.

The wife of Penda was named Kinſwitha, and by her he had iſſue, five ſons, and two daughters: his three eldeſt ſons, Peada, Wulfere, and Ethelred, ſucceeded ſucceſſively in the kingdom. Merćthel, the fourth ſon, was a man remarkable for his piety; and Merewald, the fifth, and laſt ſon, governed ſome part of Mercia under his brothers. The daughters of Penda, were Cineburga, the eldeſt, who was after married to Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, but leaving her huſband, ſhe became The wife and iſſue of Penda.

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18. & Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 6. Bromton.

† "*Apud amnem Winwed unde exivit proverbium.*
"In Winwed amne vindicate eſt cædes Anna.
"Cædes regum Sigeberti & Egrici.
"Cædes Oſwaldi & Edwini." M. Weſt. ſub anno 655. & Henry Huntingdon, lib. ii.

A. D. 655. a nun in Kingeſburgh abbey: and Cineſwitha, the youngeſt, was married to Offa, king of the Eaſt Saxons; and after his departure to Rome, became a nun in the ſame abbey with her ſiſter.*

PEADA, *the fifth* KING *of* MERCIA.

The converſion of Peada, and his marriage.

THIS prince was by his father, in his life-time, made governor over the Middle Saxons, a diviſion of Mercia. He ſought in marriage Alcfleda, the daughter of Oſweo, king of Northumberland; but received for anſwer, that, ſhe being a Chriſtian, it was contrary to the laws of her country for her to marry one who was a Heathen. Peada willing to obtain the virgin, liſtened with great attention to the doctrine of the goſpel, which was carefully preached to him. Struck with the ſacred truths, his heart inclined to Chriſtianity, and his wavering reſolutions were poſitively confirmed by the inſtructions and advice of Alcfrid, (the natural ſon of Oſweo, who had married Cyneburga, the ſiſter of Peada) ſo that he revoked his former errors, and reſolved to be baptized; declaring at the ſame time, that this change aroſe from a full conviction of the truth, and excellency of the Chriſtian religion, and not from the love which he bore to Alcfleda, for he would continue conſtant in his preſent reſolutions whether he thereby obtained the virgin or not. Some little time after, he was baptized; and at the ſame time, the greater part of thoſe people over whom he ruled received the Chriſtian faith. The chief objections of Oſweo being thus removed, he gladly conſented to the marriage of his daughter. All theſe proceedings of Peada were not oppoſed by Penda, his father, who, though he profeſſed no love to the doctrine of Chriſtianity, yet hindered not its promulgation in his dominions.†

A. D. 655. The treacherous murder of Peada.

Now broke out the fatal war between Penda and Oſweo; and after the death of Penda, Oſweo entered the kingdom of Mercia, and brought it under ſubjection. However, he received Peada with great kindneſs, and made him king over all the middle diviſion of the realm, which was conferred upon him by the conqueror, becauſe he had married his daughter, and embraced the Chriſtian faith; the reſt he held in ſubjection under him. Peada no ſooner mounted the throne, than he cauſed the idol temples to be deſtroyed throughout his dominions, and began by his own zeal and piety, to ſet an excellent example to his ſubjects. During the reign of Penda, their late victorious king, the Mercians had been ſo habituated to war and diſturbance, that the peace which followed, under the quiet government of Peada, became irkſome and tedious; and becauſe they ſaw no proſpect of freeing themſelves from the yoke which Oſweo had impoſed upon them, whilſt Peada held the ſcepter, they began with murmurs to expreſs their diſcontent; nor were they quieted, until, by his murder, way was made for Wulfhere, his brother, to aſcend the throne. To add

* Ingulphus. Hiſt. fol. 1. † Bede, lib. iii. cap. 21.

to

to the heinouſneſs of this bloody act, his own wife is accuſed of having a principal hand in his death.* He was ſlain during the celebration of Eaſter, when he had reigned little better than two years, leaving no iſſue behind him. A. D. 655.

WULFHERE, *the ſixth* KING *of* MERCIA.

THE faction who were concerned in the murder of Peada, headed by three chief nobles of the ſtate, named Jumin, Ebba, and Eadbert, after his death, rebelled againſt Oſweo, and diſclaimed all obedience to him, ſetting up Wulfhere, the brother of Peada, upon the throne. By the patriotic ſpirit of the chiefs, the reſolution of the people, and the valiant efforts of their new king, the whole province was reſtored to its former liberty.† A. D. 658. The Mercians rebel againſt Oſweo.

Wulfhere was a ſtern, paſſionate man, eager in revenge, and valiant in the field. The impetuoſity of his temper cannot be more ſtrikingly delineated, than in the following extraordinary relation:---When he firſt mounted the throne of Mercia, he ſtill retained the idolatrous ſuperſtition of his anceſtors; and though he does not appear to have hindered the promulgation of the goſpel amongſt his ſubjects in general, yet he himſelf was far from being convinced of its ſacred truths. One of his ſons, named Wulfad, hunting in a foreſt, not far from his father's palace,‡ purſued a ſtag with great eagergeſs, and was ſeparated from the reſt of his company, when by accident he came to the cell of a religious prieſt, named Cedd, (who, during the reign of Peada, the late king, had been very aſſiduous in converting the Mereians to Chriſtianity.) The young prince pleaſed with the appearance of ſanctity and holineſs which he diſcovered in Cedd, went up to him, and a very intereſting converſation enſued; in which the prieſt ſet forth all the advantages that were to be found in the goſpel diſpenſations, and particularly explained the expectations of a future judgment, and an eternal life. Struck to the very ſoul by the diſcourſe of Cedd, Wulfad deſired to be received into the number of Chriſt's flock, and was accordingly baptized by him in a fountain that ran hard by. After this, Wulfad related his adventure to Rufine, his brother; Rufine was eaſily perſuaded to accompany Wulfad to the habitation of the holy man, where, being like his Wulfhere raſhly murders his two ſons.

* We ought here to take notice, (in favour of the lady) that Bede, whoſe authority is the beſt we have concerning this matter, does not poſitively declare that ſhe had a hand in the murder; but only intimates, that it was ſo reported. He was ſlain (ſays Bede) in the celebration of Eaſter, "proditione *(ut dicunt)* conjugis "ſuæ." Bromton and others, who have followed Bede, have left out the words "*ut dicunt*," and ſo poſitively fixed the ſtain upon the queen. However, there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe ſhe might be innocent; eſpecially, becauſe Robert de Swapham, a very ancient author, expreſsly declares, that it was not his wife, but his mother, that betrayed him to death. Vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt, lib. iii. cap. 24. Chron. John Bromton, & alia, & Hiſt. Eccleſ. de Medeſhamſted, per Robertus de Swapham.

† Ibid. &c. ut ſupra.

‡ At Wulferceſter, in Staffordſhire.

A. D. 658. brother convinced of his errors, he abjured his former religion, and was alſo baptized by Cedd. Yet theſe proceedings of the young princes were not ſo ſecretly conducted, but they came to the knowledge of Werbodus, the king's chief counſellor; and he, with many artful aggravations, related the ſame to Wulfhere, and informed him, that he might himſelf be witneſs of their fault. This information incenſed the king to the higheſt degree, and he preſently determined to go to the cell, accompanied only with Werbodus, who had inflamed his mind with a thouſand jealous fears. When he entered the habitation of the prieſt, he found his two ſons making their humble ſupplications to God, and in the height of his fury he ſlew them both with his own hand. But ſome time after, being himſelf convinced of the truth and excellency of the religion which they had embraced, he renounced his former ſuperſtitions, and became a truly zealous Chriſtian, repenting with unfeigned ſorrow the murder of his ſons. As for the bodies of the two unhappy princes, their mother, Ermenhild, cauſed them to be buried in a ſepulchre of ſtone,* over which, in after times, ſhe built a ſtately church.†

A. D. 661. Three years after Wulfhere had ruled in Mercia, he made war upon the Weſt Saxons, and in a ſharp battle fought againſt Cenwalh, at Poſſenteſburg, he overcame his forces, purſuing his conqueſts to Eſceſdune, and from thence through the whole kingdom of Weſſex, to the iſle of Wight, which he invaded, and ſubdued. This iſland he gave to Edlewalch, king of the South Saxons, who, at his perſuaſion, renounced his idolatry, and was baptized, Wulfhere himſelf being his ſponſor at the font.

Wulfhere invades the kingdom of Weſſex.

A. D. 675. After theſe diſturbances, Mercia, which had ſo long been warring againſt her neighbours, or at variance within her own limits, enjoyed no leſs than thirteen years of tranquility; during which time, Wulfhere zealouſly endeavoured to advance the Chriſtian religion in Mercia, and ſecure the peace of the kingdom. In the beginning of the fourteenth year, he entered the kingdom of Weſſex the ſecond time, (but for what cauſe is unknown) and fought with Eſcwine a bloody battle, at a place called Bidanheafod, where, after much ſlaughter, the victory remained doubtful.‡

The death, wife, and iſſue of Wulfhere.

This engagement ſeems to have put a final ſtop to the marches of Wulfhere into Weſſex; for ſhortly after, he departed this life, being then in Mercia, over which he had ruled ſeventeen years. His wife was Ermenhild, daughter of Ercombert, king of Kent. She ſurvived her

* Regiſt. Obbat. Peterb. per Walter de Wittelſey.

† "This place was after called *Stones*, or *Stonar*, by reaſon (ſays Stow) of the ſtones which the multitude brought thither for the building of the church, when they came to frequent the place." Vide Stow's Chronicle, & Camden in Staffordſhire, &c.

‡ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 675, &c.

huſband,

husband, and after his death retired to the monastery of Ely, where her mother, Sexburga, was then abbess, and spent the remainder of her life in pious solitude: she died, and was buried, in the self-same monastery.* By this lady, Wulfhere had issue, three sons; Cenred, the elder, who following religious studies, did not immediately succeed his father in the government, but at the death of his uncle, Ethelred, was made king. Wulfad and Rufine, the other two sons of Wulfhere, were slain by himself, as is above related. He had also one daughter, named Wereburga, who was committed to the tuition of the pious virgin, Etheldreda, her mother's aunt, the abbess of Ely, and by her persuasion took the veil upon her. In the reign of Ethelred, her uncle, she returned to Mercia, and was by him made governess of all the monasteries and religious houses in his dominion. She died at Trickingham,† and was first buried at Hanbury, though afterwards her bones were removed to Chester, where a stately church, in honour of her, was built by Leofric, earl of Cheshire.‡ A. D. 675.

ETHELRED, *the seventh* KING *of* MERCIA.

ETHELRED, the third son of Penda, after the decease of his brother Wulfhere, took upon him the government of Mercia, whilst young Cenred, his nephew, contented himself with a private and studious life, never once attempting to disturb the quiet of his uncle's reign, in the assertion of his own right and heritage. A. D. 675. Ethelred mounts the throne of Mercia.

Ethelred was a man of a fierce and violent disposition, ambitious of power, and valiant in the field. Soon after he ascended the throne, he invaded Kent with a mighty power, and with fire and sword destroyed the country wherever he came; in his rash fury sparing no place, however sacred or respectable, so that even churches and monasteries sunk in the general ruin. All this time, the distressed Lothaire, who then ruled in Kent, fearing the power of his cruel foe, did not dare to take the field against him, or endeavour by force of arms to stop his destructive progress. Ethelred, on the other hand, finding none to oppose him, marched up to the city of Rochester, and after pillaging the miserable citizens of all their wealth, set fire to the city itself, and burnt it to the ground. Content with their conquests, and loaden with spoils, the triumphant Mercians shortly after left the borders of Kent, and returned home.§ A. D. 676. Ethelred cruelly invades the kingdom of Kent.

Ethelred now sat himself down in peace for the space of three years, after which he began another important war, and invaded A. D. 679.

* Bede, Eccles. Hist.

† Now called Trentham, in Staffordshire.

‡ Vita S. Werburgæ, MS. in bib. Cotton. infig. Caligula, A. viii.

§ Chron. Sax. sub anno 676, &c.

the

A. D. 679. the borders of Northumberland. But here he obtained not a paſſage ſo eaſy as he had found in Kent; for Egfrid, who ruled in that kingdom, met him with his army near the Trent, and gave him battle. After a fierce and bloody engagement, the conflict was ended, but with great, though nearly, equal loſs on either ſide; ſo that the victory ſtill remained doubtful. We do not find that they renewed the engagement, but ſometime after they entered reciprocally into agreements of peace, and were thoroughly reconciled to each other.*

Ethelred makes war in Northumberland.

A. D. 697. After this unſucceſsful expedition, Ethelred remained peaceable at home for a conſiderable time, when a very fatal accident troubled his domeſtic peace, which was no leſs than the murder of Oſtrid, his queen, who was ſlain by the noblemen of Mercia, as ſhe paſſed through the northern parts of the kingdom.† This remarkable event is unluckily paſſed over in ſuch haſte by the author who records it, that the reaſon of this violent outrage, as well as the manner of her death, is not at this diſtance of time to be diſcovered. No doubt, a matter of ſuch alarming conſequence muſt have greatly affected the king; and it is likely he might revenge her death, and ſeverely chaſtiſe the unbridled temerity of the ſeditious lords.

Oſtrid, queen of Mercia, ſlain.

A. D. 704. Ethelred at laſt was ſtruck with a ſudden remorſe of conſcience, and began in a religious light to reflect on the injuſtice of his former conqueſts. The blood which he had ſpilt to ſatisfy his ambition, was now called to remembrance; the recollection of thoſe ſacred places which he had polluted, and wantonly deſtroyed, awaked in his mind the horrors of guilt, and ſhook his ſoul with the awful fears of divine vengeance. In expiation of his cruel deeds, he firſt cauſed the monaſtery of Bradney, in Lincolnſhire, to be built; but after, thinking this was not ſufficient to attone for his former faults, he determined to forſake his worldly pomp, and in the cloiſtered cell, by prayer and meditation, complete the purgation of his affrighted ſoul. Accordingly, he firſt bequeathed his crown to his nephew, Cenred, to whom it by right belonged; and then bidding adieu to the world at once, retired to the monaſtery at Bradney, which he had lately built, after he had reigned over the Mercians full nine and twenty years. In the ſame monaſtery he was made abbot, and lived in his retirement twelve years, when dying in the year 716, he was honourably buried in the ſelf-ſame place.‡

Ethelred repenting of his former life, quits his crown, and becomes a monk.

Wife and iſſue of Ethelred.

The wife of Ethelred was Oſtrid, who was ſlain, as we have ſeen above, by the nobles of Mercia. By her he had one ſon, named Ceolred. Convinced of the injuſtice which he had been guilty of, in depriving his nephew, Cenred, of the crown, he appointed him to ſucceed him in the kingdom, and not Ceolred, his ſon.

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 12.
† Bede in epitome.
‡ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 14. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 4.

CENRED,

CENRED, *the eighth* KING *of* MERCIA.

CONTENT with his former ſituation, and pleaſed in the enjoyment of a private life, Cenred had ſpent his youthful days in retirement and ſtudy, far removed from the ſplendour of a court. It ſeems rather in compliance with the demands of his people, than his own particular wiſh, that he quitted his retreat, and took upon him the government of Mercia: this material change ſeems not to have been agreeable to him, whoſe very ſoul was ſet upon religious enquiries. The uproar and noiſe of the buſy world was irkſome and diſguſtful to him; and ſo long had he been accuſtomed to think and act in a manner totally different from that which his preſent exalted ſtate required, his heart ſoon panted for the more pleaſing ſolitude again. Five years he held the title of a king, when overcome by the irreſiſtible impulſe, occaſioned by the recollection of his former enjoyment, of the quiet comforts of life, he quitted the court, and left his crown as a thing deſpiſed, when weighed in the balance with a contented mind. Soon after, with Offa, king of the Eaſt Angles, and Edwine, biſhop of Worceſter, he went to Rome, (the faſhionable pilgrimage of thoſe times) and was there made a monk by pope Conſtantine, in the church of St. Peter. At Rome he ſpent the remainder of his life, employed continually in acts of piety and benevolence.* A. D. 704.

Cenred prefers a monaſtic life to the crown of Mercia.

CEOLRED, *or* CELRED, *the ninth* KING *of* MERCIA.

THE quiet and peaceable diſpoſition of Cenred was as ill ſuited to the turbulent and warlike genius of the Mercians, as the fatigue of dignity was to himſelf; ſo that when he quitted the crown, they received Ceolred, the ſon of Ethelred, for their king, with the greateſt acclamations of joy and ſatisfaction. This was a man as remarkable for his perſonal bravery and conduct, as his predeceſſor had been for his piety; and though the people in general loved Cenred, whoſe virtues had endeared him to the more thinking part; yet was Ceolred by far more acceptable as a governor; for his lively temper and valour led them to expect great things from his adminiſtration. Virtue they loved, but glory was the object of their wiſhes.† A. D. 709.

Ceolred elected king with great applauſe.

Scarce had Ceolred mounted the throne of Mercia, before the peace, which had long bleſſed the Mercian ſtate, was broke through, and war commenced with the Weſt Saxons. Which parties were the aggreſſors, or what was the cauſe, is not known; but with ſuch implacable hatred was the war purſued, that it was not decided for the ſpace of ſeven years, during all which interval various ſkirmiſhes were made, and battles fought, with different ſucceſs, yet no conſiderable advantage was gained A. D. 715.

Ceolred makes war in Mercia.

* Malmſ. lib i. cap. 4. Chron. Bromton. & J. Redbourne. & Vita Egwini Epiſ.

† Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 4. Hen. Hunt. Mat. Weſt. &c.

A. D. 715. by either. After this long jarring had continued, the two kings met with their powers at a place called Wodens burh, where alſo the victory remained doubtful, prodigious ſlaughter being made in both armies; yet the loſs which either ſuſtained put a ſtop to the war; for if they were not reconciled to each other, they were ſo prudent at leaſt to retire, with the deſign of recruiting their ſtrength before hoſtilities were again commenced.

The death of Ceolred, &c.

In the year of our Lord 716, not long after Ceolred's return to Mercia, he departed this life, having reigned with great honour near eight years. His body was buried in the cathedral church of Litchfield. His wife is ſaid to have been named Wereburga, by whom he had no children. She ſurvived him many years, being very old at the time of her death.*

ETHELBALD, *the tenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 716. CEOLRED dying without iſſue, Ethelbald, the ſon of Alweo, deſcended from Wibba,† was advanced to the royal dignity. The character of Ethelbald is ſtrongly delineated in the ancient records, as a man of violent paſſions, impatient of controul, and immoderately fond of power and dominion: this diſpoſition occaſioned the title which is commonly annexed to his name, as the proud, or haughty, king.‡ He held the government with great valour, and adminiſtered juſtice with an equal hand: yet he himſelf is heavily accuſed of refuſing lawful marriage; not through the commendable preferment of a life of celibacy, but the rather to obtain the fruition of his libidinous deſires with the leſs reſtraint. He violated the chaſtity of maidens conſecrated to God, and ſeduced married women from the boſoms of their huſbands, taking them to his bed, without regarding the conſequence which might enſue from ſo open a violation of the Chriſtian laws, and the evil example ſet to his ſubjects. Nor were the nobles behind hand with their ſovereign; for treading in his ſteps, they followed their lewd purſuits without the leaſt reſtraint.‖

The character of Ethelbald.

A. D. 733. The firſt action of conſequence performed by Ethelbald, was the ſiege of the caſtle of Sommerton, which he won by force of arms. Some time after, obſerving the peaceable ſtate of the Northumbers, under the rule of their religious king, Ceolnulf, he entered the borders of that kingdom, and finding little or no reſiſtance, advanced with his army, and gained great ſpoils, returning in triumph back again to Mercia.§

Ethelbald invades Northumberland.

* Florentius, monk of Worceſter.

† His genealogy is thus ſet down in the Saxon Chronicle: Ethelbald the ſon of Alweo, the ſon of Eoppa, the ſon of Wibbæ, ſecond king of Mercia.

‡ Superbas Rex, &c. Vide Malmſbury, Bromton. Hunt. &c. &c.

‖ Epiſt. Boniface, in Chron. William Malmſbury, lib. i. cap. 4.

§ Chron. J. Bromton.

Some.

Some time after, whilſt Egbert, king of Northumberland, (who ſuc- A. D. 740.
ceeded Ceolnulf in that realm) was buſily employed in his wars againſt the Picts and Britons, Ethelbald, well pleaſed with his former ſucceſs, re-entered that kingdom, and purſued his deſtructive marches without any oppoſition; for, as the principal part of the Northumbrian forces were employed in the northern wars, the ſouthern parts of the province were left open to the enemy, who cruelly waſted and deſtroyed the country wherever they came.* Ethelbald again invades Northumberland.

Two years after his expedition in Northumberland, Ethelbald invaded A. D. 742.
Weſſex with a mighty army, and marched againſt Cuthred, who had then but juſt began his reign in that kingdom. Various ſkirmiſhes enſued, and Ethelbald ſeemed bent upon the deſtruction of his foe; for he not only aſſaulted him by open war, but by private practices endeavoured to procure his overthrow. Cuthred, on the other hand, being a man of great courage, reſiſted all the repeated efforts of Ethelbald, and finally gave him battle, which was fought with much bravery on both ſides, and after great effuſion of blood, the differences were made up, and the two inveterate enemies reconciled to each other.† Ethelbald invades Weſſex.

Two years more had elapſed, when the Britons (the common enemy A. D. 744.
of the Saxons in general) fell under the diſpleaſure of theſe two princes, who joining their forces together, made war upon them. The miſerable Britons were in no condition to reſiſt the united powers of Mercia and Weſſex; wherefore, leaving their habitations, after a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes, they ſought by flight to ſecure themſelves from the ſwords of their enemies; but being fiercely purſued by the Saxons, a prodigious ſlaughter was made. Ethelbald, after this conqueſt, returned to Mercia, and held his rule for ſome time in peace.‡ The Britons overcome.

A quiet life to a man whoſe ſoul delights in war, is tedious and irk- A. D. 754.
ſome, glory and power are generally the chief objects of his thoughts, and the buſineſs of the camp his beſt amuſement: minds like theſe, feel not the ſofter enjoyment of peace, nor ever conceive the value of that heavenly bleſſing! Thus Ethelbald, diſguſted with the tranquility that prevailed in his ſtate, broke through the ſacred bond of peace, and ſought in the field of war that ſatisfaction which at home he found not. Jealous of Cuthred's fame, he once more turned his arms againſt him, and invaded Weſſex with a mighty power, but unſucceſsfully; for, at Beorgford,§ his army was overthrown by the Weſt Saxons, with prodigious ſlaughter, he himſelf, with the remnant, making their eſcape by a precipitate flight: Ethelbald again invades Weſſex.

* Chron. J. Bromton, & alia.
† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 742. Malmſbury, &c.
‡ Ibid. Ibid.
§ Vel Bedford. Vide Chron. J. Bromton.

A. D. 756. Vexed to the ſoul at this ſudden turn of fortune, Ethelbald returned to Mercia; not, indeed, with a reſolution to ſit down tamely under his loſs, but with full intent to revenge his ſhame ſeverely upon the conquerors. He only waited till he had recruited his army, and a proper opportunity ſerved, to commence the war afreſh, and harraſs the borders of Weſſex. But Cuthred with his forces oppoſed his march with great courage, and drove him back to Sceandune, where a deciſive battle was fought; after a long engagement, the Mercians were routed, and Ethelbald himſelf was murdered in his retreat by one of his own chieftains, named Beornred. His body was after buried at Ripendune.* This fatal accident happened in the year of our Lord 757, after he had reigned with great glory the ſpace of forty-one years.† He left no children behind him; for indeed it does not appear that he was ever married.

The death of Ethelbald.

BEORNRED, *the eleventh* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 757. No ſooner had the traitor Beornred murdered his maſter, than he mounted the throne, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. But he did not long triumph in the ſucceſs of his treachery; for, before he had held the kingdom the ſpace of one year, a young man of noble blood, named Offa,‡ rebelled againſt him, and in a fierce battle overthrew his forces, and ſlew him in the field.

The overthrow of Beornred.

OFFA, *the twelfth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 757. THE ſudden ſucceſs of Offa gained him great applauſe in the kingdom of Mercia; ſo that, after the death of the uſurper, with one conſent, the people advanced him to the royal dignity. Offa was a valiant man in the field, and a refined politician in the cabinet; but all his virtues in general were eclipſed by his unbounded ambition, which hurried him on to the commiſſion of ſuch vile actions, as have ſtamped an eternal blot upon his character.

The character of Offa.

A. D. 774. When Offa had been ſeated upon the throne of Mercia about fourteen years, he began to entertain the thoughts of extending his dominion by the conqueſt of the neighbouring realms. The firſt people who felt the fury of his arms are called the Heſtings, and ſeem to have been a ſmall diviſion of the Eaſt Angles, which he preſently ſubdued, and added to Mercia. From thence he marched into Kent, and in a bloody battle overcame the combined forces of that nation, under the conduct of Alric, their king; but whether the people were aftetwards tributary to him, cannot be diſcovered. As for Alric, it ſeems very clear that he reigned peaceably for ſeveral years after.§

Offa wars againſt the neighbouring kings.

* Ripon, in Derbyſhire.

† Chron. Sax. ſub anno 757.

‡ Offa was a deſcendant from Wibba. The Saxon Chron. thus derives his pedigree, Offa the ſon of Dincferth, the ſon of Eanwulf, the ſon of Oſmond, the ſon of Eava, the ſon of Wibba.

§ Chron. Sax. ſub anno 774. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 4. H. Hunt. &c.

The

The next year after his conqueſts in Kent, Offa marched into Weſſex, and warred upon Cynewulf, who ruled in that diſtrict. Their principal diſpute ſeems to have been concerning the town of Benſington, which, however, Offa won from the Weſt Saxon, after he had defeated his forces in the field. Theſe conqueſts added ſuch conſequence to the name of Offa, that he was juſtly feared by the other Saxon kings; every one was anxious for his own ſafety, and deſirous, by ſome means or other, to ſecure the friendſhip of this mighty monarch; ſo that the power of Offa was daily increaſed. Yet far from being affected with haughtineſs and pride by his exalted ſtate, he held the government with ſo much prudence, that he ſecured at once his own glory, and the good-will of his ſubjects.* A. D. 775.

Offa wins the town of Benſington.

Fortune crowning his attempts in the eaſt and weſtern parts of Britain, Offa turned his arms towards the north, and conducted his victorious army beyond the Humber, where he made conſiderable conqueſts, and that without much difficulty; for the Northumbers at this time were divided amongſt themſelves, and by their own domeſtic quarrels facilitated the advancement of the foreign foe. After theſe important conqueſts in Northumberland, his next care was to ſecure the borders of his kingdom from the inroads of the Britons, who inhabited beyond him to the weſt; which, that he might the better effect, he cauſed a large dyke to be made, beginning on the ſouth at the mouth of the river Wye, and extending northward to the Dee. During the time that Offa was buſied in the performance of this ſtupendous work, Marmodius, the chief ruler in Wales, ſeemed to wink at his deſigns, but was mean while making all the preparation in private that he could, in order to fall ſuddenly upon the army of Offa, at a time in which he could have no ſuſpicion of ſuch an attempt. It is alſo ſaid, that he was ſecretly aſſiſted by the Northumbers and the Weſt Saxons, which is by no means unlikely. When the deſign was ripe for execution, Marmodius, the better to blind the ſearching eyes of Offa, ſent a formal embaſſy, to demand a truce for a certain ſtated time; during which ſpace ſome method might be thought on between them, by means of which they might conclude a final peace, which ſhould be advantageous to both parties. The fair propoſals of the Britons were kindly received by Offa, who not ſuſpecting their treacherous deſign, granted the time of truce which they demanded, in a very friendly manner. Their plot ſo far ſucceeded as well as they could deſire; and it being now near Chriſtmas, they waited quietly until the evening of St. Stephen's day, when uniting the whole of their forces together, they went down ſuddenly upon the army of Offa, and filling up part of the new dyke, entered the camp, and made a great ſlaughter: for the Mercian ſoldiers knowing that the time of the truce was not yet A. D. 778.

Offa conquers Northumberland, and makes a large dyke on the borders of Wales.

* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 774. Malmſ. lib. i. cap. 4. H. Hunt. &c.

A. D. 778. expired, thought themſelves ſecure, and were more intent upon the celebration of the Chriſtmas feaſt, than the making defence with their ſwords. Offa finding himſelf thus infamouſly betrayed, rallied his forces again, and ſecured his retreat in the beſt manner that he could, and for a time withdrew himſelf into the heart of Mercia, to reinforce his army.*

A. D. 779. Offa overcomes the Britons. Incenſed with fury, and the ardent deſire of revenging the treacherous dealings of the Britons, early the next year he ſufficiently ſtrengthened his army, and marching into Wales, in a bloody battle overcame Marmodius and his aſſociates. After this, he deſtroyed the country round about, and drove the Britons to the greateſt diſtreſs. When he had completed his vengeance, he came back, and repaired the part of the dyke which had been broken down, and ſet every thing in order upon the weſtern borders of Mercia: this done, he returned to his court, and began, by powerful alliances, to ſtrengthen his ſtate. He now ſat down in peace, and for a conſiderable time attended to the affairs of his own realm, making no attempt upon the neighbouring kings.†

A. D. 791. Offa marries his daughters. Still deſirous of ſecuring the importance of his dominions upon the ſureſt foundation; thoſe whom he thought might at any time prove dangerous, he determined to hold by a ſtronger bond than that of mere friendſhip. In order to effect this deſign, he married his eldeſt daughter, Eadburge, to Beorhtric, king of Weſſex, who, proud of the alliance with ſo great a monarch, had ſought her of her father in marriage; and his ſecond daughter, Elfleda, he gave to Ethelred, king of Northumberland, after he was reinſtated in his throne, from whence he had been expelled by the people.‡

A. D. 792. Offa wickedly murders the king of the Eaſt Angles. Elfreda, third daughter of Offa, was promiſed to Ethelbyrhte, the king of the Eaſt Angles; who being kindly invited by her father to his court, went thither in order to conſummate the marriage, but was cruelly ſlain by the command of Offa: not content with the glory of his reign, and the extent of his dominions, he was determined in this baſe and treacherous manner to ſecure the kingdom of this unfortunate prince, and add it to his own. Immediately after the death of Ethelbyrhte, Offa went with his army into the Eaſt Angles, and ſoon ſubdued the whole province. Thus did the inordinate thirſt of power prevail on this mighty Mercian king, to commit a crime of the blackeſt nature, which is aggravated by the moſt infamous treachery and deceit; in ſhort, ſo baſe an action is ſcarcely to be found again in all our annals.§

The

* Matthew Paris, in Vita Offæ.

† Ibid.

‡ H. Hunt. lib iv. Ethelwerd, &c.

§ Matthew Paris, who has made a legendary life of Offa, lays the chief blame upon his wife, declaring, that ſhe endeavoured to perſuade him to commit this murder, but he refuſed; wherefore, ſhe herſelf undertook it, and cauſed the prince to be murdered on his wedding night.

All

The year after this bloody deed was done, Offa aſſiſted his ſon-in-law, Beorhtric, againſt the Danes, who had arrived upon the confines of his dominions, in three large ſhips, and by his timely aid they were driven back with conſiderable loſs. After this, Offa pretended great ſorrow for the murder of Ethelbyrhte, and in order in ſome meaſure to expiate for the offence, he went to Rome, where he obtained permiſſion to build the abbey of St. Albans; and, after the example of his predeceſſor, Ina, made the kingdom ſubject to the Romeſcot, or Peter-pence. At his return to Mercia, the abbey of St. Albans was begun, and juſt as it was completed, this great monarch departed this life, in the year of our Lord 796, after he had reigned nine and thirty years in the greateſt ſplendour.* A. D. 793. Offa repels the Danes, and goes to Rome.

The wife of Offa was named Quendrida,† of whom we know but little; yet ſhe ſeems to have been a woman of good condition, but no way remarkable for her virtues. By her he had iſſue, one ſon, and three daughters: Egferth, the ſon, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom; Ethelburga, the elder daughter, was married to Beorhtric; Elfleda, the ſecond daughter, to Ethelred, king of Northumberland; and Elfreda, the youngeſt, was betrothed to the unfortunate Ethelbyrhte, the king of the Eaſt Angles; after the death of this prince, ſhe, with great lamentations, abandoned the ſociety of men, and withdrew herſelf to the monaſtery of Crowland,‡ and there ſpent her life in religious ſolitude.§ The wife and iſſue of Offa.

EGFERTH, *the twelfth* KING *of* MERCIA.

EGFERTH, the joy of his parents, had been crowned king of Mercia during his father's life-time, and reigned jointly with him till the day of his death, when he took the whole government of the realm upon him. A. D. 796. Egferth's ſudden death.

All this is done to exculpate Offa, who was the founder of St. Albans, for which action the monks have haſtily paſſed over this cruel deed; but his afterwards ſubduing the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles in ſuch a ſudden and unlawful manner, may plainly prove the part he acted in the murder was more than that of a byeſtander.

* W. Malmſ. l. i. cap. 4. Chr. Sax. &c.

† Matthew Paris, in his legendary life of Offa, calls her *Drida*, and ſays, ſhe was kinſwoman to Charles the Great, king of France; and that being accuſed of ſome heinous offence, ſhe was put into a boat without either rudder, ſail, or oar, and left in the midſt of the ſea to the fortune of the waves. After ſhe had a time been wafted to and fro, ſhe was caſt upon the Britiſh ſhore, and being taken thence, was brought to Offa, who relieved her wants, and had her carefully conducted to his palace. She ſo well juſtified her conduct to Offa, that he was much pleaſed with her addreſs; and ſhe being a fair and lovely woman, he made her his wife, to the great grief of his parents, and the diſlike of the nobles of the realm. But this account has ſo much the air of romance, and not being confirmed by any ancient record, it is juſtly ſet aſide.

‡ Thus ſays Matthew Paris; others affirm, that ſhe was afterwards married to Cenwulf, king of Mercia.

§ Capgrave gives Offa another ſon, named Fremund, ſlain by Oſwy, and buried at Offchurch; and quotes an author, named Burghad, ſaid to have been preſent at the death of the prince. But Speed imagines him to have been miſtaken, becauſe the wars with the Danes, which occaſioned his death, happened not till one hundred years after.

The

A. D. 796. The exact time of his coronation is not recorded, but it certainly was towards the latter end, if not the laſt year, of Offa's reign. Egferth was a young man of an amiable diſpoſition, and much beloved by his ſubjects in general. His proſperous beginning, and the prudence which he ſoon diſcovered, left room for great expectations; but all his people's hopes were quickly depreſſed by his ſudden death, which happened one hundred and forty days after the deceaſe of his father, to the great grief of all who knew him. He left no iſſue behind him.*

KENULPH, *or* CENWULF, *the thirteenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 796. VIRTUOUS young Egferth being ſo ſuddenly ſnatched away, the choice of the Mercians fell upon Cenwulf, a nobleman deſcended from Wibba. This prince is famous for his juſtice and many virtues; avoiding the errors of others, he was religious without being ſuperſtitious, and valiant without being cruel: in the defence of his country he flew to the field, but yet in the midſt of his conqueſts remembered, that mercy was the hero's nobleſt attribute.†

Character of Cenwulf.

Cenwulf invades Kent, and his ſucceſs.

The civil diſcords which had long prevailed in Kent, had ſo violently ſhaken that kingdom, and leſſened its conſequence, that Cenwulf imagined it would now be no hard matter quickly to complete the ruin that ſeemed to threaten its ſtate. Determining to try the fortune of war, he entered the borders of Kent with his army, and gave battle to Ethelbert Pren, who had uſurped the government, and after a ſharp engagement, overthrew his forces, Pren himſelf being made priſoner by the Mercians. This victory obtained, Cenwulf followed his fortunes, and ſubjugated all the ſtate, raiſing a man, named Cuthred, to the throne, who held his rule under him. The captive, Pren, Cenwulf carried with him into Mercia, where he detained him for ſome little ſpace; and at the dedication of a church which he, Cenwulf, had built at Winchomb, Pren was led up to the high altar, and there ſet at liberty, without fine or ranſom. This noble action added greatly to the honour which Cenwulf had already acquired.‡

A. D. 799. His next wars were in Northumberland, againſt Eardulf, with whom he fought a bloody battle; but the particulars of it being haſtily paſſed over, it is impoſſible to declare who had the victory: however, not long after, a peace was concluded upon between the two parties, and Cenwulf returned home to Mercia. From this time, his reign appears to have been ſpent in perfect tranquility, to the day of his death, which happened after he had reigned three and twenty years. His body was buried at Winchomb, in the county of Glouceſter, in the church which himſelf had built.§

The death of Cenwulf.

* Malmſ. l. i. c. 4. Chron. Sax. &c.
† Ibid. & Bromton, &c.
‡ Ibid. & Hiſt. Ethelwerdi.
§ Ibid. Ibid.

His

His wife's name was Ælfthryth, but her parentage is unknown; unleſs ſhe was, as ſome have ſuppoſed, the younger daughter of Offa, who was betrothed to the murdered Ethelbyrhte; but this is not very likely, for had ſhe been of ſuch noble lineage, it would have ſcarcely been forgot by the ancient hiſtorians.* By this lady he had iſſue, one ſon, and two daughters: Cenelm, the ſon, was yet a child at his father's death; Quendreda, the eldeſt daughter, after her father's death, wickedly aſpiring to the throne, (as ſome report) cauſed her brother to be ſlain. The youngeſt daughter is named Bergenhild; of her we find nothing recorded, more than the love ſhe bore to her brother, and her ſorrow for his death.† The wife and iſſue of Cenwulf.

CENELM, *the fourteenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

CENWULF being deceaſed, Cenelm, his only ſon, (then but a child) was appointed to ſucceed him; but ſhortly after his advancement, he was, by ſome fatal accident, unfortunately, though innocently, ſlain by the hand of his ſiſter Quendreda, whereby he obtained the name and honour of a martyr.‡ He was firſt privately buried, but afterwards his body was removed, and reburied, with great ſolemnity, in the church of A. D. 819. Cenelm unfortunately ſlain.

* One thing may be here obſerved, that either Cenwulf had two wives, or this one ſometimes bore a different name. An original charter of this king's, preſerved in the Cotton library, begins thus, "Ego Ce-"nulf una cum conjuge mea Cenegitha re-"gina Merc. &c." To which charter, Cenelm filii regis, is one of the witneſſes. In two others in the ſame book, the name is as above. I have not ventured to affirm upon this authority that he had two wives, becauſe no ſuch circumſtance is mentioned in the ancient authors. The curious may find theſe charters in a large book, marked Auguſtus II. and their numbers, x. 91 & 94.

† Vide Bromton, Redbourne, &c.

‡ The ſtory of the death of this prince is ſo differently related, that one can ſcarcely tell what judgment to form upon it. Aſſerius, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, Henry Huntingdon, and R. Hoveden, make no mention of Cenelm; Malmſbury indeed does, but paſſes over this important tranſaction in the following haſty manner: "Kenelmus puer admodum a ſo-"rore ſua Quendrida innocuè cæſus nomen "& decus Martyrii adeptus," which is in ſubſtance the ſame as I have related above. But how totally different are the accounts of H. Higden, Matthew of Weſtminſter, T. Redbourne, and J. Bromton, who all relate the ſtory in or near the following manner: Quendrida wickedly aſpiring to the throne of Mercia, prevailed upon Aſkebert, the tutor of the young prince, to murder him; which vile action he performed one day as he was hunting, in a thick wood, and privately buried his body under a thorn-buſh. They further add, that the murder was diſcovered, as well as the dead body of the unfortunate youth, by means of a dove, that carried a ſlip of parchment in its beak to Rome, and laid it upon the high altar in St. Peter's church. On which was written, in Saxon characters, theſe words, "In Clenc kon baƿ, Cenelm Cininzbajne, lieƿ unden thojne, heaveƿ bejeaveƿ." "In Clenc cow paſture, Cenelm, the king's child, lieth under a thorn, bereaved of his head." Quendrida, after the diſcovery of the murder, died with ſhame and grief, for having been the cauſe of ſo foul a deed. But this trifling ſtory borders ſo much upon the legendary tale, that I have ſet aſide the whole account, and preferred that of Malmſbury, which, though conſiderably ſhorter, is yet much more likely to be true.

A. D. 819. Winchomb, by the ſide of his father. His reign was not above five months.

CEOLWULF, *the fifteenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 819. Ceolwulf diſpleaſing to the people.

AFTER the murder of Cenelm, Ceolwulf, his uncle, took the government upon him; but it ſeems not to have been with the general conſent of the people; for ſcarcely had he ſat two years upon the throne, before Beornwulf, a nobleman of Mercia, rebelled againſt him, and was joined by thoſe who were diſcontented with his management of the ſtate. He ſoon found himſelf deſerted on all ſides,* and was driven from the kingdom with diſgrace. This prince had one daughter, named Elfleda, after married to Wiglaf, the ſubſtitute king of Mercia, under Egbert.

BEORNWULF, *the ſixteenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 821. Beornwulf challenges Egbert to the field.

CEOLWULF being driven from the throne, Beornwulf (who all this while had been aiming at the imperial dignity) ſeized upon the government. He was deſcended from Oſher, a man reputed to be of the blood royal of Mercia. Valour and ambition are the ſtrong characteriſtics of this prince, and in the end proved his deſtruction. After he had held his ſcepter with a ſtrong hand upwards of two years, he caſt a jealous eye on Egbert, the powerful king of the Weſt Saxons, and fearful of his riſing fame, challenged him to the field. Egbert deſirous of puſhing his fortune on, which now flowed high, accepted the challenge, and met him at Ellendon,† where they fought a bloody battle, and prodigious ſlaughter was made on either ſide; at laſt, however, victory declared for the Weſt Saxons, and Beornwulf, with his party, was driven from the field. One evil ſeldom comes unaccompanied by another; immediately after this defeat, the Eaſt Angles, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed by the Mercians under Offa, threw off their yoke, and entering Mercia, added to the diſtreſs of that dominion. In endeavouring to ſave his bleeding country from total ruin, the unhappy Beornwulf loſt his life, before he had fully completed the third year of his reign.‡

LUDECAN, *the ſeventeenth* KING *of* MERCIA.

A. D. 825. Mercia ſubdued.

No ſooner was the death of Beornwulf known to the Mercians, than they advanced Ludecan, a valiant chieftain, to the throne, and made all the preparation that they could to revenge the revolt of the Eaſt Angles. But Egbert aiding them, they were too powerful for the Mercians, and overcame them in the field. In this fatal conflict fell Ludecan, and five

* Malmſ. lib i. cap. 4. Chron. Sax. ſub anno 821.

† Or Wilton. Vide Milton's Hiſt. of Eng. fol. 219.

‡ Malmſ. ut ſup. Chron. Sim. Dunelm. & H. Hunt. lib. iv.

of his chieftains, bravely ſtruggling to defend the falling ſtate, but all in vain: for now the deſtined time was come, in which the glory of Mercia ſhould decline. Ludecan being ſlain, Wiglaf ſeized upon the government, but he was preſently after ſubdued by Egbert, and the whole dominion made tributary to the Weſt Saxons. A. D. 825.

From this time the kingdom of Mercia ceaſed to be an independant ſtate; though it is true it ſtill continued to have its own kings, yet they were no more than viceroys, or rulers, under the kings of Weſſex, and the accounts of them will naturally follow in the ſucceeding part of the Chronicle; for which reaſon, we will here break off the hiſtory of Mercia, and take our final leave of the heptarchy, which we have carefully traced out from its firſt beginning: imperfect indeed, and interrupted with frequent chaſms, are theſe early parts of our annals, yet ought they not to be paſſed over as unintereſting. The riſe and fall of theſe little kingdoms exhibit a great variety of different characters, many of them very important and amuſing. A. D. 826.

The hiſtory of Mercia broke off, and why.

THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY.

*** For the better Underſtanding of the Genealogy of the Kings of the Heptarchy, the following Tables are here ſubjoined, which exhibit at one View the different Branches from which each particular King was deſcended, as far as they could be traced out with any Certainty. To theſe are added, the Chronological Order of the Year, in which each Monarch began his Reign, and when he died.

The laſt Table (No. VIII.) ſhews the regular Succeſſion of the Monarchs, or chief Kings of the Heptarchy, on whom the honorary Title of "King of the Engliſhmen" was beſtowed.

TABLE I.

Succeſſion of the Kings of the South Saxons.

Began to reign.	Died.	
477	514	ÆLLE.
514	590	Cymen. Wlenching. CISSA.
590	681	EDELWALCH.
681		Two Dukes, BERTHUNUS and ANTHUN.

☞ Note, that on the ſame line with each king, is ſet the year on which he began his reign, and when he died. Thoſe names in Italics joined with this mark = are the perſons married into the different families.

TABLE II.

Succeſſion of the Kings of Kent, with their Iſſue.

Began to reign. A.D.	Died. A.D.	
		WITHGILS, a German chieftain.
457	488	Horſa — HENGIST, 1ſt king of Kent. — Octa
489	513	Hatwaker — ÆSC, 2d king. — Rowena = *Vortigern*, King of the Britons.
513	535	OCTA, 3d king.
535	560	HERMENRIC, 4th king.
560	616	Second wife's name not known. = ETHELBERT, 5th king. = *Berta*, Daughter of Chilperic, k. of France. — Rikell = *Sledda*, King of the Eaſt Saxons.
616	640	Ethelburga = *Edwine*, K. of Northumberland. — Married his fathers 2d wife. = EDBALD, 6th king. = *Emme*, 2d wife, Daughter of Theodore, k. of Lorayne.
640	664	Ermenred = Oſlave — *Sexburga*, Daughter of Anna, k. of the E. Angles = ERCOMBERT, 7th king. — Enſwith
664	673	Ethelred, Ethelbert (Both ſlain by Egbert.) — Dompnena (Married to a Mercian prince.) — Erminburga, Erinburga, Ermengytha (All three nuns.) — EGBERT, 8th king.
673	685	LOTHAIRE, 9th king.
685	687	EDRIC, 10th king.
		Interregnum five years.
692		WYCHERD and WEBHARD, two uſurping tyrants.
694	725	WIHTRED, 11th king.
725	748	EDBERT, 12th king.
748	759	ETHELBERT, 13th king.
759	793	ALRIC, 14th king.
794		Three uſurpers. { ETHELBERT PREN
797		CUTHRED.
805		BALDRED.

TABLE III.

Succession of the Kings of Weſſex.

Began to reign. A.D.	Died. A.D.	
519	533	CERDIC, 1st king.
533	569	CENRIC, 2d king.
560	592	CEAWLIN, 3d king.
592	597	CEOLRIC, 4th king.
597	611	CEOL-WULF. 5th king.
611	642	CYNEGILS, 6th king.
643	672	CENWALH, 7th king.
674	676	
676	685	CENTWINE, 9th king.
685	689	CEADWALLA, 10th king.
689	728	INA, 11th king.
728	742	ETHELHEARD, 12th king.
742	758	CUTHRED, 13th king.
758	ibid.	SIGEBRYHT, 14th king.
758	788	CYNEWULF, 15th king
788	802	BEORHTRIC, 16th king.

Cerdic
Cenric
Ceawlin, Ceolfulf, Cuth
Cutha, Cuthwin, Ceolric, Cuthgils, Chelwulf, Chell, Ched
Eada, Ceol-wulf, Ceol, Ceolwald, Cynebald, Cenwerth, Kenbert
Cynegils, Cenred
Cwichelm, *Sexburga*, Cenwalh, Kineburga, *Oswald*, Cenfus
Sexburga wife of Cenwalh, ruleth rather more than a year.
Cwenburyht, Cuthred, Escwine
Centwine
Ceadwalla, Ethelbald
Ina
Ethelheard, Oſwald
Cuthred
Sigebryht
Cynewulf
Beorhtric

TABLE IV.

Succession of the East Saxon Kings.

Began to reign. A.D.	Died. A.D.	
527	587	ERCHENWIN, 1st king.
587	597	SLEDDA, 2d king. = *Rikell*, Daughter to Hermenric, k. of Kent.
597	615	Sigebald, or Sexbald; SEBERT, 3d king. = *Ethelgoda*
615	617	SERRED, 4th king.; SEWARD, 5th king.; SIGEBERT, 6th king.
617	645	SIGEBERT the Little, 7th king.
645	661	SIGEBERT, 8th king.
661	664	SWITHELM, 9th king.
664		SEBBA, 10th king. Obiit. 683.; SIGHER, 11th king Obiit. 691. = *Osfwith*, Daughter of Ethelfrith, king of Northumberland.
691		SIGHARD, 12th king.; SENFRED, 13th king.
701		OFFA, 14th king.
708		SELRED, 15th king.
746		SWITHED, 16th, and last king.

TABLE V.

Succession of the Kings of Northumberland, with their Issue.

Began to reign. A. D.	Died. A. D.	
547	559	BERNITIA. Concubine = IDA = Lawful wife (*1st king of Bernitia.*)
560		Alric, Ocga, Eccha, Osbald, Segora, Segothæ
560	567	ADDA (*2d k. of Bernitia.*)
567	572	Eadhelm
572	573	Blacmor
573	580	
580	587	The two kingdoms of Bernitia & Deira united.
587	589	
589	593	Ecgwald
593	617	Bossa
617	633	The kingdom of Northumberland again divided.
633	634	The kingdoms again united.
634	642	The kingdom again divided.
642	670	
642	651	Blenham
653		The kingdoms finally united.
670	685	Eata, Cuthwine
686	705	
705	716	
716	718	Eanwin
718	731	

Ida's brother

DEIRA.

ÆLLE (*1st king of Deira.*) — Elfric

Etheric, Omerno, Theofredum

GLAPPA (*3d king of Bernitia.*)

THEODWALD (*4th k. of Bernitia.*)

FRETHULF (*5th k. of Bernitia.*)

THEODRIC (*6th k. of Bernitia.*)

ÆLLE (*1st sole king of Northumberland.*) — Acca

ETHELRIC (*2d sole king*)

Concubine = ETHELFRITH (*3d sole king.*) = *Acca*, Daughter of Ælle. — Tedbald, Slain by the Scots.

Oslac, Oswid, Ossa, Oswine, Offa, Oswitha, Ebba

Cuenburga = ED-WINE (*4th sole king.*) = *Ethelburga*, Daughter of Ethelbert k. of Kent.

both nuns. Daughter of Ceorl, k. of Mercia.

Osfrid, Egfrid

Ethelm, Usefrea, Enfleda, Ethelrida

EANFRED (*7th k. of Bernitia.*)

OSRIC (*2d k. of Deira.*)

OSWALD (*5th sole king.*) = *Kineburg*, Daughter to Cynegils, king of the West Saxons.

Concubine = OSWEO (*8th k. of Bernitia.*) = *Eanfled*, Daughter of Edwine.

Elfswine, slain in battle. — Elfleda, a nun — Osfrid = *Chelred*, k. of Mercia

OSWINE (*3d k. of Deira.*)

ETHELWARD (*4th k. of Deira.*)

EGFRID (*6th sole king.*) = *Etheldreda*, Daughter of Anna, k. of the East Angles.

ALKFRID (*7th sole king*) = *Kenburg*, Daughter of Penda, king of Mercia.

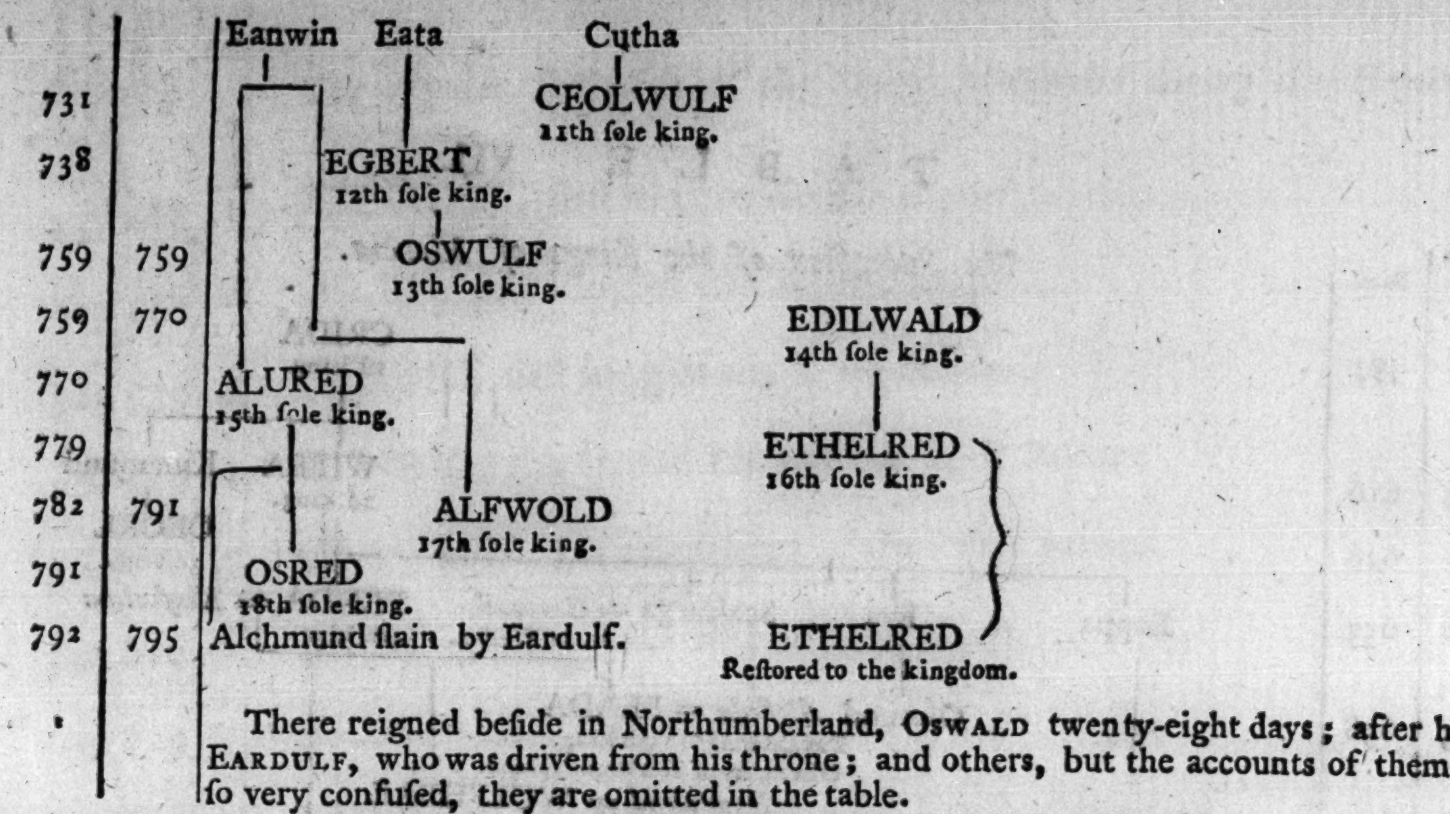
OSRED (*8th sole king.*)

CENRED (*9th sole king.*) — Cutha

Alfrid

OSRIC (*10th sole king.*)

Continuation of the fifth Table.



There reigned beſide in Northumberland, OSWALD twenty-eight days; after him, EARDULF, who was driven from his throne; and others, but the accounts of them are ſo very confuſed, they are omitted in the table.

TABLE VI.

Succeſſion of the Kings of the Eaſt Angles, and their Iſſue.

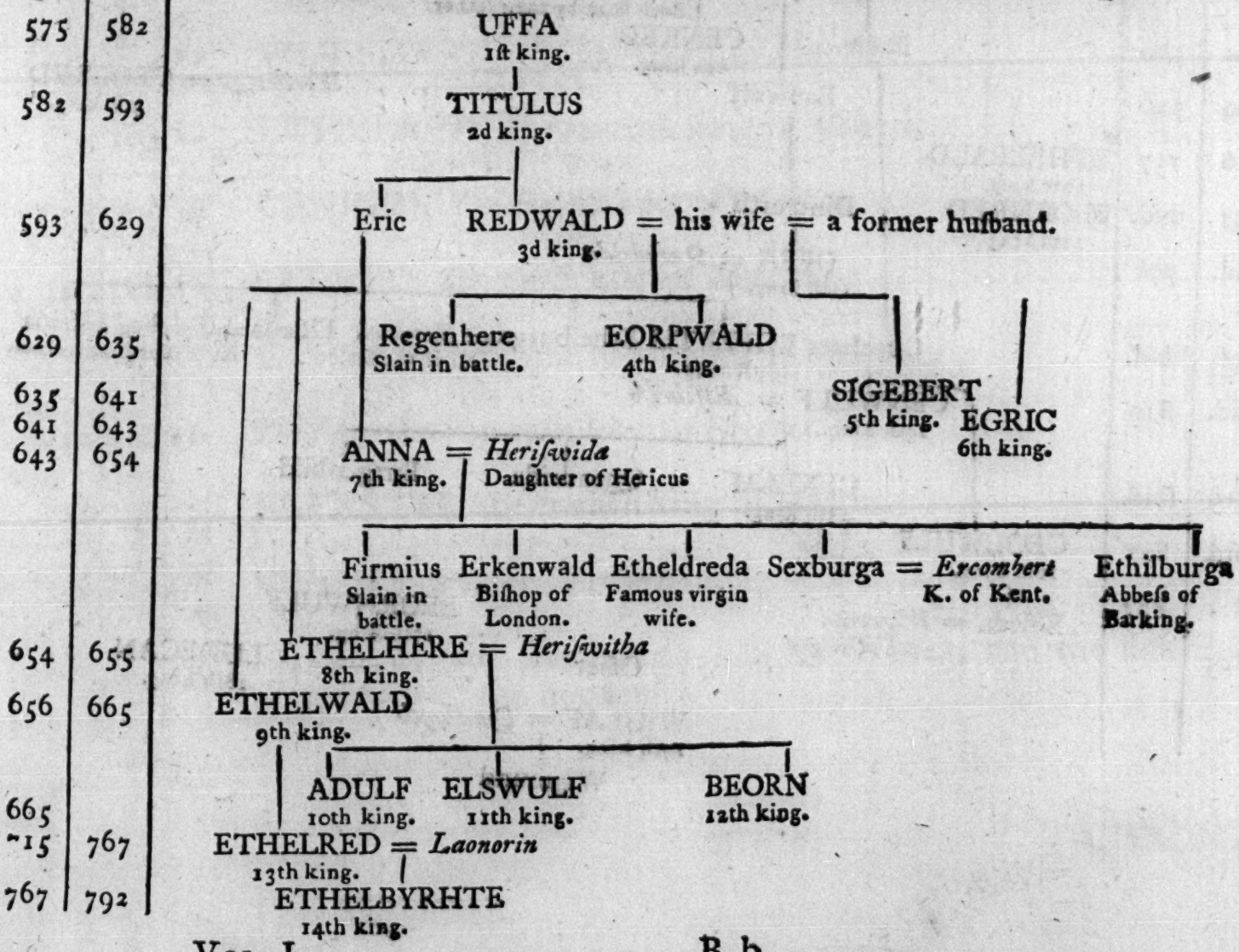


TABLE VII.

The Succession of the Kings of Mercia.

Began to reign.	Died.
585	593
593	616
616	626
626	655
655	658
658	675
675	704
704	709
709	716
716	757
ibid.	796
796	ibid.
ibid.	819
819	ibid.
ibid.	821
821	825
825	

CRIDA, 1st king.

WIBBA, 2d king. — Kinemund — CEORL, 3d king.

Eoppa — Eva — Scxburga = *Cenwalh*, k. of Weſſex. — PENDA, 4th king = *Kinſwitha*

Oſmund — *Alcfleda*, Daughter of Oſweo, k. of Northumberland. = PEADA, 5th king.

Erminhild, Daughter of Ercombert, k. of Kent, = WULFHERE, 6th king.

Aleweo — Kentwin — Wulfad — Rufine — Wereburga, a nun. — ETHELRED, 7th king. = *Oſtrid*

Wulfad and Rufine: Both ſlain by their father.

Baſſa — CENRED, 8th king.

Eanwulf — *Wereburga* = CEOLRED, 9th king.

ETHELBALD, 10th king.

BEORNRED, 11th king. — Dincferth

OFFA, 12th king. = *Quendrida*

Cuthbert — EGFERTH, 13th king. — Ethelburga = *Beorhtric*, K. of Weſſex. — Elfleda = *Ethelred*, K. of Northumberland. — Elfrida

CENWULF, 14th king. = *Ælfthrith*

CENELM, 15th king. — Quendrida — Burgenhild

CEOLWULF, 16th king.

Elfleda = *Wigmund*, Son of Wiglaf

BEORNWULF, 17th king.

Oſher — WIGLAF, 19th king. = *Cynethryth* — Wigmund

LUDECAN, 18th king.

TABLE VIII.

The regular Succeſſion of the Saxon Monarchs during the Heptarchy.

Began their monarchy.	Died, or were expelled.	No.	
457	488	1	HENGIST, firſt king of Kent.
489	514	2	ÆLLE, firſt king of the South Saxons.
519	533	3	CERDIC, firſt king of the Weſt Saxons.
534	559	4	CENRIC, the ſecond king of the Weſt Saxons.
560	591	5	CEAWLIN, the third king of the Weſt Saxons.
593	616	6	ETHELBERT, the fifth king of Kent.
616	629	7	REDWALD, the third king of the Eaſt Angles.
630	633	8	EDWINE, the fourth king of all Northumberland.
634	642	9	OSWALD, the fifth king of all Northumberland.
642	670	10	OSWEO, the eighth king of Bernitia.
670	675	11	WULFHERE, the ſixth king of Mercia.
675	704	12	ETHELRED, the ſeventh king of Mercia.
704	709	13	CENRED, the eighth king of Mercia.
709	716	14	CELRED, the ninth king of Mercia.
716	757	15	ETHELBALD, the tenth king of Mercia.
758	796	16	OFFA, the eleventh king of Mercia.
796	796	17	EGFERTH, the twelfth king of Mercia.
796	819	18	KENWULF, the thirteenth king of Mercia.
820	837	19	EGBERT, the ſeventeenth king of Weſſex, and the firſt abſolute monarch of the heptarchy.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

THE ANCIENT RELIGION AND CHURCH HISTORY OF THE BRITONS AND SAXONS, FROM THE LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY.

CHAP. I.

Druidical Religion of the Britons.

The craft and deceit of the ancient prieſts.

RELIGIOUS ſuperſtition is eaſily raiſed in ignorant and unenlightened minds; for every people, however barbarous, have ſome faint ideas of a Being, to whom they owe their exiſtence; and thoſe weak ſparks of light may, without much difficulty, be blown up into a flame of zeal by others, who appear to be better acquainted with ſacred matters, or more holy, than themſelves. Thus, all nations have religious rites, and prieſts to aſſiſt their offerings to the ſuperior powers. The prieſts ſoon found it needful to call to their aid pretended miracles, and myſterious doctrines, aſſiſted by ſolemn and unuſual geſtures, to ſtrike the greater awe upon the minds of their beholders: for, though the ignorant may have been eaſily perſuaded to believe whatever ſhould be told them of the reality and wiſdom of their gods, yet the genius of mankind generally makes them fond of the wonderful, and eſteem thoſe things the moſt, which they can the leaſt comprehend. It requires a greater light than that which is bárely afforded by nature, to conquer thoſe prejudices, and lead a man to judge fairly for himſelf, in matters which ſeem to be (and undoubtedly are) of ſuch real importance to him. Hence it becomes neceſſary for the deſigning prieſts to keep their knowledge to themſelves, and lead the generality of people into greater darkneſs than they were before: but leſt ſome aſpiring genius might ſpring up to diſcover the fallacy of their proceedings, and pluck

the film from the eyes of the deluded multitude, a certain bound was ſet to their religious enquiries, and every individual ſtrictly forbid, under pain of the ſevereſt penalties, to believe either more or leſs that what he had been inſtructed by the prieſts themſelves. Yet, as ſomething more than natural and naked truths were required to keep the multitude in obedience, and make them quietly acquieſce in theſe arbitrary meaſures, the prieſts were not backward in the propagation of wonders and extraordinary events; whilſt by their myſterious actions, and pretending to ſecrets of the higheſt conſequence, they ſecured the reſpect of the vulgar, who regarded them as the favourites of the gods. Thoſe who obeyed their precepts, were thought worthy of their prayers; but threats and curſes were denounced againſt the diſobedient. By ſuch means as theſe they laid faſt hold on the minds of their followers, ſo that they were ready to ſacrifice their wealth, their families, nay, their own lives, to the mercenary deſires of theſe artful men. But all the ancient records of the known world cannot furniſh a more ſtriking view of the prevalence of ſuperſtition in the people, or the arbitrary government of the prieſts, than we ſhall find amongſt the deluded Britons.*

The power of the druids.

The religion of the Britons formed a very conſiderable part of their government; and their prieſts, who are called by the general name of druids,† were the chief in authority amongſt them. Beſides their miniſtering at the altar, they were entruſted with the tuition of the youth, they enjoyed an exemption from all taxes, and were never called upon to ſerve in the wars; they determined all controverſies, public or private; they decreed all rewards and puniſhments; and if the offender did not abide by their ſentence, he was inſtantly excommunicated; by which ſentence, he was forbid acceſs to their public ſacrifices, and deprived of all the comforts of life; for his friends and acquaintance fled from him, and would in no wiſe hold intercourſe with him, even in the moſt trifling matters: thus miſerably forſaken of all, he was doomed to wander about, a wretch accurſed, hated, and deſpiſed; whilſt if any inſulted, or abuſed him, he was denied the ſmalleſt protection from the law.‡

The knowledge of the druids, and their claſſes.

The druids were men of great penetration and learning, not, indeed, in books, but in human nature; they well underſtood the paths which

* Strabo fairly declares the ſame, amongſt his reaſons aſſigned for the fabulous theology of the ancients. "It is "impoſſible, (ſays he) to bring women, "and the vulgar part of mankind, to religion, piety, and virtue, by the ſimple "and unadorned dictates of reaſon; it is "abſolutely neceſſary to call in the aids "of ſuperſtition, which muſt be ſupported "by fables, and wonderful events of va-"rious kinds. For this cauſe thoſe ſur-"priſing fables of antiquity were invented "to awaken the errors of ſuperſtition in "the minds of the ignorant multitude." Strabo, lib. i. fol 19.

† This name, Camden thinks, is derived from the Greek word δρῦς, which ſignifies an oak. Dr. Henry ſays, it comes more likely from the Celtic, or Britiſh word, DERW, which alſo ſignifies an oak. Vide Camd. in Introduct. & Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. lib. i. cap. 2.

‡ Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. cap. 13.

led to the human heart, and neglected no opportunity of convincing the multitude of the importance of their doctrines. Under the general name of druids, were comprehended three different claſſes of religious men, who had all of them ſeparate offices to perform: the bards, the faids, and the druids.*

The office of the bards was to ſing to the harp, the actions of heroes, and great men;† yet their numbers were not confined to the panegyric, for they would praiſe and extol the actions of ſome, whilſt they would ſatirize and decry thoſe of others. But of the excellency of their poems, and their judgment in compoſition, to ſelect ſuch paſſages as were the moſt ſtriking, we need no farther proof, than the ſurprizing effect that their ſongs had upon their hearers; for the Britons paid a great regard to theſe men, not only in the affairs of peace, but alſo in war: ſometimes, when two fierce armies have ſtood fronting each other in array of battle, their ſwords drawn, their lances pointing to the foe, and waiting but the ſignal to begin the conflict, the bards have then ſtepped in between, and touched their lyres with ſuch harmony, and ſo perſuaded them with their flowing numbers, that ſuddenly on either ſide the ſoldiers dropped their arms, and forgot the fierce reſentment that ſtruggled in their breaſts.‡ As to all the ceremonies of the altar, and religious rites, the bards had no ſhare in them; their poems and their muſic ſeem to have been the whole of the ſtudies belonging to their office. Bards, the firſt claſs of the druids.

The next claſs are the vates, or paids; theſe were of the order of prieſthood, and performed the principal parts of all the religious ceremonies; ſuch as ſacrificing the victims, making offerings, and delivering out prophecies and predictions from an obſervation of nature, and contemplation on the cauſes of things. This was not all their office demanded, for they compoſed hymns in honour of their gods, which they ſung to the muſic of their harps at their ſacred ſolemnities. Both Gaul and Britain abounded with theſe religious poets, and pretended prophets.§ The vates, or prophets, the ſecond claſs of druids.

The third, and laſt, claſs was by far the moſt numerous; theſe were the druids, to whom belonged the performance of all the religious offices which came not under the order of the paids; though, indeed, it may reaſonably be thought, that, when the laſt were abſent, they might officiate for them, if any caſe of immediate neceſſity required. Great part of their employment was in philoſophical reſearches, and ſtudy of the heavenly bodies, their motions, the magnitude of the univerſe, and the earth, of the nature of things, and of the power of the immortal gods;‖ of all which they uſed largely to diſcourſe to their diſciples. The druids, the third claſs.

* Βαρδοι τε καὶ Οὐάτεις, καὶ Δρυΐδαι; *Bardi*, *Vates*, & *Druidæ*; horum *Bardi* hymnos canunt poetæque ſunt; *Vates* ſacrificant & naturam rerum contemplantur; *Druidæ* præter hanc philoſophiam etiam de moribus diſputant. Strabo, lib. iv.

† Lucan, & Ammian. Marcell. lib. xv. cap. 9.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.

§ Diod. Sic. & Marcell. ut ſup.

‖ Strabo, ut ſup. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

Beſides

Female druids, and their claſſes, firſt the Senæ.

Beſides theſe, there were as many claſſes of religious female votaries, or druideſſes;* of which, the firſt were thoſe who had vowed perpetual virginity, and dedicated all their time to the ſervices of religion, living retired in loanſome places, ſequeſtered from mankind, and buſineſs of public import. Theſe, dwelling together in little parties, or ſiſterhoods, were much addicted to divination, prophecies, and miracles, ſo that they gained great reſpect amongſt the common people, by whom they were often conſulted. They were called Senæ, which ſignifies wiſe, or venerable women.†

The ſecond claſs of female druids.

The ſecond claſs conſiſted of certain religious females, who were married, but ſpent the greateſt part of their time amongſt the druids, aſſiſting in the divine ſervices. At certain times, theſe were permitted to viſit their huſbands, and do whatever their domeſtic duty might require.‡

Third claſs of female druids.

The laſt claſs of theſe females, and the loweſt, conſiſted of ſuch as performed the moſt ſervile offices about the temples, the ſacrifices, and the perſons of the druids. Theſe were not parted from their huſbands, but governed their families, brought up their children, and laboured as much at home as became their ſex and circumſtances, when their attendance was not required by the druids.§

The primate, or chief druid, how choſen.

Theſe ſix claſſes of religious people joined together, formed a large body, over which one chief, or primate, ruled, who is diſtinguiſhed by the name of arch-druid:‖ at his death, according to the rules of the druidical religion, the next in merit, knowledge, and judgment, ought to ſucceed; but this being a poſt of ſo much honour, and ſuch extenſive power, many were apt to ſet up their claim, and but few of them diſpoſed to yield the preference to his neighbour. In this caſe, the matter was to be referred to the votes of the druids; but it often happened, that the loſing parties flew from this determination, and ſpiriting up the temporal princes in their defence, had recourſe to arms, and by the ſword

* Borlaſs, Stukeley, &c.

† Pomponius Mela ſpeaks of one of theſe druidical ſiſterhoods in the following manner: "In an iſland ſituate in the Britiſh ſea, lived nine venerable veſtals, who pretended they could raiſe ſtorms and tempeſts by their incantations, cure the moſt inveterate diſeaſes, transform themſelves into all kinds of animals, and foreſee future events; of this laſt they made a great advantage, for they anſwered none but ſuch as viſited their iſland on purpoſe to conſult them; therefore, we may juſtly ſuppoſe, they came not empty handed."—Mela, lib. iii. cap. 6.

‡ Some ſay, that they were permitted only once a year to viſit their huſbands, for the ſake of children. Vide Borlaſs's Hiſtory of Cornwall, Stukeley's Stonehenge, &c.

§ Ibid. ibid. & Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain.

‖ The arch-druid is ſuppoſed to have reſided in great ſplendour, in Angleſea, where they pretend his ſeat is yet to be traced out. Rowland's Mona Antiqua. &c. Sammes, and ſome other authors, make two chief druids, one preſiding over the north, the other over the ſouthern parts of Britain: but for this they have no certain authority. Vide Sammes's Britan. Illuſtrata.

made

made good their claim; and then, according to the chance of war, this honourable poſt was either gained or loſt.*

Of theſe druids, many appear to have lived a kind of monaſtic life, united together in fraternities;† and becauſe the ſervice of each temple required a great number of every claſs, they all reſided near the temple where they ſerved. It is not in the leaſt unlikely, that amongſt theſe religious profeſſors, ſome may have ſpent their days in ſolitude and retirement, living like hermits, apart from mankind, in little huts, or near their temples in the gloomy groves; others again (and of theſe not a few) ſpent a far more public life, in the courts of princes, and families of great men; for no ſacred rite could be performed, or deciſive judgment pronounced, without a druid; their power extended, not only to what regarded their temples and public affairs, but even to the domeſtic tranſactions in private houſes.‡ As marriage muſt have been an incumbrance to the druidical offices in any of theſe different kinds of life, it is highly probable that they all lived in a ſtate of celibacy, being waited upon by their female devotees. Different ways of life of the druids.

To the care of theſe men was committed the education of the youth; for it was not cuſtomary for the ſon to be ſeen with his father before he was able to bear arms. No wonder is to be made, that druids ſhould firſt endeavour to impreſs upon the minds of their ſcholars ſuch an awful reſpect towards them and their order, as might for ever after ſecure them the aſcendancy over their wills; for, impreſſions thus received in the ſouls of young people are not eaſily obliterated, even when their reaſon becomes more ſtrong, and their judgment more perfect. The druids have the care of the education of the youth.

The druidical doctrine conſiſted of two diſtinct ſyſtems; the one only communicated to thoſe who were initiated, and admitted into their own order, and the which they were bound by ſolemn oaths never to divulge: ſo careful were they leſt their ſecret inſtructions ſhould be overheard by unhallowed ears, that they taught their diſciples in the moſt private places, ſuch as the caves of the earth, and the deep receſſes of the thickeſt foreſts.§ Neither committed‖ they any of theſe important doctrines to writing, leſt at any time they ſhould be divulged amongſt the common multitude. What this ſecret doctrine was, cannot be diſcovered; but a part of it, (as it is thought) and which might exhibit their own private ſentiments, was, that after death the ſouls of men aſcended to ſome higher orb, and enjoyed a more ſublime and exalted ſtate of felicity than what they could experience in this world.** But as this opinion was too refined to ſuit with the low and groſs conceptions of the vul- The doctrine of the druids.

* Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi.
† Ammian. Marcel.
‡ Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi.
§ Pomponius Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2; & Lucan, lib. i.
‖ "So jealous (ſays Strabo) were they "of their ſecret doctrines, that they ne- "ver communicated them to women, leſt "they ſhould divulge them." lib. iv.
** Lucan, lib. i. v. 455, & infra; & Ammian. Marcel. lib. xv.

gar in general, it was hid from them, and they were taught a ſecond doctrine, more ſuitable to the level of their genius; but above all things, in order to make them more brave and intrepid in the defence of their country, their preceptors aſſured them, that their ſouls were immortal, and conſtantly paſſed, after the death of one body, into another.*

The learning of the druids.

The druids appear to have been well verſed in natural philoſophy, and that in moſt of its branches; and beſides their divine offices, they were other ways very uſeful, as being the only phyſicians at that time; and their medicines chiefly conſiſted of herbs and plants, gathered at particular times, with various ſuperſtitious rites, which were thought abſolutely neceſſary to render them beneficial. Nor was the learning which was held requiſite for them to acquire, eaſy to be obtained; for their ſecret and public mythology was ſo large, that it required at leaſt twenty years to perfect themſelves in all its various parts, which was all of it to be learned by heart, and contained in an infinite number of verſes.†

The mythology of the druids.

Their mythology, which was very complex, conſiſted of a vaſt variety of fables, concerning the genealogy of the gods, their attributes, offices, actions, and the like; as well as of the different methods of appeaſing their anger, gaining their favour, and diſcovering their will; but all abounding with ſuperſtitions, wonders, miracles, and portentous ſigns. Theſe fables, at certain ſtated times, they delivered to the ſurrounding multitude, from little eminences, (many of which yet remain‡) and they added to their diſcourſes, moral precepts, and reflections on their natural duty to each other, exhorting them to live in friendſhip together, and to fight valiantly in the defence of their country. Theſe ſpeeches, which they made with ſurpriſing energy, had a great effect upon the minds of their auditors, and inſpired them with a reverential awe towards the gods, an enthuſiaſtic love for their country, an undaunted courage, and a ſovereign contempt of death.§

Four kinds of religion amongſt the druids.

The religion of the druids was of four kinds, as, ſongs of praiſe and thankſgiving, prayers, offerings and ſacrifices, and various rites of augury and divination, all of which were performed with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, ſometimes in public, and ſometimes in private amongſt themſelves. The nature and order of their religious ſongs we cannot by any means diſcover, nor the particular form in which their ſupplications were made. Of their offerings and divination we have a much clearer light.‖

The cruel ſacrifices of the druids.

All their offices of religion in general were performed in their ſacred groves and temples, which ſtood near ſome river, or fountain, conſe-

* Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.
† Ibid. Ibid.
‡ Rowland's Mona Antiq.
§ Ibid.
‖ Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I.

crated

crated to the gods. Theſe hallowed places were ſurrounded with a circular mound, or bank of earth, to prevent the intruſion of improper perſons. Their offerings conſiſted chiefly of living animals, and ſuch as were the moſt uſeful, and fit for food. The druids who ſelected the victims, always choſe ſuch as were the moſt beautiful, and free from defect or blemiſh of any kind; for they propagated a belief, that the more noble the offering was, which was preſented to the gods, the more attention would be paid by them to the prayers of thoſe who offered. Led on by this deluſive argument, their altars ſtreamed with human blood; for, when a man was deſirous of obtaining any extraordinary favour or protection from the gods, he would lead another man to the altar, to be ſacrificed by the druid: in this manner he thought to appeaſe the immortal deities, and by depriving another of his life, ſecure his own. For the ſame cauſe, when any public calamity of the ſtate demanded a ſacrifice, or upon the eve of a dangerous war, their horrid offerings were increaſed, and that their obdurate deities might be ſatiated with human blood, an image of wicker was provided, of a prodigious ſize, and filled with living men, which being ſet on fire, the miſerable wretches within were burnt to death; theſe victims, it is true, conſiſted generally of ſuch as had been detected in thefts, or other crimes obnoxious to the law, (with whom they ſuppoſed the gods were beſt pleaſed;) but when a ſufficient number of ſuch could not be found, rather than their ſacrifice ſhould be incomplete, the innocent and harmleſs often ſuffered.* All the victims which were to be ſlain upon the altar, were brought with various ceremonies to the prieſt, who was to perform that office; and ſuch animals as were fit for food, were divided commonly into three parts, one of which was burnt upon the altar, another belonged to the officiating druid, and the third part to the perſon who had brought the offering, on which he feaſted, accompanied with his friends.

Divination of the druids.

The divination of the druids was of two ſorts, either by the flight of birds, or other caſual accidents of like nature; or by the inſpection of the entrails of victims ſlain in their ſacrifices: and to the declarations of the druids on theſe times, the people yielded an implicit faith. But when great occaſions required the conſultation of the deities, a man was made the victim, and ſlain by the prieſt with one blow of a ſword, ſtruck above the diaphragm: by obſerving the poſture in which he fell, his different convulſions, and the direction of the blood which flowed from his wound, they made their predictions, according to certain rules, that were left them by their anceſtors.†

Various ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the druids.

Superſtitious parade, and great variety of fooliſh ceremonies, were uſed by the druids in the moſt trifling actions; but at certain ſtated periods, and annual feaſts, ſome more particular ſolemnities were re-

* Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. cap. 15. & † Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. Strabo, lib. iv.

quired; as in cutting the miſletoe from the oak,* which was done as near as the age of the moon would permit them, to the tenth of March, (their new-year's day) in the following manner: firſt, they obſerved that the moon was ſix days old, then having the ſacrifice prepared under the tree, two milk-white bullocks were brought forth, whoſe horns were then, and not till then, bound up; this done, the chief druid, habited in a white veſture, aſcended the tree, and with a golden pruning knife cut off the miſletoe, which was carefully received into a white woollen cloth by them who attended below, and over it many orations and incantations were uttered; after this, they began to offer ſacrifices, and pray to the gods, that they would give a bleſſing, with their own gift, to thoſe who were honoured with it; the miſletoe thus hallowed, was carefully kept, and the decoction of which they eſteemed as an antidote to poiſon, a ſure remedy for barrenneſs, and a certain cure for many other bodily diſeaſes.†

Ceremonies in gathering the herb Samulos.

Again, the druids had an herb, named Samulos, in great eſteem amongſt them: this herb grew chiefly in damp places, and in gathering it three things were to be cloſely attended to; firſt, that the perſon ſhould be faſting; ſecondly, to be careful that he did not look back whilſt he gathered it; and laſtly, that he ſhould do all with his left hand. When he was thus poſſeſſed of it, he laid it into the troughs and ciſterns where ſwine or oxen were wont to drink; and ſuch were its virtues, (eſpecially if it was bruiſed a little) that the cattle which partook of that water ſhould be effectually preſerved from all diſeaſes.‡

A feſtival dedicated to the ſun.

On the firſt of May, which day was dedicated to Belinus, or the Sun, they held an annual feſtival, and kindled prodigious fires in all their ſacred places, and performed ſacrifices, with many other ſolemnities.§ At theſe public feaſts the whole community of Britons attended, as well as their wives and children, all of them naked, and ſtained over with ſome certain compoſition, ſo that they appeared like Ethiopians.‖

Other feſtivals, and their cauſes.

It is thought, that at midſummer, and again early in November, other annual feſtivals were held; on the firſt, the people aſſembled to implore the friendly influence of Heaven on their fields and paſtures; on the latter, they came to return thanks for the favourable ſeaſons, and the increaſe with which the gods had bleſſed their labours; and beſides this, to pay their yearly contributions to the druids, who were always ready to receive them.**

* The oak was held in great veneration amongſt the druids; their religious rites were performed in groves of oak. Maximus Tyrius ſays, that the Celts worſhipped Jupiter, of whom they made the talleſt oak to be the reſemblance. But the oak was held ſtill more ſacred when any thing was found growing upon it, (miſletoe eſpecially) for then it was thought the gods themſelves had choſen that tree. Vide the Manners and Cuſtoms, &c. of the Inhabitants of England. Vol. I. page 11.

† Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

‡ Ibid. lib. xxiv. cap. 11.

§ Toland's Hiſt. of the Druids, fol. 74. Mem. Acad. Royal. vol. XIX. p. 489.

‖ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxii. cap. 1.

** Toland's Hiſt. of the Druids, fol. 69.

The honour that was paid to the druids, and their ſecluſion from the labours and troubles of the world, prevailed upon many to enter into their order;* and perhaps more would have taken the ſame ſtep, had not the ſtudy and application which was neceſſary for them to go through to make them adepts in the druidical ſyſtem, deterred them. The common people were far from being diſpleaſed at the increaſing numbers of theſe prieſts; for they were perſuaded, that, as they became more numerous, the more plentiful their harveſt would be;† becauſe the gods, for the ſake of their miniſters, would not fail to provide for the reſt of the people.

The great number of the druids a cauſe of fruitfulneſs in the land.

So much had the religious juggles of the druids prevailed upon the minds of men, that they were ſure to obtain reſpect, through fear, if not for love; and this was done in great meaſure by their pretenſions to the art of magic, and their declaring themſelves able to call in ſpiritual aids to aſſiſt them, and revenge their cauſe; beſides, all their religious ceremonies were ſo grave and ſolemn, that they raiſed a fearful awe in the minds of their beholders, ſo that they were eaſily convinced when the druids aſſerted their power, and proceeded to threaten them. Theſe deluſions did not only aſtoniſh the uncultivated Britons, but even the Romans themſelves; and it was declared, that the druids of Gaul and Britain ſeemed equal in knowledge with the Perſians, in that diabolical art of magic.‡ Nor ſhall we much wonder at their being able to play upon the minds of their votaries, when we conſider, that all the learning of their time was confined amongſt themſelves; and though, indeed, the chief part of their office was to learn their theological verſes by heart, yet they were by no means ignorant of letters; for all public affairs and private accounts were committed to writing.§

The druids famous for their ſkill in magic.

Now we have ſeen the power and authority of the druids, and been witneſſes of the great aſcendancy which they had gained over the minds of the deluded Britons, can we doubt of their opulence? and though we are unable to diſcover the real extent of their revenues, yet we may conclude they were as great as the people could afford. In the firſt place,

The revenues of the druids.

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 13.

† Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Pliny, lib. xxx. cap. 1.

§ "Quum in reliquis ferè rebus publicis, privatiſque rationibus, *Græcis* litteris utantur," are the very words of Cæſar; concerning which paſſage I find an excellent note in the additions to Camden, where the author juſtly ſays, "But "we muſt not from hence conclude that "the druids had any knowledge of the "Greek tongue, for Cæſar himſelf, when "he writ to Q. Cicero (beſieged at that "time ſomewhere amongſt the Nervians) "penned his letter in Greek, (*Vide Bel. "Gal. lib.* v. *cap.* 40) leſt it ſhould have "been intercepted, and ſo give intelli"gence to the enemy; which would have "been but a poor project, if the druids "(who were the great miniſters of the ſtate) "had been maſters of that language. "The learned Selden is of opinion, "that the word *Græcis* has crept into "the copies, and is no part of the "original; and it was natural enough "for Cæſar, in his obſervations of the "difference between their diſcipline and "their other affairs, to ſay in general, "that in the one they made uſe of letters, "and not in the other, without ſpecifying particulars." Note to Camden in Introduct.

they

they ſeem to have had the ſuperiority over certain iſlands, if not the whole profit of them; as of Angleſea, Man, &c. beſides theſe, it is far from being improbable, but that they might have conſiderable poſſeſſions on the continent of Britain, near to their temples. When an army returned victorious, the moſt precious parts of the ſpoils were offered to the gods; and theſe were conveyed by the druids into the ſacred groves, where they were laid up by the ſide of the temple, or near ſome conſecrated lake, without any other guard ſet over them than the terrors of religion.* But although the common people were not hardy enough to touch theſe ſacred treaſures, the prieſts, who were the miniſters of the gods, would ſcarcely be ſo ſcrupulous as not to convert them to their own uſe, if neceſſity required. Again, they were well paid when conſulted by private perſons, concerning the ſucceſs of intended enterprizes. Beſides their profits were great derived from the adminiſtration of juſtice, their practice of phyſic, teaching the ſciences, and the rewards for thoſe inſtructed in their theology; eſpecially from ſuch as were rich, and came from abroad: for the Britiſh druids beſt underſtood the ſecret myſteries relative to their doctrine; and it was by no means uncommon for many to come over hither from Gaul, to be better inſtructed in the more occult and difficult parts of their profeſſion;† and theſe (it is highly probable) ſeldom came empty handed.

Annual tribute due to the druids, and for what.

A tradition is alſo mentioned by ſome authors, that the druids exacted certain annual dues, (but to what amount is not ſpecified;) in particular, on the laſt evening of October, all families of every degree were obliged to extinguiſh their fires, and attend the ſeveral temples with a ſtipulated payment, in conſideration of which, on the firſt day of November they were to receive ſome fire from the ſacred altars, to re-kindle thoſe in their own houſes; and this payment was exacted under pain of excommunication; and all ſuch were deprived of the uſe of fire during all the cold ſeaſon, when it was moſt wanted; and if any of their friends or neighbours ſupplied them with this neceſſary article, they alſo were excommunicated.‡ Theſe, and ſuch like ſources, had the druids to raiſe wealth; and when we conſider the advantages of them all, we ſhall preſently conclude that they were very opulent.

The gods worſhipped by the Britons.

The deities which were worſhipped by the Gauls and Britons, appear to have been very numerous. The Supreme Being they adored under the name of Heſus; they paid their court to him (with cruel rites) when they went forth to battle, becauſe from his favour they expected the victory. Tutates is not ſuppoſed by ſome modern authors to have been another god, but only a different name of the former, for by this word is ſignified "God, the parent, or creator,"§ which appellation can belong to none

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

† Ibid.

‡ Toland's Hiſt. of the Druids, page 71, 72, & Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I.

§ Tutates is derived from *Deu-Tatt*, Britiſh words, which ſignify *God*, *the parent*, *or creator*. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. lib. i. cap. 2.

but

but the Supreme Being. When theſe nations ſunk into idolatry, they degraded Tutates into the ſovereign of the infernal world, and made him the ſame with Dis of the Greeks and Romans, or (as others think) with Mercury; and they worſhipped him in ſuch a cruel and bloody manner, as could only be agreeable to an infernal power.

Taranis, another deity, ſo called from Taran, thunder, over which he was ſaid to preſide.*

The ſun was worſhipped by the Britons under many various appellations, as Bel, Belinus, Belatucardus, &c. all which names, in their language, were expreſſive of the nature and property of that glorious luminary.

After the ſun, the moon, the leſſer light of Heaven, is ſuppoſed to have held its eſtimation.

Beſides theſe, which without doubt form but a very ſmall part of the number of their deities, they had female divinities, or goddeſſes; as Andraſte, thought to be the ſame with Venus, or Diana: Onvana, Minerva, Ceres, Proſerpine, &c. In ſhort, they are accuſed of having ſo many idol gods, and addicted to ſo many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, that their idolatry exceeded even that of the Egyptians.† Hardly a lake, a wood, a fountain, or hallowed hill, but what had its titular deity, or genius, reſiding in it, and to each of which, no doubt, ſome particular worſhip was aſſigned.

The druidical religion was in the zenith of its glory at the time of Julius Cæſar's arrival; but as the Romans proceeded in their conqueſts, the druids, who were not only religious officiators, but judges and directors in all civil affairs, foreſeeing the downfall of their power and conſequence, were continually ſtirring up the people againſt their conquerors, and fomenting rebellions. The Romans ſoon found it impoſſible to reconcile the minds of the people they had overcome to the yoke which they were laying upon them, whilſt theſe crafty prieſts held their extenſive authority; for this cauſe they were determined to ſuppreſs their power, as the only means left them to advance their own. All their ſubjects in the conquered provinces of Gaul and Britain they obliged to build temples, and ſacrifice after the Roman faſhion, ſtrictly prohibiting all offerings of human creatures. The druids were alſo deprived of their authority in civil affairs, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity when concerned in any revolt. By theſe means their power was brought ſo low in the reign of Claudius, the Roman emperor, about the year of

The decline of the druidical religion, and the cauſe.

* Concerning theſe deities, take the following verſes from Lucan, lib. i.

" Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
" Tutates, horenſque feris altaribus Heſus,
" Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ."

Thus Engliſhed in the addition to Camden:

" And thoſe vile wretches that with human blood
" Tutates' and fierce Heſus' altars load;
" And barbarous Taranis, his ſhrine that vies
" With curs'd Diana's Scythian cruelties."

† Gildas Hiſtoriæ.

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our Lord 45, that they were no longer looked upon as people of any conſequence throughout all Gaul.* About the ſame time alſo they began to feel the rigour of the Roman government in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Britain, from whence may of them retired to Angleſea, a kind of little dominion of their own; but here they were purſued by Paulus Suetonius, who, in the year 61, invaded that iſland, which had afforded a conſtant aſylum for all who were diſaffected to the Romans, and plotting againſt their government. In order to root them from their ſecret retreats, Paulinus deſtroyed their ſacred groves, overturned their altars, and burnt the druids in their own fires.† So many of theſe wretched prieſts periſhed at this time, and in the unfortunate revolt of the Britons under Boudicea, that they never afterwards made any conſiderable figure in the ſouthern parts of Britain. Such of them as would not ſubmit to the impoſitions of the Romans, and renounce their own authority, fled into Caledonia, Ireland, and the ſmaller Britiſh iſlands, where they ſupported their declining power ſome ſhort time longer.

But ſuch ſtrong traces had their ſuperſtition left in the minds of the infatuated multitude, that they baffled not only the efforts of the Romans, but even the ſuperior lights of the goſpel to remove; nor were they finally eraſed for a long time after. On this occaſion we meet with ſo many edicts of the emperors, and canons of the councils, in the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth centuries, againſt the worſhip of the ſun, the moon, mountains, lakes, trees, &c.‡

* Suetonius in Vita Claud.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 3.

‡ Even in the days of king Cnute, the Dane, the following law was found neceſſary to be made: "We ſtrictly charge and "forbid all our ſubjects to worſhip the "gods of the gentiles; that is to ſay, the "ſun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills, "trees, or woods of any kind, &c." Leges Canuti, cap. 5.

CHRONICLE

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

CHAP. II.

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Britons from their Converſion to Chriſtianity, to the Arrival of the Saxons.

AMONGST thoſe things which cannot abſolutely be ſet down in the affirmative, none appears more certain, than that the enlivening ray of goſpel light firſt ſhone upon this iſland ſome time between the years of our Lord 43 and 61; for the period ſeems to be fixed by the records of antiquity as not long before the great defeat of the Britons, under the conduct of their hapleſs queen, Boudicea, which happened about the year 61:* but at this early period the doctrine of Chriſtianity could not be ſuppoſed to have greatly prevailed; it was not only confined to the ſouthern parts of Britain, but very likely to particular families, who might exerciſe their devotions in the greateſt privacy, and without the leaſt ſtir or noiſe. In the days of Nero, when perſecutions raged hotly upon the continent againſt the profeſſors of the goſpel, it is very probable, many, to avoid the cruelty of that wicked emperor, fled over into Britain, and took ſhelter here, ſo that the number of Chriſtians was greatly increaſed. From this time (we may ſuppoſe) they began to form religious ſocieties, under ſpiritual guides, for the inſtruction of mankind, and the regulation of their manners, and now firſt aſſumed the face and form of a Chriſtian church. Cent. I. When the Britons were firſt converted.

Concerning the converſion of the Britons to Chriſtianity:—by whom this glorious work was begun, or how at firſt effected, cannot at this time be traced out; unhappily all ancient and authentic records are ſilent on theſe heads; if ever any accounts of this important tranſaction were ſet The uncertainty of the perſon by whom the Britons were converted.

* Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. chap. 1. & vide Gildæ Epiſt. cap. 6.

Cent. I. down by the primitive Chriſtian Britons, they were ſoon deſtroyed, or loſt in the fatal diſcords and unfortunate wars which followed, ſo that none of them have been tranſmitted to poſterity. The fables concerning Joſeph of Arimathea's coming hither, and preaching the goſpel, are now exploded, as the idle inventions of the monks of Glaſtonbury, to give a greater air of conſequence to their monaſtery. Setting all ſuch tales aſide, we have only to add, that it would be abſurd to declare poſitively to whom the Britons owed their firſt knowledge of the divine truths, or that any one of the apoſtles came hither and inſtructed them; yet thus much may, and ought to be ſaid, if it was the work at all of an apoſtle, none was ſo likely to have been the man as St. Paul, whoſe extenſive travels, and abundant labours, may greatly tend to ſtrengthen this conjecture; which is confirmed beſides by a great variety of plauſible arguments drawn from the writings of the primitive fathers.*

The Romans, without any ſuch deſign, aid the propagation of the goſpel.

The Chriſtian religion thus early introduced, began to diffuſe its light from one of the Britiſh nations to another, until they had all of them in ſome degree felt its powerful influence. The conquering Romans themſelves, though without their knowledge or intention, contributed not a little to the advancement of Chriſtianity; for by reducing all the different ſtates of the ſouthern Britons under one government, a free intercourſe was kept up over the whole country, and by this means their religious opinions were communicated with the greater eaſe, and the goſpel doctrine ſpread abroad much ſooner than it would otherwiſe have been. As the Romans completed their conqueſts before the end of the firſt century, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that ſome faint light (at leaſt) of Chriſtianity was received in each particular ſtate by the beginning of the ſecond. Another principal cauſe of the early progreſs of the Chriſtian religion, (which was alſo owing to the Romans) was the deſtruction of the druids; for when they were removed, and their pernicious doctrines eraſed from the minds of the people, they were left more open to conviction, and better prepared to receive an impreſſion from a more pure and rational worſhip.†

Cent. II. During the ſecond century, the goſpel knowledge ſeems to have continued increaſing, and that in its original purity, untainted by any of thoſe hereſies which were broached on the continent. Great parade is made by the monkiſh hiſtorians of Lucius, a king of Britain, under whoſe ſpecial favour the Chriſtian church began to flouriſh, protected by the civil power, and was formed into a regular and proper government, ſupported by biſhops and archbiſhops, who were appointed to preſide over all things relative to religion. The converſion of this king they place about the year of our Lord 167, and they repreſent him as a great

The Britiſh religion not yet tainted with hereſies.

* Stillingfleet, ut ſup.

† Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. cap. ii. ſect. 2.

prince,

prince, ruling over many ſtates,* and abſolute in his dominions: but to any one who will peruſe the hiſtory of this period, and at the ſame time recollect, that all the ſouthern parts of Britain were under the government of the Romans, this romantic fable will preſently appear in its proper colours. If there ever were any grounds at all for the ſtory, this Lucius (at moſt) could have been no more than a petty prince, or chieftain of the Britons, who might be living about this time, and by the favour of the Romans indulged with ſome degree of authority amongſt his people; he may have embraced Chriſtianity, and promoted the converſion of his friends and followers as much as lay in his power.† Cent. II.

Although the goſpel doctrine made not that very rapid progreſs which the monks ſo confidently affirm it did, yet it continued to flouriſh in Britain, and every day gained ground in the hearts of the inhabitants; for very early in the beginning of the third century it had extended beyond the bounds of the Roman province into the north, and advanced gradually into thoſe parts of the iſland which had not ſubmitted to the Roman arms; and this was moſt probably effected by ſome provincial Britons who were animated with a true Chriſtian zeal, and deſirous of communicating their new faith to their neighbours. From the preſent period to the very latter end of this century, we have nothing authentic recorded concerning the ſtate and progreſs of the Chriſtian religion; but about that time the perſecution under Diocleſian breaking out, the Britons, amongſt the reſt who profeſſed the true faith, had their ſhare in the cruelties which were then put in force by the command of that emperor. Cent. III.

The progreſs of the Chriſtian faith.

The exact time of this perſecution in Britain, as well as the particular circumſtances attending it, are not to be diſcovered.‡ Our own monkiſh writers, (it is true) who never fail to lard their religious hiſtories with miraculous events, have ſaid a great deal upon the ſubject, but

The perſecution of the Chriſtians.

* Nennii Hiſt. Brit. cap. 18. Galfrid Monmouth, &c.

† But even this is doubtful, becauſe Gildas, the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, makes no mention of king Lucius, though he was himſelf a Briton, and a zealous Chriſtian. However, biſhop Uſher, and after him, biſhop Stillingfleet, are of the opinion here adopted; and Uſher, to prove the real exiſtence of Lucius, mentions two coins found, one in gold, another in ſilver, inſcribed with theſe letters, LUC. Uſſer de primord. p. 39 & 40. & Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, fol. 62.

‡ In what year it began, or how long it continued, cannot be diſcovered. Gildas, the moſt ancient hiſtorian, ſays, it continued nine years in other countries, and but two in Britain, and ſeems to intimate it was the two laſt years of Diocleſian, (we may recollect this emperor aſſumed the purple, A. D. 284, and laid it aſide, A. D. 305.) The old church hiſtories alſo agree with Gildas, and repreſent this perſecution as raging with the greateſt violence in the beginning of the fourth centruy. But the venerable Bede, and a great number of our own ancient authors, place it and the martyrdom of St. Alban, in the year 286. If Diocleſian, or his colleague, Maximianus, had any hand in this perſecution, it muſt have been either near the beginning, or the end, of their joint reign; for, in the intermediate time Britain was governed more than ten years, firſt by Carauſius, and after by Alectus, in a manner quite independent of thoſe emperors. Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit.

Cent. III. in ſuch a ſtile as plainly indicates the air of romance. However, the truth, deprived of its fabulous ornaments, ſeems to be as follows:—— That at the very cloſe of the third century, or the commencement of the fourth, the Britiſh Chriſtians throughout all the ſouthern parts of the iſland, were perſecuted with great rigour, on account of their religion. Amongſt the number of pious men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, and ſuffered death in the cauſe of Chriſt, St. Alban (a native of Verulam) was the firſt; after him, two others, named Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon; yet, though theſe are the only names that remain to poſterity, they were not the only Britons who reſiſted the repeated endeavours of their perſecutors, and continued faithful even unto death. Many more, as well men as women, in various parts of the Roman province, ſhared the ſame fate, and became martyrs in a cauſe ſo truly laudable.* But, unhappily, authentic materials are wanting, by which we might be able to trace out any further particulars relative to this important period.

The church doctrine at this period.

It is impoſſible to give a ſatisfactory and authentic account of the government, doctrine, and worſhip, of the Britiſh church, during the firſt three centuries; yet there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that in their rites and ceremonies they did not differ much from the other churches of the ſame time, and that they had not any cuſtoms very ſingular. In keeping of Eaſter, indeed, they rather imitated the churches of Aſia, than that of Rome.† As to their doctrine, it was probably the ſame in ſubſtance with the apoſtles' creed; for we have undoubted authority, that they were not tainted with hereſy until they received that of Arius.‡

Cent. IV.

The church protected by Conſtantius, and his ſon, Conſtantine the Great.

Early in the fourth century, a ſtop was put to the perſecution of the Chriſtian church; for, in the year of our Lord 305, Diocleſian and Maximianus reſigned their ſtate, and Conſtantius Chlorus, being in Britain, was declared emperor; and though, before this time, he was obliged in compliance with the edicts of the two emperors, to permit the perſecution to go on, yet no ſooner had he himſelf aſſumed the imperial authority, than he put an end to the ſufferings of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians, and reſtored them to their former privileges. This prince died at York, in the year 506, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Conſtantine the Great, who entirely freed the Chriſtian church from all oppreſſion. We have, indeed, no reaſon to ſuppoſe that Conſtantine himſelf was a Chriſtian when he firſt aſſumed the purple: yet it is very certain, that before he left Britain, he determined to take the Chriſtians under his ſpecial protection, and ſhew them greater favour than his father had done. Under the favourable auſpices of this prince, the Britiſh Chriſtians, who had

* Gildas, Bede, &c.

† See King's Enquiry into the Conſtitution, &c. of the Primitive Church, part II.

‡ Dr. Henry, ut ſup. Gildas & Bede, vol. I. cap. ii. ſect. 2.

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fled from the face of perſecution and cruelty, came from their lurking places, where they had hid themſelves, and applied themſelves to rebuild their ruined churches, beginning again their ſacred ceremonies with joyful hearts.* Cent. IV.

The church protected by the ſtate.

Hitherto the Chriſtian church had not enjoyed the protection of the ſtate, ſo that their councils, or ſynods, were held in the moſt private manner, and conſequently the tranſactions of thoſe councils are but little known; but as ſoon as Conſtantine began to declare more openly in the favour of their religion, theſe aſſemblies became more frequent and important; being often called by the emperor himſelf, they were ſometimes honoured with his preſence, and their decrees enforced and executed by his authority.

The ſtate of the Britiſh church.

At the firſt council called by Conſtantine, which was held at Arles, in the year of our Lord 314, there were three of the Britiſh biſhops preſent, as Eborus, biſhop of York, Reſtitius, biſhop of London, and Adelfius, the third biſhop;† together with Sacerdos, a preſbyter, and Arminius, a deacon, from the ſame city with the laſt biſhop. This council, which was not very numerous, conſiſted only of thirty-three biſhops, and a ſtill ſmaller number of preſbyters and deacons, who were ſummoned as repreſentatives of all the clergy out of the weſtern empire. Four of theſe biſhops came out of the province of Gaul, called Vienne, of which Arles was the capital, but only one out of every other province; and as there was then but three Roman provinces in Britain, three biſhops were its full compliment. And hence we ſee the conſequence of the Britiſh church at this period; that it was viewed in the ſame light with thoſe of the other provinces of the Romans, and treated on the ſame footing.‡

The edicts of Conſtantine in favour of the church.

Conſtantine was very liberal to the Chriſtian clergy, but at the ſame time he was careful to grant them no favour which could affect or hurt the community in general. By a public edict, he exempted them from all military duty, as well as any other burthenſome ſervice, that they might have full leiſure to purſue their ſtudies, and improve themſelves in religious knowledge. By another edict, he gave the goods and poſſeſſions of ſuch of the late martyrs as had died without heirs, to the church. Theſe were great encouragements to the clergy: but he added beſides another edict, of greater advantage to them than either of the former; this was publiſhed at Rome, the third day of July, in the year 322; by this he gave full liberty for all perſons of what ſtate or degree ſoever, to make their laſt wills in favour of the clergy, and grant them as large a proportion of their eſtates and goods as they ſhould think proper: by this means, in opulent places, the clergy were ſoon enriched.§

* Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. viii. cap. 13.

† In the original *Adelſius de Civitate Colonia Londinenſium*. Many opinions have been ſtarted concerning this city, and where it could ſtand. Vide Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. cap. 2. Dr. Henry ſays, perhaps it ſhould be *Colonia Lindum*, i. e Lincoln, and this appears to be moſt likely.

‡ Stillingfleet, cap. 2.

§ Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. cap 2. Euſeb. lib. x. cap. 7. Zoſimen, lib. i. cap. 9. & Vita Conſtant. lib. ii. cap. 36.

In

Cent. IV. In Britain, indeed, where the inhabitants were very poor, theſe contributions could not be ſo conſiderable; of this ourſelves may judge, for thirty-ſeven years after this edict was publiſhed, a council was called by Conſtantius, which was held at Ariminum, and the emperor freely offered to maintain all the clergy at the public charge; his offer was not accepted by any, thoſe three biſhops excepted, who came from Britain, who not being able to maintain themſelves, choſe rather to receive the emperor's gift than be a charge to their brethren. Hence it plainly appears, that the greater part of the biſhops had in ſo ſmall a ſpace of time been raiſed to a ſtate of independency.

The fatality of the Arian hereſy.

The church was no ſooner delivered from external oppreſſion, but unhappy differences were fomented within itſelf, and its concord broken by internal diſſentions. Amongſt theſe, few were more fatal than the controverſies between Arius, a preſbyter of the church of Alexandria, and Alexander, a biſhop of the ſame city, concerning the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. This diſpute confuſed, and deſtroyed, the peace of the church in almoſt every corner. How ſoon the heretical opinions of Arius reached Britain cannot poſitively be aſſerted, nor can we know what progreſs it might make here during this century; for in this point authors have greatly differed, ſome accuſing the Britons very heavily, and others again as aſſiduouſly endeavouring to exculpate, and clear their characters.* The Arian hereſy made but little progreſs during the reigns of Conſtantine, and his elder ſon, Conſtans, for his opinions were ſeverely cenſured, and condemned in the council of Nice, held in the year of our Lord 325. But Conſtantius, the ſecond ſon of Conſtantine, who ſucceeded his brother Conſtans in the government of the weſtern empire, (being himſelf a favourer of the Arian party) called a council at Ariminum, in the year 359, at which time there were almoſt all the biſhops of the weſtern empire aſſembled, to the number of four hundred; and amongſt others, thoſe of Britain ſigned

* Gildas ſeems to intimate, that the Arian hereſy made a great progreſs in this iſland ſoon after its firſt appearance; for having deſcribed the happy ſtate of the Britiſh church ſome time after the end of the perſecution, he proceeds in this manner: "This ſweet concord between Chriſt, "the head, and his members, continued "until the Arian perfidy appeared; and "like an enraged ſerpent, pouring in upon us its foreign poiſon, inflamed brethren and countrymen with the moſt cruel "hatred. And a paſſage being thus made "over the ocean, every other wild beaſt "who carried the venom of any hereſy in "his horrid mouth, eaſily inſtilled it into "the people of this country, who are "ever unſettled in their opinions, and always fond of hearing ſomething new." But Gildas is here thought to be too ſevere upon the Britiſh clergy: the opinions of Arius were condemned at the council of Nice, where, it is thought, the Britiſh biſhops were preſent. Alſo, St. Athanaſius, and the biſhops aſſembled at Antioch, in council, aſſure the emperor Jovian, in their letter to him, that the biſhops of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, continued to adhere to the faith of the council of Nice, of which they had been informed by letters from thoſe biſhops. Both St. Jerome and St. Chryſoſtom ſpeak often of the orthodoxy of the Britiſh church in their writings. Gild. Hiſt. cap. 9. Athan. Oper. tom. I. page 399. Hieron. ad Evag. ad Mareil. Chriſoſt. tom. II. page 696, &c.

a creed,

a creed, differing in ſome few points from that of the council of Nice.* But yet this appears to have been the effect of mere force, for at the beginning of the council, they unanimouſly declared their approbation of the Nicean creed, and pronounced anathemas againſt the errors of Arius; and after their return to their reſpective dioceſes, renounced their involuntary ſubſcriptions as ſoon as they could do it with ſafety. Cent. IV.

Whatever the doctrine of the Britiſh church might be at this period, there is certainly no evidence that they were ſubject to the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome, or any other foreign biſhop. The Britiſh clergy are thought to have differed from thoſe of Gaul, and ſtill more from thoſe of Italy, in their religious worſhip; but they had not yet departed from the ſimplicity of the goſpel.† The Britiſh church at this period under no ſubjection to foreign biſhops.

As the Chriſtian clergy in general grew more opulent, they manifeſted a miſtaken zeal, and began to add new ceremonies to their religious worſhip, and even to adopt ſome of the Pagan rites, with trifling alterations; their churches, and places of religious meetings, were adorned with pictures of ſaints and martyrs, in imitation of the idol temples of the heathens; the clergy performed their ſacred offices in great variety of habits, not much unlike the Pagan prieſts; faſts, feſtivals, and holidays were multiplied, and many ceremonious injunctions enforced. The clergy uſed theſe fatal imitations of the heathen rites, partly out of their natural love of pomp, and partly in hopes by ſuch means to allure the unconverted Heathens to the worſhip of the true God;‡ but however good the primitive intention may have been, theſe innovations were in the end productive of the moſt unfortunate and deſtructive conſequences. How far the Britiſh clergy followed the general example of the other Chriſtians, cannot be determined; yet we find it certain, that they were not without their ſhare of the ſuperſtition, which began at this time to prevail, as the ſuppoſing that certain places were more holy than others, and making a virtue of going on pilgrimage in order to viſit them: we find the Britons ſo far inflated with this zeal, that they made journies as far as Jeruſalem, to behold the place where Chriſt ſuffered;§ others again, ſtill more extravagant, travelled even into Syria, only to have a ſight of the famous ſelf-tormentor, Simon Stylites, who lived fifty-ſix years upon the top of a high pillar.‖ Innovations in the ceremonies, &c. of the church.

In this century, a new order of eccleſiaſtics made their appearance in the world; theſe were the monks, or regular clergy, who in after times made ſuch a conſiderable figure in the Chriſtian church. In Egypt they had their origin; for many of the Chriſtians who fled from the perſecution of Diocleſian, took refuge in thoſe parts, and lived in the deſerts The firſt beginning of the monaſtic life.

* Dupin. Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. IV. vol. II. page 263.
† Stillingfleet, chap. iii.
‡ Moſheim, Hiſt. Ecc. Sæcul. IV. cap. iv. page 175.
§ Hieron. tom. I. epiſt. xvii.
‖ Theod. Philotheus, cap. 36.

and

Cent. IV. and retired places, in an abſtemious and ſolitary manner. Amongſt the reſt, St. Anthony (the father of the monaſtic life) was much famed for his ſanctity; great numbers flocked to him from all quarters, and theſe, in the beginning of this century, he formed into religious fraternities, and every company was placed in a ſeparate habitation, and at a diſtance from each other; to all of theſe he delivered out ſpecial rules and directions for their behaviour. St. Pachomius and Hilarion, two admirers of St. Anthony, ſoon after following his example, founded monaſteries in Egypt, Paleſtine, and Syria,* ſo that theſe religious brotherhoods abounded in the eaſt; and the ſame zealous ſpirit (penetrating into Europe about the middle of this century) in a little time prevailed as much in the weſt as it had done in the eaſt.

Incredible accounts of the monaſteries in Britain.

It is not eaſy to diſcover the exact time that the monaſtic life was introduced into Britain, or to what degree it prevailed at this time. The accounts, as given by the monks of the middle ages, of monaſteries in the days of king Lucius, are falſe and extravagant to the greateſt degree; nor are all the ſtories of the monks of Banchor to be implicitly believed;† not but that it is highly probable there were monaſteries in Britain at the end of this century, and particularly one at Banchor, which was afterwards very famous, but it does by no means ſeem likely, that, in this early period, it ſhould have attained to that ſplendour and greatneſs which the monkiſh hiſtorians would have us believe. One obſervation may be made, on the difference between the Britiſh monks of Banchor, and thoſe who ſucceeded them; the former ſupported themſelves in a frugal manner by their own labours, ſome alternately working, whilſt others performed the religious offices; but the latter were maintained in ſloth and idleneſs by the miſtaken charities, and profuſe donations of the kings, nobles, and other wealthy men.‡

Cent. V. In the beginning of the fifth century, one Pelagius, ſaid to have been a native of Britain,§ publiſhed a very dangerous hereſy, which not only diſturbed the peace of the Britiſh church, but ſpread its infection abroad over the whole continent, as well to the eaſt as to the weſt. Amongſt the Britons, the opinions of this man greatly prevailed; owing, perhaps, in ſome meaſure, to his being their countryman. The moſt important, and plauſible part of the doctrines of Pelagius, were theſe;—— That Adam was naturally mortal, and would have died if he had not ſinned: that Adam's ſin only affected himſelf, and not his poſterity; that children at their birth are as pure and innocent as Adam was at his firſt creation; and that the grace of God is not neceſſary to enable men to overcome temptation, perform their duty, or even attain perfection;

The Pelagian hereſy in Britain.

* Acta Sanctorum, tom. II. p. 107.
† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt.
‡ Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. cap. ii. ſect. 2.
§ Bede, lib. i. cap. 19.

but

but they might do all theſe things by the freedom of their own wills, and the exertion of their own natural abilities.* Cent. V.

The opinions of Pelagius, ſo ſoothing to the pride of men, were propagated here in Britain with great ſucceſs, by ſome of his diſciples, headed by one Agricola; for the arch heretic himſelf, with Celeſtus, a Scotſman, and Julianus, of Campania, his other principal followers, were employed in the ſame work at Rome, and other places. This hereſy made ſuch a rapid progreſs amongſt the Britiſh clergy, that the true believers found themſelves unable to reſiſt its courſe; therefore they ſent over into Gaul for aſſiſtance, the matter being there debated in council; they deputed Germanus, biſhop of Auxerre, and Lupus, biſhop of Troyes, to undertake this commiſſion, which they did with joy; and being arrived in Britain, they inſtantly ſet about the work for which they came, preaching ſometimes in the churches, and ſometimes in the open fields and highways, with ſuch ſucceſs, that their fame was preſently ſpread all over the iſland: thoſe who were wavering they confirmed in the true faith, and reclaimed many who had adopted the heretical errors. The Pelagian champions at firſt declined the meeting, and arguing with the biſhops, but ſeeing their reputation daily loſe ground, and being fearful of loſing all their authority, they challenged their opponents to a public diſputation, which was joyfully accepted by the biſhops; and at the time appointed both parties met, attended on either ſide by a prodigious multitude of people. The heretics were gaudily habited, and came proudly into the field, as if confident of carrying their point; whilſt on the other hand, the two biſhops were plain in their attire, and humble in their deportment. The conteſt was opened by the Pelagian party, who made various long ſpecious arguments, containing no ſolid matter, nor tending to any conviction; when they had finiſhed, the biſhops ſtood up, and with irreſiſtible proofs, drawn from the ſacred ſcriptures, amazed and confounded their opponents, and convinced their hearers of the truth of their aſſertions. The ſurrounding multitude with ſhouts expreſſed their joy, and it was with great difficulty that they were hindered from deſtroying the baffled heretics. This intereſting victory over the opponents of the ſcripture truths, opened the eyes of the people in general, and they returned to their former faith. The biſhops having thus happily completed the work for which they came, tarried ſome ſhort time longer, to confirm the converts in their preſent opinion, and after they returned to Gaul.† The expedition of Germanus and Lupus in Britain.

But although the Pelagian champions had been ſilenced, or intimidated by the biſhops, yet they were not convinced of their errors; for as ſoon as their antagoniſts had left the kingdom, they began afreſh to propagate their doctrines, and with ſuch great ſucceſs, that the clergy who Germanus comes over into Britain a ſecond time.

* Uſſer. Primord. p. 218. Concil. Lab. vol. I. chap. ii. tom. II. & vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. † Bede, lib. i. cap. 17, &c.

Cent. V. ſtill continued conſtant in their faith, were obliged to ſend into Gaul, and beg the aſſiſtance of Germanus a ſecond time; he obeyed the invitation, and came again into Britain, accompanied with Severus, biſhop of Treves, a diſciple of the former Lupus. On their arrival, the two biſhops found (to their great ſatisfaction) that the falling off from the true belief had not been ſo great as was reported; however, they preſently applied themſelves with the greateſt zeal to accompliſh the deſign of their miſſion. They preached to the people with great eloquence, and thereby reclaimed ſuch as were apoſtatiſed, and confirmed others who before ſeemed irreſolute in their determinations. Having proceeded thus far, and convinced the multitude of their errors, they procured the baniſhment of the chief Pelagians from the iſland, and by theſe means the true faith being happily reſtored, it remained inviolated for a conſiderable time.*

* Bede, lib. i. cap. 21. & Conſtant, monk of Auxerre, in Vita German. Epiſt. Here we may obſerve, that ſome diſputes have been made concerning the time of the coming of Germanus; but it appears to be morally certain, that it muſt have been ſometime between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons; for Germanus was made biſhop of Auxerre, A. D. 418, a few years after the Romans had left the iſland, and he died A. D. 448, one year before the arrival of the Saxons.

END OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE BRITONS.

CHRONICLE

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

CHAP. III.

The ancient Religion of the Saxons.

BEFORE we proceed to give an account of the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity, (for this event happened a conſiderable time after their arrival in Britain) it may be thought highly proper to ſay ſomething concerning their ancient religion; but at preſent, it is propoſed only to trace the outlines, becauſe a much more perfect picture of their mythology muſt neceſſarily follow hereafter, when we ſhall treat upon the manners and cuſtoms of the ancient Danes; who, as they were originally from the ſame ſtock, may be juſtly thought to agree with them in their ideas of religion, and mode of worſhip. It may, perhaps, be unneceſſary to add, that thoſe valiant Germans who came over into Britain, and firſt eſtabliſhed the heptarchy, were all of them Pagans; for this is a fact ſo well known, that few can be ignorant of it.

The religion of the ancient Saxons paſſed over haſtily, and why.

It is impoſſible to give ſo perfect an account of the prieſts of the ancient Germans, as we have done of the druids; nor can we poſitively aſſert that they were, like them, divided into different claſſes, according to their ſeveral offices or degrees. In the celebrated temple at Upſal, dedicated to the three chief deities, Odin, Frigga, and Thor, each of theſe deities had his reſpective prieſts, the principal of whom, to the number of twelve, preſided over the ſacrifices, and exerciſed an unlimited authority over every thing which ſeemed to have any connection with religion.* Like other Pagan nations, the ancient Germans had prieſteſſes, whoſe office it was to officiate in the temples of their female

The prieſts of the ancient Saxons.

* Northern Antiq. cap. 7.

deities; and Frigga, their chief goddeſs, for her greater honour, was ſerved by the daughters of kings, and other ladies of the higheſt rank in that country.*

The names of the prieſts, and their office.

The prieſts were generally named drottes, but they were alſo frequently ſtiled prophets, wiſe men, and divine men. Yet notwithſtanding theſe appearances of reſpect and honour, they ſeem by no means to have been equal, either in power or conſequence, to the druids; nor do we find that they had any ſuch ſhare in the civil or military government, ſo as to direct the actions of their kings or governors. Beſides, as the Germans were not ſo bigotted to their religion as the Britons, it ſeems a natural conſequence that their prieſts ſhould not be ſo opulent.† The power of inflicting penalties, of beating and binding delinquents, was ſoly veſted in the prieſts;‡ this was chiefly performed by ſuch as ſerved the god of war, and attended upon the armies. The prieſts were prohibited appearing in arms, and ſtrictly forbidden to mount on horſeback.§ The prieſteſſes were held in the higheſt reſpect; they were diſtinguiſhed by the exalted titles of propheteſſes and goddeſſes; they devoted themſelves to perpetual virginity, and one part of their office was to keep up the ſacred fire, which burnt upon the altars of the deities they ſerved. Thoſe, in particular, at the temple of Upſal, uſed to deliver out oracles, and were conſulted on all important occaſions.‖

The religious opinion of the ancient Saxons.

The religious opinions of the northern nations, in former ages, were juſt and equitable; for even amidſt their groſſeſt idolatry, they ſtill retained ſome faint idea of the Supreme Being: but by degrees their minds were clouded with error, the ancient ſimplicity of their worſhip was loſt, and their mythology crouded with wonderful fables, ſetting forth, in an extravagant manner, the actions of their gods. In theſe fables we meet with the trueſt portraits of the people themſelves; for it has been always cuſtomary with barbarous nations, to make their deities think and act according to their own paſſions; ſo that it is no wonder that a race of men like the Germans, bred up in hardineſs and love of war, ſhould make their gods delight in the ſame. What can be more ſtriking, or more pictureſque of the genius of this warlike race, than the deſcriptions left us of their future ſtate? When the ſoul of a warrior was

* Northern Antiq. cap 7.

† This opinion ſeems to be confirmed by the ſpeech which Coifi, the Pagan biſhop, made to Edwine, king of Northumberland, who therein declares publicly, "That the gods whom they adored had "not power to reward their votaries; for "(adds he) none of the people of your "realm have ſerved the gods with more "unwearied aſſiduity than myſelf, yet "have I not reaped ſuch reward as many "who have not obeyed them with half "my zeal. If theſe gods had the power "to reward thoſe that ſerve them, would "they not have exerted themſelves in my "favour, who have performed my duty "towards them ſo faithfully?" Bede, Ecc. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 13.

‡ Tacit. Morib. Germ.

§ Bede, ut ſup.

‖ Mallet. Introduct. vol. I. cap. vii.

releaſed

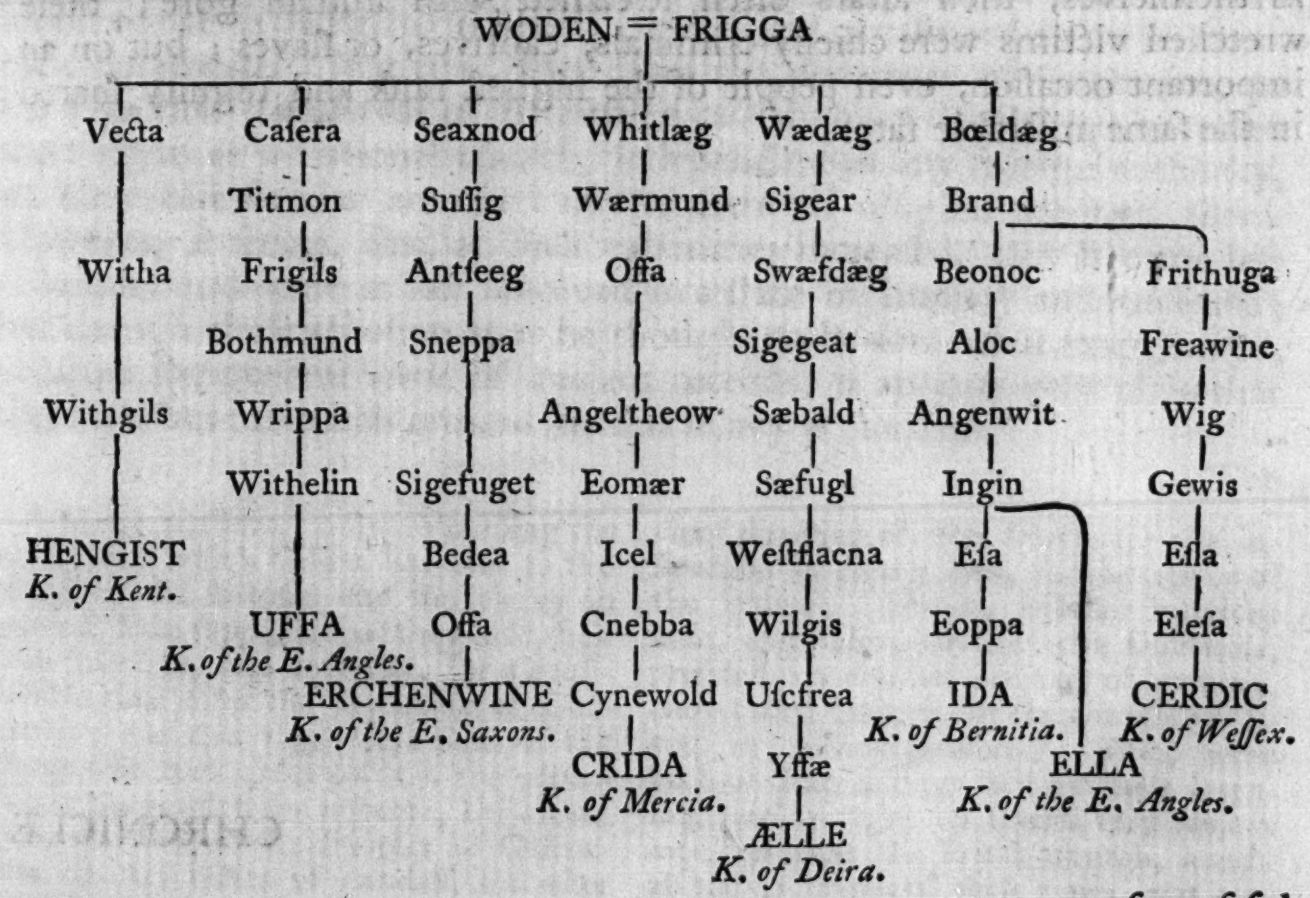
releaſed from its mortal bondage, it aſcended to Heaven, and arriving at the palace of Woden, was there received with acclamations of joy; in this happy place the departed ſpirits ſpent their time in a continual ſucceſſion of pleaſures, ſuitable to their taſte whilſt they inhabited the preſent world: the whole day was paſſed in martial exerciſes, and counterfeited battles; when theſe ſports were finiſhed, they retired to the hall of Woden, and began their evening's entertainment, which conſiſted in feaſting and carouſing deep draughts of mead and ale from the ſkulls of their enemies. On the other hand, their Hell was a place of continual idleneſs, ſickneſs, and deep diſtreſs.*

Odin, or Woden, the true god of the Germans, was worſhipped amongſt the firſt colonies who came from the eaſt, and peopled Germany and Scandinavia. In after times, a ſecond band came from the eaſt to thoſe parts, under the conduct of a valiant chief, who finding the worſhip which was paid to this ſupreme deity, aſſumed the ſame name, and claimed a ſhare in all thoſe honours which belonged to the god alone.† This ſecond Woden was a mighty warrior, and particularly

Odin, or Woden, two deities of this name.

* Mallet Introduct. vol. I. cap. 7. & vide Ancient Edda, in the ſecond volume of the Northern Antiquities.

† M. Mallet, in his Introduct. à l'Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, informs us, that there is a third Woden mentioned by ſome authors, ſo that it is very poſſible (ſays he) this name may have been uſurped by many different warriors, out of policy and ambition; of all whom, poſterity have, in proceſs of time, made but one ſingle perſon.—The founders of the Saxon heptarchy in Britain all of them declared themſelves deſcended from Woden, and that at the diſtance only of a few generations, but without doubt it was only from one of theſe uſurping princes. Their genealogy is as follows:



ſucceſsful

ſucceſsful in battle, from whence he was after believed to be the god of war. He civilized the country, and introduced amongſt the people many uſeful arts, before unknown, ſo that the infatuated multitude ſoon worſhipped him as the true god, built temples to his honour, offered ſacrifices, and paid him every other duty which formerly belonged to the deity, with whom he is generally confounded; and to him the fourth day of the week was dedicated.

Frigga, the principal goddeſs of the Germans.

When the ſecond Woden arrived in Germany, the people alſo adored a great goddeſs, under the appellation of Mother Earth; and as his followers had deified him, ſo alſo they advanced the glory of his conſort, Frigga, and made her equal in honour with the goddeſs Earth; to whom, it ſeems, was transferred all the rites and religious ceremonies, formerly due to that divinity alone. At laſt, ſhe was adored as the goddeſs of love and pleaſure, who beſtowed upon her votaries all kinds of delight, happy marriages, and eaſy child-births; to her was conſecrated the ſixth day of the week.

Thor, the god of thunder, &c.

The braveſt of the ſons of Woden and Frigga, was Thor, who preſided over the meteors and the air, and had the direction of ſtorms, tempeſts, thunder, and lightning; the people prayed to him for winds, rains, and fruitful ſeaſons; to this god was dedicated the fifth day of the week. Theſe three ſeem to have been their principal deities; beſides whom, they had many others; of them, together with their ſeveral offices, a full account will be given hereafter.

The Germans ſacrificed human creatures.

The Germans, like other barbarous nations, were cruel in their religious worſhip; for thinking their gods as fond of blood and deſtruction as themſelves, their altars often ſtreamed with human gore; theſe wretched victims were chiefly criminals, captives, or ſlaves; but on an important occaſion, even people of the higheſt rank and dignity ſhared in the ſame miſerable fate.

CHRONICLE

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART III.

CHAP. IV.

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, from their Converſion by St. Auguſtine, A. D. 596, *to the Acceſſion of Egbert,* A. D. 803.

The ſtate of the Britiſh church briefly conſidered.

WE may remember that we left the Britons in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtian faith in its original purity, and reſtored from the pollution of the fatal Pelagian hereſy, which had occaſioned ſo much trouble to eradicate. It is true, that from the departure of Germanus, to the time that the arrival of Auguſtine called upon the Britons to aſſert their right as a national church, independent of any foreign authority, we have but ſlender accounts of the ſtate of religion amongſt them. However, it ſeems, that as their calamities increaſed, they became leſs religious, and were at laſt involved in a ſtate of impiety and looſeneſs; but though theſe accounts may be thought to be ſomewhat exaggerated, yet from the general view of ancient records, it appears very plain that there was but too much ground for this heavy accuſation.*

The

* Many authors, notwithſtanding the accuſations which Gildas has laid to the charge of the Britons, and the clergy in general, have ſuppoſed that they held their faith inviolate, and zealouſly, for a conſiderable time after the departure of Germanus; and that there were ſome of the clergy who took great pains in the education of the youth: for inſtance, Dubritius, (who was one of the diſciples of Germanus, and firſt biſhop of Landaff, but after made archbiſhop of Caerleon) had the chief direction of two ſchools for the inſtruction of young men, for the ſervice of the church. Iltutus, another religious man, and fellow-labourer with Dubritius, preſided over another ſeminary of learning, (now called Lantuct, or the church of Iltut, in Glamorganſhire.) Theſe were both of them diſtinguiſhed for their learning, and brought up ſeveral very famous men: ſo that the Britiſh church, amidſt all the calamities of theſe times, was conſiderable for the learning and piety which flouriſhed

The hatred of the Saxons to the Chriſtians.

The Saxons who came over into Britain, were not only Heathens themſelves, but they conceived an inveterate hatred againſt the Chriſtian religion. Soon after their arrival, caſting off the maſk of amity, they commenced open hoſtilities againſt the Britons, and joining with their old enemies, the Scots and Picts, drove them from their habitations, and took poſſeſſion of the more fruitful part of the land. Some of the wretched natives fled to Brittany, in Gaul, ſome to Cornwall, ſome even ſought refuge amongſt their barbarous foes, the Scots and Picts; but the greater part got them into the weſtern diviſion of Britain, (ſince called Wales) where, hid amongſt the mountains and woods, they preſerved the wretched remnant of their once flouriſhing and popular ſtate.*

Cent. VI.

The groundwork of the Saxons' converſion.

The hatred which the Saxons entertained againſt the Britons was alſo exaſperated by their being Chriſtians; therefore they purſued them with unrelenting rigour, and murdered the clergy without any mercy wherever they were ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands.† But after ſome time had elapſed, the fierceneſs of theſe ruinous conteſts were in ſome meaſure abated; and the Saxons enjoying their dominions in quietneſs, became more reconciled to the Britons, and by degrees began to form alliances with them, ſo that from their diſcourſes they conceived a more favourable opinion of the Chriſtian faith, and wiſhed to be better inſtructed in its principles. Here again the Britiſh clergy are accuſed of being indolent and careleſs in the propagation of the goſpel, and neglecting theſe happy opportunities which offered for them to make new converts, and be daily adding to the number of the church of Chriſt.‡ About the year 570, Ethelbert, king of Kent, contracted an alliance with Chilperic, king of France, and married his daughter Berta; but ſhe having always been brought up in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, it was agreed upon before the concluſion of the marriage, that ſhe ſhould be allowed the public exerciſe of her religion, and Letardus, a Gauliſh biſhop, with other of the clergy, to attend upon her. On her arrival, a church, formerly built by the Britons, and dedicated to St. Martin, was prepared for her, wherein ſhe performed all the duties of her religion without the leaſt reſtraint;§ and it appears certain, what by the

flouriſhed amongſt its directors. From hence we may juſtly conclude, that Gildas has ſet the worſt face upon matters. But even theſe authors, who have thus ſtrenuouſly defended the Britons, confeſs that their ſynods, (of which, it is true, we have but very imperfect accounts, either of the time or the tranſactions) reflected no honour either to the princes or the clergy concerned in them; the firſt appear to have been guilty of enormous crimes, and the latter accepted of donations to the church as ſufficient marks of repentance. This concluſion ſurely confirms, in ſome meaſure, the words of Gildas, and plainly ſhews the degeneracy of the clergy in general. Vide Uſſer. Primord. page 445. Spelman's Council. Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. II.

* Vide the Chronicle, part. II.

† Bede, lib. i. cap. 15.

‡ Gildas Epiſt.

§ Bede, lib. i. cap. 25.

perſuaſion of this princeſs, and the exhortations of the biſhop and his aſ- Cent. VI.
ſiſtants, who came over into Britain with her, the mind of the king was well diſpoſed to liſten to the preaching of Auguſtine, who not long afterwards came from Rome.

Gregory the Great, the chief inſtrument of the Saxons' converſion.

This was the poſture of affairs amongſt the Saxons in Britain when Gregory the Great came to the papal ſeat, about the year 590, who was the chief inſtrument of the converſion of the Saxons. At what time he formed this deſign, or the firſt occaſion which moved him to undertake it, cannot ſo eaſily be aſcertained: it has, indeed, been imputed to his pity, on ſeeing certain Saxon youths expoſed to ſale in the public market at Rome, and being ſtruck with their comely appearance, he made enquiry concerning them, and was informed from whence they were, and that they were ignorant of the worſhip of the true God, as were all their countrymen. When he heard this, with the zealous ſpirit of a true Chriſtian, he reſolved to promote the converſion of the Saxons in Britain.* If this circumſtance might give the firſt occaſion of his conceiving ſuch a deſign, it is highly probable that he might alſo receive letters from Berta, queen of Kent, ſignifying the deſire which the Saxons in general had of being inſtructed in the goſpel truths, and theſe letters might confirm him in his reſolutions.†

Auguſtine choſen by Gregory, to execute his commiſſion.

When Gregory had determined upon this undertaking, he made choice of Auguſtine, prior of the monaſtery of St. Martin's, at Rome, to perform his commiſſion, aſſiſted with about forty other monks. In the year 596, Auguſtine, with his aſſiſtants, ſet forward on their journey towards Britain; but coming into Gaul, they were affrighted with the character which they there received of the Saxons, and conſidering alſo that they were entirely ignorant of the language and cuſtoms of that people, they determined to proceed no farther, and Auguſtine poſted back to Rome, to inform Gregory of his fears. But Gregory having the matter at heart, gave him freſh encouragements, and ſent him back to his aſſociates in Gaul, with recommendatory letters to the king and queen there, as well as to the biſhops, intreating them to aſſiſt the laudable deſign of Auguſtine as much as lay in their powers. Thus inſpired with freſh courage by his inſtructor, Auguſtine ſet forth again; and having provided proper interpreters to go with him, he, with his company, ſailed the ſame year to Britain, and landing firſt upon the iſland of Thanet, he ſent to the king and queen of Kent, informing them of his arrival, and the importance of his meſſage: the king received him very graciouſly, and though he did not immediately profeſs the Chriſtian faith himſelf in a public manner, yet he gave Auguſtine free leave to

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 1.

† Notwithſtanding the ſtory above related, it may ſeem very likely to be true, that to theſe letters was owing the reſolution of Gregory from the beginning; for it appears plainly, that this princeſs took the greateſt pains to prepare the mind of her huſband for the reception of the goſpel truths, if ſhe did not abſolutely convert him to Chriſtianity.

Cent. VI. preach to his people, and inſtruct them in the doctrine of the goſpel; at the ſame time he aſſigned him a place of abode in the city of Canterbury.*

The great ſucceſs of Auguſtine in Kent.

Auguſtine having hitherto ſucceeded ſo well, went ſpeedily to Canterbury, and with his company joining the little community of Chriſtian prieſts belonging to the queen, they preſently ſet about the performance of their commiſſion, and preached with great zeal to the people, and their pious endeavours were crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs; for, it is ſaid, that in leſs than the ſpace of one year, ten thouſand of the Kentiſh Saxons received baptiſm, and renounced all their former errors and ſuperſtitions; amongſt which number, the king himſelf is thought to have been one. Auguſtine, tranſported with the fortunate ſucceſs of his doctrines, went over into Gaul, and was conſecrated biſhop of the Engliſh, by the archbiſhop of Arles, conceiving that this new honour would give him additional conſequence in the eyes of his converts. No ſooner was he returned to Britain, than he diſpatched Laurentius, a preſbyter, and Peter, a monk, to Rome, to acquaint Gregory with his proceedings, and the great progreſs which he made in the execution of his undertaking; he alſo deſired Gregory to ſend him directions for his future conduct, and at the ſame time propoſed ſeveral queſtions in writing. To all theſe Gregory (ſome time after) returned full and ſatisfactory anſwers, which were brought to Auguſtine by Melitus, who came over into Britain about the year 601, with an additional number of religious men, to aſſiſt in the completion of the great work already begun; with him he brought the pall, with orders from Gregory to conſtitute Auguſtine primate of the Engliſh church; at the ſame time giving him full power and authority over the Britiſh clergy, to teach the unlearned, confirm the weak, and correct the obſtinate. But when the Britons were made acquainted with this part of the proceedings of Gregory, they knowing themſelves to be an independent church, openly and ſolemnly diſavowed all ſubjection to Auguſtine, and ſet aſide the authority of Gregory himſelf.†

Cent. VII.

The diſpute between Auguſtine and the Britiſh clergy.

The firſt beginning of the diſputes between the Britiſh clergy and Auguſtine ſeems to have been as follows:—This prelate deſirous of putting in force the authority which had been given to him by his employer, over the Britons; through the means of Ethelbert, obtained a meeting with them at a place called Auguſtine's Oak,‡ in the confines of Weſſex, where Auguſtine propoſed to the Britiſh clergy, that they ſhould come into the unity of the church, and join with him and his followers in preaching to the Saxons. After they had taken ſome time to conſider on the conſequences of theſe arguments, and reflecting on what alterations

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 23.

† Ibid. cap. 25, 26, 27, & 29.

‡ Agustinus-ac, in the Saxon verſion of Bede, by Elfred. Vide Bede, lib. ii, cap. 2.

would be neceſſary for them to make in their religious forms of worſhip, they were at a loſs how to act, being on one hand unwilling to introduce any innovations into their religion; whilſt, on the other, they were very fearful of offending Ethelbert, who ſeemed to eſpouſe the cauſe of Auguſtine with great fervency. Thus undetermined in their reſolutions, they are ſaid to have applied to a certain anchorite, reputed for his wiſdom and holineſs, to know whether they ought to quit the antient rites of their anceſtors, and ſubmit to the propoſals of Auguſtine: he anſwered, "If he be a man of God, you ought to follow him." Being aſked how they ſhould know whether he was a man of God: he anſwered, "By his humility and gentle deportment." Cent. VII.

The Britiſh clergy offended with Auguſtine.

Afterwards, ſeven of the Britiſh biſhops, with Dinoth, abbot of Banchor, and other learned men, came on a certain day to a place appointed, in order to meet Auguſtine a ſecond time. The Britons contrived that Auguſtine ſhould be ſeated before they entered the aſſembly; when they came in, he proudly kept his ſeat, without riſing to ſalute or receive them, which haughty deportment raiſed the greateſt reſentment in their breaſts, ſo that they reſolved to oppoſe his arguments, as being now convinced that he was no man of God. After ſome time ſpent in fruitleſs diſputes, Auguſtine addreſſed himſelf in this manner to the Britons: "You act contrary to the cuſtoms of the Univerſal Church in many particulars; however, enjoy your own uſages as you pleaſe, only yield to us in three things; firſt, to keep the feaſt of Eaſter as we do; ſecondly, to uſe the ſame form of baptiſm with us; and laſtly, to join with us in preaching the goſpel to the unconverted Saxons." To which they haſtily replied, "That they would not agree with him in any one of thoſe conditions, nor would they acknowledge him as their archbiſhop." Auguſtine irritated by this reply, declared angrily, that "Since they had refuſed peace from their brethren, they might expect war from their enemies; and becauſe they would not join in preaching life to the Engliſh Saxons, they ſhould receive death at their hands."*

Three years after this unſucceſsful conference, A. D. 604, Auguſtine conſecrated three biſhops: Melitus, to preach to the Eaſt Saxons; Juſtus,

* From theſe menaces, Auguſtine is by many grievouſly accuſed of being acceſſary to the murder of the monks of Banchor, which was executed by Ethelfrith, as related page 131 of this volume; for this prelate having miſcarried in the hopes he had conceived of bringing the Britons to his authority, out of reſentment, ſtirred up Ethelbert to perſuade Ethelfrith to deſtroy thoſe hapleſs monks, becauſe Dinoth, their abbot, ſeems to have had ſo great a ſhare in the contradictions of the Britons. But ſays Inett, though theſe raſh and unwarrantable menaces of Auguſtine are without excuſe, yet there is great probability that this affair happened after the death of that prelate; which muſt be, if he deceaſed A. D. 604, as Mr. Wharton has given many weighty reaſons to prove. Now it is certain that this ſlaughter happened A. D. 607, ſo that one would be led to judge as favourably as poſſible of an affair which can by no means be proved, and, indeed, which reaſon ſeems to contradict. Vide Angliæ Sacræ, pars I. page 91, & Dr. Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. page 35, &c.

Cent. VII.

State of the church at the death of Auguſtine.

to be biſhop of Rocheſter; and Laurentius, to ſucceed him in the ſee of Canterbury. In the ſame year, it is generally thought that Auguſtine died; but this is a matter which has been very much conteſted: however, it ſeems plain, that, before his death, the greater part of the kingdom of Kent had received the Chriſtian faith, and that the cathedrals of Canterbury and Rocheſter were begun; alſo ſome other churches, founded originally by the Britons, were repaired, and proviſion made for the education and ſubſiſtence of the clergy; all of which was chiefly owe-ing to the piety and munificence of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and the zeal of Auguſtine and his aſſiſtants.* No ſtep ſeems hitherto to have been made towards the converſion of the other kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy.

Laurentius ſucceeds Auguſtine.

After the death of Auguſtine, Laurentius ſucceeded him in the ſee of Canterbury; but the exact time of his advancement is juſt as uncertain as the deceaſe of his ſuperior, upon which it depended. No ſooner was he in poſſeſſion of his dignity, than he followed the example of Auguſtine, and ſtrove to prevail upon the clergy of the Britons and Scots to change their antient uſages, and to celebrate the feſtival of Eaſter in the ſame manner he and his followers did; but he was equally unſucceſsful as his predeceſſor had been; for the breach was made ſtill wider by the ſucceeding conferences, inſomuch that the Scotch Chriſtians at laſt refuſed all converſation with this prelate, or any of his followers.†

The converſion of the Eaſt Saxons.

About this time, however, a work of greater conſequence was begun, which ſucceeded much more happily than the former; this was the converſion of the Eaſt Saxons. Sebert, the ſon of Ricula, the ſiſter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, at the ſame time was king of Eaſtſex, which he held as tributary under his uncle; by whoſe perſuaſion, and the zealous labours of Melitus, both himſelf, and a conſiderable part of his ſubjects, were prevailed upon to renounce their idolatry, and embrace the Chriſtian faith. Melitus went into Eaſtſex ſome time in the year 604, after he had been conſecrated biſhop by Auguſtine, and being well received by king Sebert, he proceeded with great zeal in the performance of his religious deſigns, and founded a new biſhopric, the ſeat whereof was fixed at London, by the appointment of Ethelbert; by whoſe munificence, the cathedral church in that city, dedicated to St. Paul, was firſt begun. In the year 610, Melitus went to Rome, to conſult with Boniface the Fourth, who was at that time poſſeſſed of the papal ſeat, and returned ſoon after with letters from that prelate for Ethelbert, king of Kent.‡

Decline of the Chriſtian religion in Eaſtſex.

Notwithſtanding all the pious labours of Melitus, and the endeavours of Sebert, to promote and eſtabliſh the Chriſtian religion in Eaſtſex, too many of the new-made proſelytes were but lukewarm, and wavering in their faith. Upon the death of Sebert, which happened towards the concluſion of the year 615, his three ſons, Serred, Seward, and Sige-

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 3. Angl. Sac. p. I. page 91.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 3.

‡ Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 4.

bert,

bert, who jointly ſucceeded him in the kingdom, being no longer under the controulment of their father, threw off all that ſhew of religion that they had kept up during his life-time, and openly returned again to their former idolatry; nor could the earneſt perſuaſions of Melitus prevail upon them to follow the excellent example of their deceaſed parent; but coming into the church, they commanded Melitus to give them the holy bread, and adminiſter to them the ſacrament, as he was wont to do to their father, which he reſolutely refuſed, unleſs they would forſake their preſent wicked life, and again embrace the doctrine of Chriſtianity. Provoked at this refuſal, they drove Melitus from his ſee, who fled into Kent, in order to conſult with Laurentius what ſtep was beſt for him to take.* The people of Eaſtſex ſeeing the wicked inclinations of their governors, laid aſide all reſtraint, and flocked back again to their former abominations. Cent. VII.

The apoſtaſy of Edbald, king of Kent.

By the time Melitus reached Kent, a change, almoſt as alarming as that which had happened in Eaſtſex, had taken place there; for, in the beginning of the year 616, pious Ethelbert departed this life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Edbald, who, though he had during his father's life-time been carefully inſtructed in the Chriſtian doctrines, was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he apoſtatiſed from the true faith, and gave permiſſion to his ſubjects to renew the worſhip of their Pagan deities, notwithſtanding all the zealous endeavours of the biſhops of Canterbury and Rocheſter to prevent this alarming evil. Encouraged by the example of their prince, great numbers fell off daily from the true faith, and idolatry began again to flouriſh in the confines of Kent.

The reſolution of the biſhops.

Alarmed at the dreadful appearance of affairs, the biſhops conſulted ſeriouſly together, and by common conſent it was concluded upon, that it would be in vain to make any further attempts to ſtop the ruinous apoſtaſy, which broke in upon the church on every ſide; therefore, they all agreed to leave Britain, and return again to Rome. In purſuance of this reſolution, Juſtus, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Melitus, preſently withdrew, and paſſed over into Gaul; and though Laurentius ſtill tarried for a time behind, yet he determined to follow them as ſoon as he could with conveniency;† but juſt as he had prepared to depart, king Edbald, touched with the ſtings of conſcience, repented him of his apoſtaſy, and again embraced the faith of Chriſt. This ſudden alteration in the king

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 5.

† Having prepared for his departure, the night before he had determined to ſet out, he fixed upon a ſtrange method of taking leave of his church; for he cauſed his bed to be laid in the cathedral, and lodged there that night, when St. Peter appeared to him, and having reproached him for his cowardice, he ſcourged the ſhoulders of this prelate, ſo as to leave the marks of the laſhes upon his body. The next day he went to the king, and told him what had happened, ſhewing his back. This relation had ſuch an effect upon the king, that he forſook his idolatry. But if there is any truth in this miracle, as Bede calls it, or whether it was owing to God, or the age, is left to the judgment of the reader. Vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 6. & Inett's Hiſt. of the Engliſh Church.

Cent. VII. put a powerful check to the growth of Paganiſm, and gave freſh life to the Chriſtian cauſe. Melitus and Juſtus were now recalled again, and returned to Britain about a year after their departure; and Juſtus was reſtored to his ſee at Rocheſter; but the Londoners had ſo abſolutely renounced their belief in Chriſt, that Edbald could by no means replace Melitus in his former ſeat. In this ſtate continued the affairs of the church until the death of Laurentius, who departed this life about the year of our Lord 619.*

The chriſtian religion firſt planted in Northumberland.

After the deceaſe of Laurentius, Melitus ſucceeded him in the archbiſhopric, which he held the ſpace of five years, and then died: no material alteration happened in the church during that time. Upon his death, Juſtus, biſhop of Rocheſter, was advanced to the ſee of Canterbury, about the year 624. The year following, Edwine, king of Northumberland, married Ethelburga, ſiſter of Edbald, king of Kent; and as ſhe had always been brought up in the Chriſtian faith, it was agreed upon before her marriage, that ſhe ſhould be permitted freely to exerciſe her own religion; and accordingly Paulinus was made a biſhop, in order to attend upon her. The next year, A. D. 626, Edwine conſented to have his daughter Enfleda (his firſt child by Ethelburga) baptized; and through the perſuaſion of the queen, and the indefatigable labours of Paulinus, Edwine himſelf was baptized the following year, on Eaſter day, and openly profeſſed his converſion to the Chriſtian faith. After this, Edwine founded an epiſcopal ſee at York, and he ſent to Honorius, then biſhop of Rome, from whom he received the pall, and title of metropolitan, which he beſtowed upon Paulinus.†

Edwine's care for the propagation of the goſpel.

Edwine now became a very zealous Chriſtian, and by his earneſt perſuaſions prevailed upon his friend Redwald, king of the Eaſt Angles, to embrace the ſame religion; beſides which, he promoted the propagation of the goſpel in the northern borders of Mercia, and in that part of Lincolnſhire that borders upon the Trent. In the year 631, Juſtus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, and Honorius ſucceeded him, who was conſecrated by Paulinus, archbiſhop of York. During the life of Edwine, the goſpel flouriſhed in Northumberland; but he being unfortunately ſlain in the month of October, A. D. 633, the whole kingdom was overrun by two cruel enemies, ſo that Paulinus was driven from his ſeat, and, accompanied with Ethelburga, (the unfortunate queen, who ſurvived her huſband Edwine) returned into Kent, where he was made biſhop of Rocheſter, in which place he died.‡

The apoſtaſy of the two kings of Northumberland.

After the death of Edwine, two kings aſſumed the rule in Northumberland; Eanfrid bearing rule in Bernitia, and Oſric in Deira. Theſe princes, although they had received the Chriſtian baptiſm, and acknowledged that faith in Scotland, where they had taken refuge, were no

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 6. & Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church.

† Bede, lib. ii. cap. 10, 14, & 17.

‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 20.

ſooner

ſooner in poſſeſſion of the regal dignities, than they renounced the true religion, and wickedly returned to Paganiſm. Their apoſtaſy, together with the deſtruction which had preceded in Northumberland, brought the Chriſtian religion to a very low ebb in that kingdom.* Alſo amongſt the Eaſt Angles no progreſs was made; for though Redwald, at the intreaty of Edwine, king of Northumberland, had been baptized, yet far from continuing ſtedfaſt in the profeſſion of the true faith, he, not long after, through the perſuaſion of his queen, gave it entirely up, and followed the Pagan rites as he had done before.† Cent. VII.

About a year after the death of Edwine, A. D. 634, the two apoſtate kings were killed by Cadwallo, the Britiſh monarch; againſt whom Oſwald fought a ſucceſsful battle, in which Cadwallo was ſlain, and all his forces routed. Oſwald, after this victory, took the government of Northumberland upon him; and as he was a very pious man, and zealous for the Chriſtian religion, to which he had been converted in Scotland, he immediately ſet about the reſtoration of the ſame, which had ſuffered ſo much of late in thoſe parts. The better to effect his laudable purpoſe, he ſent into Scotland, deſiring that a biſhop might be ſent from thence to inſtruct his people; the firſt who came not being approved by the people, a ſecond arrived, whoſe name was Aidan, a juſt man; by his labours, a vaſt number of the Northumbers were converted; and becauſe he did not at firſt underſtand the Saxon language, the king himſelf uſed to expound his meaning to the people. This pious prelate, far from uſing the pomp and ſhew of the Roman miſſionaries, preached the word of God in its primitive plainneſs and ſimplicity. Oſwald now appointed the epiſcopal ſee of Lindisferne, which before had been at York, and Aidan was made biſhop there. He alſo perfected the cathedral at York, and built churches in many parts of his kingdom. The encouragement which he gave to all religious perſons, cauſed ſeveral of the Scotch and Iriſh clergy to come into Northumberland, ſo that by their joint endeavours the Chriſtian faith was advanced daily; beſides all this, public ſchools were erected for the inſtruction both of men and youth, in learning and religion. In this flouriſhing ſtate the church continued until the death of Oſwald, which happened A. D. 642.‡ Oſwald reſtores the Chriſtian religion in Northumberland.

Nearly about the ſame year that Oſwald mounted the throne of Northumberland, Birinus, a biſhop from Rome, arrived in the weſtern parts of Britain, and began to preach the goſpel with great ſucceſs to the Weſt Saxons: Oſwald at the ſame time ſeeking the daughter of Cynegils in marriage, who was then king of that dominion, joined his intreaties with thoſe of Birinus, and prevailed upon that prince to be baptized, which was performed at York, in the year 635. After the converſion of their king, the people liſtened attentively to the zealous inſtructions of Birinus, and the Chriſtian religion quickly gained great ground in Weſ- The converſion of the Weſt Saxons to Chriſtianity.

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 1.
† Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 4.
‡ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 3. & infra.

ſex.

Cent. VII. sex. The year following, Cwichelm, the son and colleague of Cynegils, was also baptized at York, and an episcopal see was founded at Dorchester, of which Birinus was made bishop.*

The conversion of the people of the East Angles.

The light which sprung up amongst the East Angles was suddenly extinguished by the apostasy of Redwald; but after his death, he was succeeded in that kingdom by his son Eorpwald, who was a prince of a meek and tractable disposition, so that through the earnest persuasions of Edwine he renounced the errors of idolatry, and was baptized A. D. 632,† but he was traiterously murdered about four years after, therefore no great step could be made towards a general reformation. Eorpwald was succeeded by his half-brother, Sigebert, who was a zealous advocate for Christianity: in the former part of his life he had been banished into Gaul, where he was converted, and instructed in the gospel truths. Soon after he mounted the throne, a Burgundian bishop, named Felix, out of pure zeal, came over into Britain, and offering his service to Honorius, then archbishop of Canterbury, was sent by him to Sigebert, king of the East Angles, by whom he was gladly received, and with great earnestness he preached the gospel to the people of that kingdom. Presently after, he was joined by Furseus, an Irish monk, who was equally zealous for the propagation of Christianity, and their united endeavours were crowned with surprising success; for the greater part of that nation were soon converted, and the true faith settled upon a permanent foundation. The episcopal see, since removed to Norwich, was now founded at Dumnock,‡ and Felix made first bishop there. Sigebert, the king, also caused schools to be erected in his kingdom, for the instruction of youth, and the improvement of their morals.§

All Kent not yet converted.

Thus whilst the gospel shed its happy influence over the island, the missionaries in Kent used repeated endeavours to bring the British and Scotch clergy to the usages of the Roman church, but without success. The progress of the Christian religion in Kent, is not so well known: in the year 640, Ercombert, who was then king of that district, published an edict, requiring all his subjects to relinquish their worship of idols, and that all the idols throughout his kingdom should be destroyed, and appointed officers to see that those who violated this law should be punished;‖ by which it should seem that they had not all of them as yet forsaken their errors.

The East Saxons re-converted.

The East Saxons who had long ago returned to their former idolatry, and continued in the same, notwithstanding the earnest persuasions and endeavours which were made use of by Melitus, their late bishop, whom they banished from his see of London, about the year 654, again received the Christian faith, under Sigebert the Second, their king, who, at the

* Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 3.
† Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 15.
‡ Probably the same place that is now known by the name of Dunwich, in the county of Suffolk. Vide Inett's History of the English Church, vol. I. fol. 51.
§ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18.
‖ Ibid. cap. 18.

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perſuaſion of Oſweo, had renounced his errors, and was baptized by Finanus, biſhop of Lindisfarn; after his baptiſm, Sigebert begged the aſſiſtance of ſome of the clergy, as alſo of Cedd, a man of great holineſs, to forward the converſion of his ſubjects: accordingly Cedd, with another clergyman, was ſent into Eaſtſex, who went through the dominions of Sigebert, preaching the goſpel with ſuch energy and zeal, that a general converſion of the people crowned their pious labours. Having formed a church, Cedd returned to Northumberland, where he was conſecrated biſhop by Finanus, but ſoon came back to Eaſtſex, and eſtabliſhed his ſee at London, about forty-one years after the expulſion of Melitus.* Cent. VII.

The converſion of the Mercians.

In Mercia the Chriſtian doctrine had begun to take root, even before the arrival of Cedd in Eaſtſex; for Peada, the ſon of Penda, king of Mercia, ſeeking in marriage the daughter of Oſweo, named Alcfleda, his ſuit was rejected becauſe he was not a Chriſtian: however, by the means of Oſweo, and the perſuaſion of Alcfred, the brother of Alcfleda, he embraced the true faith, and was baptized, with ſeveral noblemen, who attended him into the north, by Finanus, biſhop of Lindisfarn, about the year 653, and by this means he obtained the damſel. Peada returning into Mercia, carried with him four prieſts, Cedd, Adda, Bette, and Diuma, a Scotſman, by whoſe pious endeavours all that part of Mercia, called Middle Angles,† (which had been committed to the government of Peada by his father) was converted to the Chriſtian faith; nor was it confined to that part only, its light began to diffuſe itſelf over the other parts of that extenſive dominion, and this during the life-time of Penda, who, though himſelf a Heathen, yet he no ways hindered either the converſion of his ſon, or propagation of the goſpel. Cedd, however, was ſoon after recalled from Mercia by Oſweo, and ſent into Eaſtſex, when Diuma was made biſhop of the new converts, and conſecrated by Finanus, under the title of biſhop of the Mid Engliſh and Mercia.‡

Diſpute concerning religious ceremonies.

Finanus being dead, who had ſucceeded Aidan, Coleman, a Scotſman, was made biſhop of Lindisfarn. Whilſt he ſat in this ſeat, a warm diſpute was made concerning the keeping of Eaſter, ſhaving the crowns of the clergy, and other religious ceremonies, wherein the Scottiſh and Britiſh Chriſtians differed from thoſe who had been converted by the Romiſh miſſionaries. Oſweo, king of Northumberland, who had been taught and baptized by the Scots, married Eanfled, the daughter of Edwine, who had been educated in Kent, and followed the cuſtoms of the Chriſtians there, ſo that when the king was celebrating the feſtival of Eaſter, his queen and her followers were engaged in the ſeverities of Lent. For ſettling all theſe matters a ſynod was appointed to be held at the abbey

* Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22.

† Middelengli, id eſt Mediterranei Angli, in the original. Vide Bede, lib iii. cap. 21.

‡ Ibid.

Cent. VII. of Streanſhalch,* in the year of our Lord 661. Oſweo himſelf appeared in favour of the Britons, alſo Coleman, biſhop of Lindisfarn, Cedd, biſhop of the East Saxons, and ſeveral other Scotch and Britiſh biſhops, and clergymen. On the other ſide, was Alcfred, the ſon of Oſweo, who had been educated by Wilfrid; Agilbert, biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, who had ſucceeded Berinus in the ſee of Dorcheſter; Abbot Wilfrid; this man, though born amongſt the Northumbers, and inſtructed by the Scotch biſhops in the early part of his life, yet after that, being long reſident in Kent, he there imbibed the principles of the Kentiſh Chriſtians: of the ſame party was Agatha, a preſbyter, James, a deacon, and Romanus, with many other of the clergy. The matter was fully debated with great warmth on either ſide; however, in the end, Oſweo decided in the favour of the Catholics, to the great uneaſineſs of the oppoſite party.†

The advancement of Wilfrid.

Coleman offended at the deciſion made againſt him and his ſect, ſhortly after relinquiſhed his biſhopric, and returned back into his own country, and Tudda, one of the oppoſite party, was advanced in his ſtead; but he dying within a few months, Wilfrid, (at that time but thirty years of age) was choſen biſhop of Northumberland through the intereſt of prince Alcfred, his ſcholar: this Wilfrid was the principal ſpeaker in favour of the Roman uſages and ceremonies in the above diſpute, and to him was chiefly owing the ſucceſs which that party had met with at that time.‡

The reaſon of Wilfrid's diſappointment.

Hitherto the archbiſhop of Canterbury had no claim over the northern Engliſh; for Wilfrid, who had ſo warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Kentiſh Chriſtians, on being choſen biſhop, went into France to be conſecrated, although Deus Dedit, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was then living. Wilfrid ſtaying too long in France, Oſweo was prevailed upon to conſent to the election of another biſhop, which was Cedda, a Scot, and ſaid to have been the brother of that Cedd who had converted the East Saxons, and was now biſhop of London. Cedda, immediately after his election, travelled into Kent, in order to be conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but he dying before Cedda arrived, he went into the weſt, and was there conſecrated by Wini, biſhop of Winchester; ſo that Wilfrid, on his return, was obliged to quit his dignity, and retire again to his monaſtery.§

A Saxon prieſt ſent over to Rome to be conſecrated.

Deus Dedit dying whilſt Cedda was going towards Kent, the ſee of Canterbury was for a ſhort time vacant; wherefore, after ſome debate between Oſweo, king of Northumberland, and Egbert, king of Kent, an agreement was made to chuſe ſome perſon out of Britain, who ſhould be an Engliſhman by birth, and to ſend him over to Rome, in order to be conſecrated, according to the uſages and ceremonies of that church.

* Now Whitby, in Yorkſhire.
† Bede, lib. iii. cap. 25.
‡ Ibid. cap. 24. & Eddii Vita Wilfrid, fol. 56.
§ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 29. & Vita Wilfridi, ut ſup.

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Accordingly, Wighaſt, a preſbyter, bred in Kent, was choſen by the common conſent to be archbiſhop of Canterbury, and forthwith ſent to Rome to be conſecrated; but he died there of a plague, which prevailed at that time, before all the ceremonies were completed. Vitalian, who was then biſhop of Rome, took hold of the opportunity which offered of advancing his own power, and conſecrated one Theodore, a Greek by nation, born at Tarſus, in Celicia, and bred a monk, a man of great learning and piety; and when he had given him his inſtructions, ſent him over into Britain, attended by Adrian, a monk, who was ſet as a kind of ſpy over him, leſt he ſhould vary from the uſages of the church of Rome, and introduce thoſe of the Grecian church.* Cent. VII.

Theodore was conſecrated the 25th day of March, in the year 668, and in May, the year following, he came over into Britain, where he was well received; and being an active buſy man, he advanced the authority of the archbiſhops of Canterbury, and of the biſhop of Rome, more than all his predeceſſors had done ſince the death of Auguſtine.† Theodore ſent over into Britain.

When Theodore came over into Britain, he diſputed the legality of the conſecration of Cedda, and declared, that he uſurped the place of another, (meaning Wilfrid;) but Jarumman, biſhop of Litchfield, dying at the ſame time, Cedda was advanced to that ſee, and Wilfrid reſtored to that of York. The two princes having now prepared all things for the union of the Saxon churches, a ſynod was held in the month of September, A. D. 673, at a place called Herudford, in the county of Hertfordſhire.‡ At this meeting, beſides Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, there were preſent only four Saxon biſhops in perſon, but not one of the Britiſh biſhops, or any of their clergy; Wilfrid, biſhop of York, appeared by a deputy; Riſi, biſhop of the Eaſt Angles, Lutherius, biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, Winfrid, biſhop of Mercia, and Putta, biſhop of Rocheſter, were the four that appeared in perſon. Here Theodore produced a book of canons, which were ſubſcribed to by all the biſhops and other clergy who were preſent. Thus were the Saxon churches of the Scotch and Roman eſtabliſhment united by Theodore, who ſoon began to aſſume a great ſuperiority in the kingdom; and three years after the above council, depoſed Winfrid, biſhop of Litchfield, for being diſobedient to his commands.§ Synod held at Hartford.

About the year 678, Wilfrid, biſhop of York, was driven from his ſee by Egfrid, who, ſucceeding his father Oſweo, now reigned in Northumberland, and his offence was either his pride, and the pomp which he aſſumed, or his aſſiſting Etheldreda, the wife of Egfrid, in her religious deſigns: for after her marriage ſhe had refuſed to cohabit with her huſband, and preferring the monaſtic life, by the advice of Wilfrid, ſolicited a divorce, and at laſt, without the conſent of the king, withdrew Wilfrid driven from his ſee.

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 1.

† Ibid. & Vide Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. page 73.

‡ Probably the ſame with Hartford, the chief town of that county.

§ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 6.

Cent. VII. herſelf into a monaſtery, where ſhe received the veil at the hands of Wilfrid, and could not be prevailed upon by the king to return by the moſt preſſing intreaties.*

New biſhoprics ordained.

After the expulſion of Wilfrid, Boſa was made biſhop of York, and a new biſhopric was founded under the old name of Lindisfarn,† and Eata was made biſhop thereof. Again, three years after, or thereabouts, this latter biſhopric was ſubdivided, and a new ſee planted at Hagulſtad, and Trumbert was made biſhop thereof; and Eata, the former biſhop, had his title limited to that of biſhop of Landisfarn only. About the ſame time that this firſt diviſion was made in the biſhoprick of Northumberland, Egfrid founded another ſee at Sydnaceſter, in Lincolnſhire, near the Humber;‡ and Eadhead being firſt conſecrated at York, had the charge of the ſame committed to his care; but on the death of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, from whom Egfrid had won this part of the country by conqueſt, Ethelred, brother to Wulfhere, ſucceeding in the kingdom of Mercia, and in the year 678, recovered this province, and drove Eadhead from his ſeat: but ſome time either in the year after, or elſe in the following year, the biſhopric of Sydnaceſter was again reſtored, by the authority of Ethelred himſelf, and Edelwine made biſhop thereof.§

Wilfrid arrives at Rome, and his ſucceſs.

Mean time Wilfrid haſtened to Rome, in order to make complaint to Agatho, then biſhop there, of the hard treatment he had met with, not only in being expelled from his ſee, but in having his dioceſe divided, and new biſhoprics erected therein without his conſent; and as he had nobody to oppoſe or contradict his ſtory, he repreſented the matter in ſuch a light, as convinced Agatho, and all the clergy who were preſent, that he had been ill-treated in the affair; therefore, the whole ſynod were of opinion that he ought to be reſtored to his ſee, and if the intereſts of religion required the diviſion of his dioceſe, yet he ought to have full power and authority to appoint and conſtitute all ſuch biſhops as were under him: alſo, to give the greater force to this their determination, they decreed, that any preſbyter refuſing to be obedient to the ſame, he ſhould be expelled from his office, and any of the laity guilty of the like offence ſhould not be admitted to partake of the holy ſacrament.‖

Wilfrid's commiſſion not regarded.

Wilfrid having thus obtained his deſires, haſted back to Britain, in order to ſhew the reſolution of the biſhop of Rome, and his ſynod, to Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who had depoſed him, and to Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had been acceſſary to, or at leaſt connived at his expulſion; but ſo little was the authority which he brought

* Vita Etheldredæ, &c.

† Now Hexham, in Northumberland. Vide Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 12.

‡ This is the part of Lincolnſhire, which is ſtill known by the name of Lindeſey.

§ Bede, ut ſupra.

‖ Eddii Vita Wilfrid. cap. 29, 31, &c.

with

with him regarded by either one or the other, that he ſaw no hopes of ſucceeding in his attempt; on the contrary, Egfrid called a council of his biſhops and nobility, where the matter was debated; and ſo far were they from ſiding with the turbulent prelate, that by their advice and conſent, he was inſtantly ſent to priſon, where he was confined nine months.* Cent. VII.

The miſerable ſtate of Kent.

We will now look back upon the misfortunes which happened in Kent:—That kingdom was invaded by Ethelred, king of Mercia, about the year 676; that prince finding none to oppoſe his march, ſpoiling the country before him, deſtroying churches, monaſteries, and religious houſes, without diſtinction, until he reached Rocheſter, which city he alſo ruinated; and Putta, who was biſhop there, was driven to ſuch diſtreſs, that he was obliged to take upon him the humble employment of teaching the church ſingers, in order to ſupport his old age from want and miſery.†

The hereſy of the Monotheliteſ, and the ſynod at Hatfield.

But to go on. About this time a dangerous hereſy, which had been long ago broached upon the continent, (and generally known by the name of the Monothelite hereſy) began to make an alarming progreſs in the church, ſo that it required a public council to be called at Rome for the aboliſhing it.‡ The opinions on which this hereſy was founded, entirely contradicted the diſtinct properties of the divine and human nature of Chriſt.‡ At the ſame time alſo, Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, thought it his duty to take notice of a danger which was every day increaſing, and therefore he ſignified his intentions to Egfrid, king of Northumberland, to Ethelred, king of Mercia, to Adulf, and his brothers, kings of the Eaſt Angles, and to Lothaire, king of Kent, by their common conſent, a great council was called; the parties met at Hatfield, the 15th day of September, in the year 680.§

The Engliſh biſhops declare their acceptance of the true faith.

At this ſynod, after the ſermon, Theodore proceeded to give a ſhort account of the Chriſtian faith in its original purity, as given to the primitive Chriſtians by Chriſt himſelf, and his apoſtles. He produced to them the apoſtles' creed, and its explanation, as ſet forth by the fathers of the church, and confirmed in their general councils. All the biſhops

* Eddii Vita Wilfrid. cap. 34 & 35.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 12.

‡ Concil. tom. VI. col. 594.

§ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 17. Notwithſtanding the pompous accounts which the monks give of this council, and of a hundred biſhops there aſſembled, ſays Dr. Inett, we have great difficulty to find out the tenth part of that number; the whole kingdom of Mercia contained but two biſhoprics, if we reckon that of Sydnaceſter as one, which there is reaſon to think was not yet reſtored. But even ſuppoſing the other three, namely, of Worceſter, Hereford, and Leiceſter, were to be added, there could be but five. Erkenwald, biſhop of London, was the only biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons, and Hedda of the Weſt; Boſſa was biſhop of York, and Eata of Lindisfarn, and Quichelm, biſhop of Rocheſter, who ſucceeded Putta; ſo that as it does not appear that any of the Britiſh biſhops were preſent, there could not be more than nine or ten, including Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Vide Dr. Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. p. 106.

Cent. VII. inſtantly conſented to theſe doctrines, and publicly declared, that they agreed with the whole catholic church, and alſo expreſſed their firm belief in the trinity.*

Diviſions made in the large biſhoprics.

It was reſolved upon, either at the time of the above ſynod, or elſe ſhortly after, to make diviſions in the biſhoprics in the kingdoms of Northumberland and Mercia; in the former, the ſee of Lindisfarn was divided, and that of Hagulſtad erected, as we have before declared. Egfrid alſo erected a new ſee in the more northern parts of his dominion, the which he had gained by conqueſt from the Picts, ſo that at this time there were four biſhops in Northumberland; as Boſſa, biſhop of York, Eata, of Lindisfarn, Trumbert, of Hagulſtad, and Trumwin, of thoſe parts lately ſubject to the Picts. In Mercia, where there was only one ſee, which was Litchfield, Ethelred added Worceſter, Hereford, and Leiceſter;† beſides theſe, he alſo reſtored that of Sydnaceſter, which had been formerly founded by Oſweo, king of Northumberland, as has been ſaid before.

Wilfrid, the great inſtrument of the converſion of the South Saxons.

We may remember, that before the above council was called, Wilfrid, the abdicated biſhop of York, was committed to priſon; from whence he was releaſed by Egfrid, king of Northumberland, ſome time during the year 680. After his enlargement, he went into Mercia, and was entertained for a ſhort time by Berthwald, nephew to Ethelred; but he was ſoon after commanded to leave that court, for Ethelred not being willing to anger Egfrid, would not afford him any protection; from thence he went into Weſſex, where the ſame objections to his ſtay were made. Being thus harraſſed by the diſpleaſure of his prince, he at laſt ſought protection amongſt the South Saxons, who were as yet unconverted. Edelwalch, who at that time was king of Suſſex, received Wilfrid with great joy, and aſſiſted him in undertaking the converſion of his ſubjects. Previous to the coming of Wilfrid, Edelwalch had married a Chriſtian princeſs, named Ebba, through whoſe perſuaſion he had himſelf embraced the Chriſtian religion, and was baptized; ſo that a path was already opened for the propagation of the goſpel. Edelwalch being zealous in the cauſe of Chriſt, not only encouraged thoſe who were willing to receive his doctrine, but compelled many who were unwilling to be baptized, and profeſs it. The next ſtep that Edelwalch took to advance the Chriſtian religion amongſt his ſubjects, was, to found a biſhopric, and he planted the ſee thereof at his own capital city, at Seolſey,‡ and Wilfrid was conſtituted biſhop.§

During the ſtay of Wilfrid amongſt the South Saxons, Ceadwalla was baniſhed his country, and for ſome provocation made war upon Edel-

* Bede, lib iv. cap. 17.

† For the diſputes concerning this name, and whether Cheſter is not meant, vide Anglia Sacra, part I. page 427. & Inett's Church Hiſtory, vol. I. page iii, &c.

‡ Seolſey, a village in Suſſex.

§ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13. & Vita Wilfrid. per Edd. cap. 40.

walch,

walch, and ſlew him in battle. Shortly after, coming to the crown of Weſſex, he overcame the two noblemen who ſtill ſtrove to uphold their ſinking country; and in the year 685, made the South Saxons tributary to him. This prince gaining ſome acquaintance with Wilfrid, invited him to his court; which invitation the prelate accepted of, and was received by that king with every mark of reſpect and eſteem; ſo that he now employed his time between the South and Weſt Saxons.* Cent. VII. Suſſex made tributary to Ceadwalla.

Wilfrid now recovered a great deal of his former conſequence, and his zeal in the propagation of the goſpel, gained him much eſteem in the opinion of Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſo that about the year 687, he was reconciled to him, and alſo wrote a letter in his favour to Ethelred, king of the Mercians, and another to Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, who had ſucceeded his brother Egfrid, the old enemy of Wilfrid. Theſe commendations ſo effectually pleaded his cauſe with Alcfrid, that he was recalled; and on his arrival in Northumberland, Cuthbert, the favourite prelate of that age, being dead, his intereſt bore down all oppoſition, ſo that Boſſa, biſhop of York, and John, biſhop of Hagulſtad, were both driven from their biſhoprics, and Wilfrid, in the ſelf-ſame year, again reſtored to all his former glory, which he held better than four years; at the end of this time his haughty ſpirit broke forth again, and for ſome miſunderſtanding between him and Alcfrid, he was a ſecond time depoſed, and obliged to fly for his ſecurity into the kingdom of Mercia. Boſſa was now again reſtored to his ſeat at York, and John to his biſhopric at Hagulſtad. This change happened ſome time about the year 691.† Wilfrid reſtored to his ſee at York, and again expelled.

Wilfrid, after his ſecond expulſion, was graciouſly received by Ethelred, king of Mercia; and Sexulphus, biſhop of Litchfield and Leiceſter, dying at the time of his arrival, Hedda was made biſhop of Litchfield, and Wilfrid biſhop of Leiceſter. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in the north, Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, in the year 690, and the ſee of Canterbury continued vacant for the ſpace of two years, when Brithwald, an Engliſhman, was choſen to ſucceed him, in the month of July, A. D. 692, although he was not conſecrated until the latter end of June, the year following. This man had been abbot of Raculf, in Kent, and was well ſkilled in the holy ſcriptures, and acquainted with all the affairs of the church.‡ Wilfrid meets with a kind reception in Mercia.

By the zeal and good conduct of Theodore, the Engliſh churches were brought to ſome conſiſtency and union; the title and authority of metropolitan was fixed on the biſhops and ſee of Canterbury; great dioceſes were divided, and epiſcopal ſees ordained in proper places: beſides theſe ſalutary regulations, Theodore is ſaid with great fervency to have exhorted the well-diſpoſed people to build churches, towns, and villages; and in order to forward the ſame, began the diſtinction and ſettlement of pariſhes; he alſo obtained a grant of the kings of England, that the right The regulations made by Theodore.

* Eddii Vita Wilfridi, cap. 41.
† Ibid. cap. 42 & 44.
‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 9. & Vita Wilfridi, ut ſup.

Cent. VII. of patronage ſhould be veſted in thoſe by whoſe charitable donations churches were built.* By ſuch prudent means as theſe, at the latter end of this century, the light of the goſpel was diffuſed throughout all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, and Chriſtianity became the national religion; the church alſo began to incorporate with the ſtate, and the laws of princes took religion under their protection, and made proviſion for the honour and ſupport of the clergy.†

The Britons not perſuaded to quit their manner of keeping Eaſter.

The controverſies concerning the keeping of the feſtival of Eaſter, indeed, was diſputed upon to very little purpoſe during this century: for, though the Engliſh churches received the new cycle, the Scots of Ireland, the Picts, and the Britons, did ſtill adhere to their old calculation; therefore, towards the latter end of the century, Adhelm (then abbot of Malmſbury) was, by a ſynod of the Weſt Saxon church, appointed to write againſt them, and he obeyed the order of the ſynod, and managed the controverſy with ſuch ſucceſs, that many of the Britons, ſubjects of the kings of Weſſex, were prevailed upon to adopt the catholic Eaſter. Early in the beginning of the eighth century, this learned abbot, Adhelm, was made biſhop of Sherborn, which was at that time firſt founded.‡

Monaſteries, what they were.

Monaſteries were at this time the ſole nurſeries of learning, and therefore, whenever a new biſhopric was founded, a monaſtery was alſo uſually built, as well for the habitation, as the ſupport, of the biſhop. Theſe places were colleges of prieſts, diſtinguiſhed in after times by the name of ſecular canons, who were not bound to live a life of celibacy, but were permitted to marry, if they pleaſed; the ſame privilege was alſo granted to the monks and nuns: but the lewdneſs and irregularities which ſprung up in theſe monaſteries were ſoon after taken notice of, and juſt complaints made.

Cent. VIII. Early in the beginning of this century, the year 701, a ſynod was held at Oneſtrefield, or Oſterfield, to conſult upon the caſe of Wilfrid, and, as it ſeems, at the inſtigation of Alcfrid, king of Northumberland; but by what means Wilfrid had again offended that prince is not known. However, Berthwald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the greater part of the Engliſh biſhops who were then preſent, after a long debate, confirmed the ſentence of Theodore, the late archbiſhop, reſpecting the diviſion of the dioceſe of York; and alſo proceeded further, upon a general deprivation of whatever he, Wilfrid, held either in Mercia, or Northumberland: but this matter being again debated, a milder ſentence was the reſult; for they now agreed, that if Wilfrid would give over all his

Wilfrid diſgraced in a ſynod, and excommunicated.

* Vide Ed. Wheelock's Notes upon Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. page 399.

† Vide the firſt four laws of Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, as publiſhed by Lambard, or by Ed. Wheelock, in his edition of Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. and the interpretation given by Dr. Inett in his Hiſtory of the Engliſh Churches, vol. I. pag. 120, 121.

‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 19.

other

other pretenſions, he ſhould be permitted to retain the abbey of Rippon, Cent. VIII.
but that only on condition he would retire thither, and never ſtir beyond the bounds of that monaſtery without leave obtained of the king; nor ſhould he ever after pretend to exerciſe the offices of his epiſcopal function; and alſo, that he ſhould now, in the preſence of the council, give his conſent and ſubmiſſion to this ſentence under his own hand. Wilfrid, who was preſent at the council, in an angry manner enumerated the ſervices which he had done the church, and the injuſtice of ſuch a ſentence; he alſo declared, that Agatho, biſhop of Rome, had pronounced him innocent. To this he received for anſwer, that the council regarded not the decrees of the biſhop of Rome, but would be directed by thoſe which had been made by Theodore, their own archbiſhop. He then proceeded to threaten them that he would go to Rome, and vindicate his innocence; and declared, that he would juſtify his proceedings againſt any one of them before the biſhop there. This haughty anſwer was received in ſuch a heinous manner, that he was excommunicated by the council for appealing to Rome, and not granting the judgment of this court to be deciſive; and not only him, but all his followers and adherents were laid under the ſame predicament; and the ſentence was ſo very ſevere, that if any prieſt, or abbot, of Wilfrid's party, ſhould make the ſign of the croſs, to bleſs the meat of any Chriſtian people, it ſhould be eſteemed as meat offered to idols, and accordingly be thrown out of the doors to the dogs: and alſo, that all holy veſſels uſed by him, or any of his party, ſhould not be uſed again till they had been waſhed, as if defiled by ſuch touching. The council alſo affirmed, that their judgment in this ſynod was final, and not to be reverſed by any other authority whatever.*

Wilfrid goes to Rome.

After this harſh ſentence was pronounced, Wilfrid went into Mercia, and enquired of Ethelred, if he intended to execute the ſame upon him, and deprive him of the preferment which he held under him; and he received from that prince this favourable anſwer, That the decree of the council ſhould not be put in force in his dominions, until he ſhould be informed of the determinations of the biſhop of Rome.† Wilfrid, pleaſed with the regard which Ethelred diſcovered towards him, haſtened to Rome with all the diligence he could, and preſented a petition to John, then biſhop there, beſeeching him to uſe his endeavours to prevail upon Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, to permit him to enjoy his two monaſteries of Rippon and Hagulſtad. Mean while, the legates from the council arrived, and accuſed the prelate of diſobeying the decree of the metropolitan ſynod. John, and his council, having heard the accuſation and defence of Wilfrid, pronounced him innocent, and received him (though excommunicated by the Engliſh) into their communion. In, or near the year 704, Wilfrid was ſent back to Britain, with letters from John, biſhop of Rome, requeſting Egfrid, king of Northumberland,

* Eddii Vita Wilfridi, cap. 45. † Ejuſdem, cap. 46.

Cent. VIII. and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to call a council, and give the cauſe of Wilfrid another hearing, in order, if poſſible, to compromiſe the matter, and come to a friendly determination amongſt themſelves.*

Wilfrid returns to Britain.

Wilfrid being returned from Rome, went firſt to Berthwald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and prevailed ſo far upon him, that he dropped all his reſentment, and being reconciled to him, promiſed to uſe his endeavours to mitigate the ſentence of the ſynod. Pleaſed with this ſucceſs, the unfortunate prelate went from Kent to Mercia; but Ethelred, his patron, following the ſuperſtition of the times, had, juſt before his arrival, quitted his regal dignity, and taken the cowl in the monaſtery of Bradney; however, he received Wilfred favourably, and uſed his intereſt to procure him the favour of his ſucceſſor, Cenred.

The concluſion of Wilfrid's troubles.

In the year 705, Wilfrid, by the advice of Ethelred, ſent meſſages to Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, intreating that prince to permit him to come into his kingdom, that he might lay before him the letters which he had from Rome; but Alcfrid returned for anſwer, that he never would revoke what the ſynod had agreed upon as long as he lived, for what was called writings from the apoſtolic ſee. Badwin and Aldfrid, the two legates of Wilfrid, returned to him with this heavy news. But at the end of the ſame year, Alcfrid died of a languiſhing ſickneſs, and after his death, his ſon Ofred, a child of eight years old, being placed upon the throne, freſh application was made; and the miniſtry, who had the direction of the ſtate, being chiefly favourers of Wilfrid, the matter was at laſt compromiſed; and becauſe Boſa, biſhop of York, died about the ſame time, John, biſhop of Hagulſtad, was appointed to ſucceed him in that ſee; and Wilfrid was then placed in the biſhopric of Hagulſtad, and permitted beſides to enjoy his abbey of Rippon.†

The biſhopric of the Weſt Saxons divided.

The affair of Wilfrid being thus terminated, in the ſame year deceaſed Hedda, biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, and upon his death the dioceſe was divided; for Daniel was made biſhop of Wincheſter, and Adhelm biſhop of Sherborn. Beſides this, the biſhopric of Seolſey, in the kingdom of the South Saxons, and which, ever ſince the time that Wilfrid left it, had been under the adminiſtration of the Weſt Saxon biſhops, was now filled by Eadbert, late abbot of the ſame, and from this time continued a diſtinct biſhopric.‡

Pilgrimages in great vogue, and their abuſe.

About the year 709, died Wilfrid, biſhop of Hagulſtad, at Owndle, in Northamptonſhire, being at that time near, if not full eighty years of age, and was buried with great pomp at Rippon, in Yorkſhire.§ About the ſame time the making pilgrimages to Rome, and other places, famous by the death of the ſaints and martyrs, came into faſhion; nor were theſe fantaſtical journies confined to the men alone, the nuns and other female devotees partook of the ſame zeal. However good the primitive intention of pilgrimages may have been, it is certain, that they

* Ejuſdem, cap. 53. & infra.
† Ibid.
‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 19.
§ Eddii Vita Wilfridi, cap. 60.

were in the end productive of the greateſt evils; for, amongſt the crouds of Engliſh that were conſtantly upon their travels, ſuch ſcenes of lewdneſs and debauchery were carried on, as ought to have ſhocked a feeling mind, poſſeſſed of the ſmalleſt ſhare of Chriſtianity.* This cuſtom, which probably firſt began amongſt the monks and profeſſors of religion, diffuſed itſelf amongſt the laity, and at laſt extended to the chief people of the ſtate, ſo that we frequently find the kings and nobles engaged in the ſame ridiculous travels.† Cent. VIII.

The Britons will not obey the uſages of the Roman church.

Notwithſtanding the writings of Adhelm, the biſhop of Sherborn, and the earneſt endeavours of others of the clergy, who were zealous in the cauſe of religion, the Britons yet continued to practiſe their ancient rites, and were as warm as ever in their oppoſition to the uſages of the catholic Chriſtians. In this poſture ſtood the affairs of the Engliſh church at the death of Berthwald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who departed this life in the very beginning of the year 731, and was ſucceeded by Tatwin, a man of great wiſdom and learning; he was conſecrated at Canterbury, on Sunday the 10th of June, the ſelf-ſame year, by four biſhops, namely, Daniel, biſhop of Wincheſter, Inguald, biſhop of London, Aldwin, biſhop of Litchfield, and Aldulf, biſhop of Rocheſter; and without making any application to Rome for the pall, he entered immediately upon the diſcharge of his religious function.‡

The ſtate of the Engliſh church, A. D. 731.

The ſtate of the Engliſh church in the year 731, was as follows:—— Throughout the whole heptarchy there were about ſeventeen biſhoprics, under the government of one metropolitan, the archbiſhop of Canterbury. In the kingdom of Kent there were two biſhoprics, that of Canterbury, and that of Rocheſter; Tatwin poſſeſſed the former, and the latter was in the hands of Aldulf. In the kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons there was only one ſee, which was London, and Inguald was at that time in poſſeſſion of the ſame. There were two biſhoprics in the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, the firſt ſee at Dunmock, of which Eadbert was biſhop; and the other at Helman, which ſeat was filled by Hadulacus. The kingdom of the Weſt Saxons had alſo two ſees, the firſt Wincheſter, of which Daniel was biſhop; the latter Sherborn, which was held by Frothere. The kingdom of the South Saxons was all under the dioceſe of Seolſey, which ſeat was at this time vacant, and the whole of that nation under the government of the Weſt Saxon biſhops. Mercia, the largeſt kingdom of the heptarchy, contained five epiſcopal ſees, as Litchfield and Leiceſter, both at this time under the government of biſhop Aldwin; Sydnaceſter, (or Lindeſey) over which Cymbert preſided; Worceſter, whoſe biſhop was the younger Winfrid; and Hereford, which ſeat was poſſeſſed by Walſtod. In Northumberland there were four ſees, as that of York, poſſeſſed by Wilfrid the Second; Lindisfarn, held by Edilwald; Hagulſtad, where Acca, who had ſucceeded Wil-

* Baron. Annal. an. 709. Epiſt. Bonifacii Concil. Brit. vol. I. p. 241.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 20.

‡ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 24.

Cent. VIII. frid, now preſided; and Candida, Caſa, or Withern, which ſee was held by Pectelmus.*

The love of a monaſtic life, and its bad effects.

The zealous love of a monaſtic life, which in the former century began to prevail, grew into great exceſs in the preſent; ſo that their prodigious increaſe, as well as the abuſe of thoſe ſocieties, was but too juſtly complained of by the cotemporary writers, and called aloud for redreſs:† for this mad error ſo far infatuated the minds of the people in general, that the monks increaſed daily; kings and noblemen, queens, princeſſes, and others of high rank and eſteem, followed this ſuperſtitious faſhion; and from being uſeful to the community in general, retired from the world, and often left the people to diſtreſs and miſery, whom they ought to have protected. It has been remarked, that in the ſpace of about two hundred and twenty years, thirty of the Engliſh Saxon kings and queens reſigned their dignity, and buried themſelves in uſeleſs retirement; to theſe may be added an innumerable body of noblemen, ſoldiers, and others of a lower rank.‡

The ſee of York made an archbiſhopric.

From the union of the Britiſh churches, under Theodore, to the year 736, all that part of Britain poſſeſſed by the Saxons was but one province, and had no other metropolitan than the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but at, or near this time, the province of Canterbury was divided, and a new metropolitan ſee ſet up at York, to which belonged all the biſhoprics within the kingdom of Northumberland; and Egbert, a deſcendant of the blood royal of that kingdom, was made firſt archbiſhop there.§ In the mean time, Tatwin being dead, he was ſucceeded by Nothelmus, in the ſee of Canterbury. Nothelmus alſo died about the year 740, and he again was ſucceeded by Cuthbert, biſhop of Hereford, a pious and learned prelate.

The council of Cloveſhoe.

In the year 747, a council, or provincial ſynod, was held at Cloveſhoe, in which the Engliſh clergy aſſerted their own right, and diſclaimed dependence on any foreign biſhop; yet they appointed, that in the obſervance of feſtivals, the canonical hours of prayers, and the litanies and rogations, the uſage of the church of Rome ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved; they ordained, that the clergy ſhould be obliged to learn the creed, and Lord's prayer, in the Engliſh tongue, and teach them to the people; and that they ſhould be able to explain, in the mother tongue, the offices of baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper; and to be conſtant in their attendance on the communion of the body and blood of Chriſt, and to ſtudy the holy ſcriptures with diligence; if they had no knowledge of the Latin, they were required to learn ſome particular offices in the Engliſh tongue. This council conſiſted of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and eleven ſuffragan biſhops; theſe were Dunnus, biſhop of Rocheſter,

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 24.
† Bede Epiſt. ad Egbert.
‡ Præfat. ad Monaſt. Ang. vol. I.
§ Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, cap. 11.

Totta, biſhop of Leiceſter, Witta, biſhop of Litchfield, Podda, biſhop of Hereford, Milred, biſhop of Worceſter, Alwight, biſhop of Lindeſey, Hunferdus, biſhop of Wincheſter, Hirwald, biſhop of Sherborn, Heardulf, biſhop of Dunmock, Egwulf, biſhop of London, and Siega, biſhop of Seolſey: Ethelwald, king of the Mercians, with many of his nobles, and a vaſt body of inferior clergy were alſo preſent on this important occaſion.* Cent. VIII.

Towards the latter end of this century a diſpute was began about the legality of placing images in churches, which occaſioned a great deal of confuſion upon the continent: however, at laſt, the diſputants in favour of them got the better of their antagoniſts, and they were permitted to hold their place and authority. Cuthbert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died in the year 758, and was ſucceeded by Bregwin the year following, who held the ſee for three years, and then deceaſed; he was ſucceeded by Lambertus. In the year 766, Egbert, the firſt archbiſhop of York, departed this life, with the reputation of a great ſcholar, and of a wiſe and uſeful prelate. During all this ſpace, and for ſome time afterwards, no material change happened in the government of the Engliſh church.† Diſpute concerning images.

About the year 785, Offa, the victorious king of Mercia, formed the reſolution of making the Mercian church independent of the ſee of Canterbury; ſo that this year, as it is thought, he obliged Jambertus, at the council of Calcuith, to conſent to the diviſion of the dioceſe, and forbade the biſhops within his kingdom to yield any further obedience to their former metropolitan. Litchfield being then the chief city, and metropolis of Mercia, he cauſed the archbiſhopric to be there placed, and obtained the pall for the prelate from pope Adrian. After this, Offa over-ran the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and made it tributary to Mercia; this, as well as the whole kingdom of Mercia, he laid into the new province of Litchfield; by which change the biſhops of Hereford, Worceſter, Leiceſter, Sydnaceſter, Helmanſted, and Dunmock, became the ſuffragans to the new archbiſhop of Litchfield. Higbert was choſen firſt archbiſhop, but he dying before the pall came from Rome, Adulf, the ſame year, ſucceeded him, and received the pall with the new honours.‡ Biſhopric of Litchfield made a metropolitan ſee.

No ſooner had the doctrine of image worſhip gained ground, than another kind of adoration followed, which was equally as pernicious as the former; namely, the eſteem which prevailed for the reliques of ſaints:§ and this fooliſh devotion ſpread apace, ſo that the hiſtories were ſoon filled with ſtrange and miraculous diſcoveries of the bones of martyrs, and holy men; but all of them big with abſurdity, and the groſſeſt ſuperſtition. The honour of theſe diſcoveries are chiefly attributed to the monks, who, notwithſtanding all their pretended zeal and ſanctity, were Superſtition concerning the reliques of ſaints.

* Council. Brit. vol. I.
† Vide Inett, cap. 12.
‡ Angl. Sac. part i. fol. 429.
§ Inett, chap xiii.

never

Cent. VIII. never backward in broaching the moſt impudent falſities, if they could thereby add a conſequence to their monaſtery, or enrich themſelves: nor is this ſo much to be wondered at, if we conſider the taſte of the times, when the whole world was gadding on religious pilgrimages to places where the moſt curious reliques were depoſited, or the moſt memorable miracles had been performed. When this ſuperſtition firſt took place, there were many monaſteries, by whoſe doors whole crouds would neglectfully paſs, becauſe they contained nothing that was miraculous. To give a conſequence to ſuch ſlighted places, wonders were ſoon told out, and glorious reliques diſcovered; by this means the croud would ſtop there, and by this means the holy brethren were enriched, for theſe votaries ſeldom came empty handed; ſo that in a little time there were no monaſteries without their ſaints and miracles. Thus alſo martyrs have been divided, and twenty different bodies of one ſaint enſhrined at as many different places. It is but too plain that the churches of England had a great ſhare in this abominable practice.*

The abbey of St. Alban's firſt founded.

About the year 793, king Offa pretended, that an angel had in a viſion diſcovered to him where the body of St. Alban was depoſited; and with great devotion the remains of a dead body were taken up at Verulam, and ſaid to be the bones of that holy man; theſe were carefully depoſited in a ſhrine of gold, enriched with pearl; alſo, to perpetuate the memory of this adventure, Offa, by the advice of his council, began to build a monaſtery, which he dedicated to that ſaint, at Verulam, where the bones were found, which then loſt its former name, and is known to this day by that of St. Albans. This done, he went to Rome, and obtained from pope Adrian a confirmation of the privileges which he had granted to this new ſtructure.†

Prayers and maſſes performed in honour of the dead.

It is certain, that towards the end of this century the clergy began to offer up public prayers for the ſpirits of deceaſed perſons; and at the council of Calcuith, holden about the year 816, it was carried ſo far, as to require, that upon the death of a biſhop, a tenth part of his wealth ſhould be given to the poor; and that upon notice of his death, in every pariſh the congregation ſhould reſort to church, and ſing thirty pſalms for his ſoul; and that every biſhop and abbot ſhould ſing ſix hundred pſalms, and one hundred and twenty maſſes, manumiſe three ſlaves, give three ſhillings in alms, and faſt thirty days. But all this was only meant as an honour paid to the deceaſed, if he had been a good man; for ſuch ceremonies were never performed over the bodies of the wicked or prophane: nor did they at this time give the leaſt intimation of their belief in a purgatory, although it is true, by ſuch very means the door to that belief might be ſet open.‡

* Vide Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, vol. I. chap. xiv.

† Mat. Paris in Vita Offæ.

‡ Dr. Inett's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, chap. xv.

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This was the poſture of the Engliſh church when Offa died, A. D. 796, and his deceaſe gave a turn to the affairs of the church, as well as of the ſtate of Mercia; but, it is true, this total change was not immediately effected. Not long after the death of Offa, the archbiſhopric which he had erected at Litchfield, returned again to Canterbury, where it remained. From the preſent time, to the end of this century, no further material alteration was made; but the revolutions which took place in the beginning of the next, in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, muſt of courſe afford a conſiderable change in the church affairs throughout the whole poſſeſſions of the Saxons in Britain.

Concluſion of the eighth century.

END OF THE THIRD PART OF THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

CHRONICLE

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CARNONACÆ
SILVA CALEDONIA
VACOMAGI
ZEXALI
Dee R.
Firth of Tay
Tain R.
Firth of Forth
Tweed R.
VENICONTES
DAMNII
OTODINI
GADENI
NOVANTÆ
SELGOVÆ
Solway Firth
BRIGANTES
PARISI
Humber R.
CORITANI
CORNAVII
Yare R.
ICENI
Huicii
SILVRES
DEMETÆ
St. Davids
ANCALITES
ATRIBATII
BIBROCI
CATTIEUELANNI
TRINOBANTES
Thames R.
CANTII
REGNI
BELGÆ
DOBUNI
Hartland Pt.
Ostidamii
DUROTRIGES
DANMONII
Cassitni
Cape Cornwall
I. of Wight
GALLIA
HIBERNIÆ PARS
I. of Man
I. of Anglesea
ORDOVICES
EPIDII
Orcades Insulæ or the Hebrides

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART IV.

A DISSERTATION ON THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, MANNERS, HABITS, ETC. OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR, A. A. C. 55, TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS, A.D. 449.

CHAP. I.

Names of the ſeveral Britiſh Nations, and where they were ſituated.

The firſt inhabitants of Britain, their character.

ALL the beſt authors have now agreed, that the firſt inhabitants of Britain were a tribe of the Celtæ, or Gauls; their language was nearly the ſame; their manners, government, and religion, alſo agree; or, at leaſt, were only varied in ſuch ſort as time, and a communication with other nations, muſt produce.

The picture which has been generally handed down to us of the Britons, is by far too rudely drawn. The Greek and Roman navigators, or merchants, who trafficked with the Britons, carried home the moſt ſhocking accounts of their ferocity, in order to advance their own fame, and excite the admiration of their countrymen. From theſe exaggerated reports, the ancient hiſtory of this people was penned, ſo that we ought not to be aſtoniſhed when we find a great part of them much more civilized than we expected.

Reaſon of ſome miſtakes.

Again, ſufficient reaſon may be given why many of our own authors have run into conſtant miſtakes on this head; for they have unadviſedly confuſed the accounts of the Britons found in various authors, without attending to the different times in which thoſe authors wrote, or in what part of Britain the people they have deſcribed might inhabit.

Even in the days of Julius Cæſar, the ſouth-eaſt parts of Britain had made the firſt, and moſt requiſite ſtep towards a civil ſettlement; and by tillage and agriculture, provided themſelves with every requiſite neceſſary for the enjoyment of life: mean while, the inland inhabitants were not ſo poliſhed, but wandered about from place to place, ſupporting themſelves by paſturage; and the northern Britons, natives of the wilds of Calidonia, for a long time afterwards were but in a ſtate of nature, and entirely unacquainted with the refinements which had taken place in the other parts of the iſland.

The nations inhabiting Britain.

The different nations who inhabited Britain, and their ſituations, as deſcribed by our beſt antiquaries, are as follow:

The Danmonii; this people poſſeſſed the ſouth-weſt part of Britain, and occupied thoſe countries now called Cornwall and Devonſhire; ſome other Britiſh tribes were alſo ſeated within theſe limits, as the Coſſini and Oſtidamii, which were particular clans of the Danmonii, and, as ſome think, the keepers of their flocks and herds.†

The Durotriges were ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the Danmonii, and inhabited the county of Dorſetſhire.‡

The Belgæ, ſeated to the eaſt of the Durotriges, poſſeſſed the counties of Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and Somerſetſhire. When Cæſar invaded Britain, part of this country was inhabited by the Segontiaci; but this people being after ſubdued, they were incorporated with the Belgæ.§

The Bibroci were ſituated on the north-eaſt ſide of the Belgæ, and inhabited part of that county now named Berkſhire.‖

The Attrebatii were ſeated next to the Bibroci, inhabiting part of Berkſhire, and part of Oxfordſhire.**

The Ancalites were ſituated near to the Attrebatii, and they are thought to have been only the ſhepherds belonging to that nation. The Ancalites inhabited thoſe parts of Oxfordſhire and Buckinghamſhire as were moſt fit for paſturage.††

The Regni were ſeated in the counties of Surrey and Suſſex.‡‡

The Cantii were next to the Regni; theſe poſſeſſed the country from them called Cantium, and now Kent.§§

The Trinobantes lay next to the Cantii; theſe inhabited the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex, and ſome part of Surrey.‖‖

The Cattivellauni poſſeſſed the counties of Hertford, Bedford, and Bucks. The name of this people is written ſeveral different ways; ſometimes they are called Catti, Caſſii, Catticuclani, Cattidudani, and Catticludane.*

† Baxter's Gloſſ. p. 190, & Camden's Brit.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. & Muſgrave's Belg. Brit. p. 42.
‖ Camden & Baxter, p. 40.
** Baxter, p. 27.
†† Ibid. p. 114.
‡‡ Camd. Brit.
§§ Ibid.
‖‖ Ibid. & Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 230.
* Camd. Brit.

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The Dobuni lay to the weſt of the Cattivellauni; they poſſeſſed Glouceſterſhire, and part of Oxfordſhire.

The Iceni were ſeated to the north of the Trinobantes, and inhabited the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.*

The Coritani, or Coriceni, poſſeſſed the counties now known by the names of Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbyſhire.†

The Cornavii inhabited Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire. Beſides the Cornavii, there was another tribe, or nation, of the Britons, ſeated in the above-mentioned counties; theſe were called the Wigantes, or Huicii.‡

The Silures; beſides the two Engliſh counties of Hereford and Monmouth, this people poſſeſſed Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, and Glamorganſhire, in South Wales.§

The Demetæ poſſeſſed the remaining part of South Wales, now divided into Caermarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, and Cardiganſhire.‖

The Ordovices were next to the Demetæ, and were ſituated in the counties of Montgomery, Merioneth, Caernarvon, Denbigh, and Flint, all in North Wales.**

The Pariſi are thought to have poſſeſſed the whole Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire.††

The Brigantes poſſeſſed almoſt all Yorkſhire, alſo the counties of Durham, Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland.‡‡

Before we go further into the north, it may be neceſſary to take notice of the Cangi, and the Attacotti, becauſe our antiquaries have been at a loſs to determine their real ſituation.

The Cangi are ſometimes called the Ceangi, or Cangani; and the moſt probable conjecture concerning them, is, that "they were not a diſtinct nation, ſeated in one particular place, but ſuch of the youth of many different nations, as were employed in feeding the flocks and herds of the reſpective tribes."§§

The Attacotti were probably ſome ancient northern nation,‖‖ becauſe they are repreſented as a very barbarous people, and joining with the Scots and Picts to forward the deſtruction of the ſouthern parts of Britain.***

The Otodini were ſeated in the counties now called Northumberland, Merſe, and Lothains.†††

* Camd. Brit.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid. & Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 88, 89, & 90.
§ Camd. Brit.
‖ Ibid
** Ibid.
†† Ibid.
‡‡ Ibid.
§§ Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 73, 74, 75, & 76.
‖‖ Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. page 183.
*** Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii. Hieronym. lib. ii. contra Jovianum.
††† Camd. Brit.

The Gadeni were ſeated to the north-weſt of the Otodini, and inhabited the mountainous parts of Northumberland and Tiviotdale.*

The Selgovæ, ſeated to the weſt of the Gadeni, in the counties of Eſkdale, Annandale, and Nithſdale.†

The Novantæ inhabited the counties of Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham.‡

The Damnii lay further to the north, and the inhabitants were ſeated in the counties of Clydeſdale, Renfrew, Lenox, and Stirlingſhire.§

Theſe laſt five nations poſſeſſed the large tract of land between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius; they are ſometimes called by the ancient writers, as well Greek as Roman, by the general name of Maæatæ.

Thoſe which follow, are the nations to the north beyond the wall of Antoninus Pius.

The Epidii, or Pepidii, the ancient inhabitants of the peninſula of Cantire, and of ſome of the adjacent iſlands, as alſo part of Argyleſhire and Lorn.‖

The Cerones, thought to be the inhabitants of Lochabar, and part of Roſſe.**

The Carnonacæ poſſeſſed that part of Roſſe, called Aſſenſhire.††

The Carini, the inhabitants of Lochbey.‡‡

The Cornabii inhabited the moſt northern parts of Britain, called Strathnavern.§§

The Mertæ were ſeated ſomewhere about the north-weſt parts of Sutherland.‖‖

The Logi ſeem to have poſſeſſed the ſea-coaſt of Sutherland.**

The Cantæ, perhaps ſeated on the north ſide of the Tayne firth.†††

The Caledonii appear to have inhabited a very extenſive tract of country, reaching from Lochfern on the weſt, to the firth of Tayne on the eaſt, including Badenoch, Braidalbain, the inland parts of the ſhires of Murray, Bamf, Aberdeen, and Perth.‡‡‡

The ancient writers call all the northern nations, beyond the wall of Antoninus Pius, by the general name of the Caledonii; becauſe, perhaps, this tribe was by far the biggeſt, and the moſt powerful.

The Zexali inhabited the ſea-coaſts of Aberdeenſhire.§§§

* Baxt. Gloſſ. p. 126.
† Ibid. 215.
‡ Camd. Brit.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ibid.
** Horſ. Brit. Rom. p. 368.
†† Ibid. 366. & Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol, I.
‡‡ Ibid. Ibid.
§§ Camd. Brit.
‖‖ Horſby, Brit. Rom. p. 372. & Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I.
** Ibid. Ibid.
††† Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. p. 65.
‡‡‡ Dr. Henry, ut ſup.
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The Vacomagi probably poſſeſſed part of Murray, Athol, Mearns, and Angus.*

The Horeſti moſt likely was a bordering nation, afterwards incorporated with the Vacomagi.†

The Venicontes were the ancient inhabitants of Fife.‡

CHAP. II.

Conſtitution, Government, and Laws of the Britons.

Britain originally a monarchical government, and the power of the kings.

IT is univerſally agreed upon, that Britain was under a monarchical government at the time of the Roman invaſion, and moſt likely had been ſo for a long time before. The kingdom was divided (as we have ſeen) into many ſmall nations, or tribes, every one of which had at leaſt one king, and often more. The extent of the power which each of theſe monarchs might poſſeſs in their ſeveral diſtricts, cannot at preſent be inveſtigated, but it is very certain that it was not unlimited; for the common people of Britain ſeem to have enjoyed more liberty than thoſe of Gaul,§ and having once a taſte of freedom, it could be no eaſy taſk to impoſe the yoke of deſpotiſm upon them; eſpecially when we conſider that they were a people inured to war, and ſought not the refinements of a luxurious or idle life. Beſides, another conſiderable check upon the power of the prince, was, the great authority of the druids; who not only officiated as the miniſters of the gods, in caſes of religion, but claimed a great ſhare alſo in the civil government. The power of raiſing forces for the proſecution of wars, it is true, ſeems to have been inveſted in the king; but at the ſame time, it does not appear that they declared a war, or undertook any great expedition, without previouſly conſulting their nobles, and the druids alſo: nor were the reſolutions of the chiefs in ſuch councils always conformable to the will of the ſovereign; on the contrary, ſometimes they appear to have carried the point againſt his declared opinion.‖ If then, when war and danger called for the aſſiſtance of their monarch, his power was ſo limited, we may juſtly conclude, that it was circumſcribed by ſtraiter bounds in time of peace, when there was no diſturbance to demand his protection. The

* Dr. Henry, ut ſup.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Dion. Caſſius, lib. lxxv.
‖ Agreeable to this, is the excuſe which Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a people of Gaul, made to Cæſar for having aſſaulted his camp, which he declared was not done by his order or conſent, but by the compulſion of the ſtate: for ſuch was the nature of his government, that the people had as much power over him as he had over his people. Cæſar's Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 23.

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Britiſh kings of ſome nations are thought to have been more powerful and abſolute than others; thoſe in the north, and more uncultivated parts of Britain, were the princes who poſſeſſed the leaſt authority.

A general choſen from their kings, and when.

All thoſe tribes above-mentioned, with their monarchs, were quite independent of each other, and, incited by jealouſy or ambition, continually warring upon one another's territories: to this reſtleſs and jealous temper they owed their final ruin; for though (as their cuſtom was when any foreign danger threatened the general ſtate) they had upon Cæſar's arrival choſen a chief over them all,* yet ſo prevalent were their animoſities, that even the impending ruin which hung over the iſland could not keep them together in unanimity. This general, choſen from their monarchs on theſe important occaſions, only enjoyed his authority, at beſt, as long as the danger which they were fearful of continued to threaten the ſtate: ſo that there was no ſupremacy amongſt them. It is true, indeed, that ſometimes a prince might by marriage, or the fortune of war, obtain the dominion of two or more of theſe little kingdoms, yet after his death they were preſently divided amongſt his children. The rules of ſucceſſion were not always ſtrictly adhered to, but when a king died, and left a ſon old enough, and able to take the government upon him, he ſucceeded of courſe; but the father might diſinherit his children, if he was ſo inclined.† When a monarch died without any male iſſue, his wife or daughter ſucceeded him in the kingdom.‡ If he left two ſons, his poſſeſſions were generally divided betwixt them.§

The revenues of the Britiſh kings.

The revenues of the Britiſh kings are not ſo well known, or the ſources from whence they were derived: the king, without doubt, poſſeſſed the greateſt eſtate of any in his dominion; but beſides this, it is highly probable, that he might have the profits of certain lands, for the ſupport of his dignity, and maintainance of his followers. For carrying on the public buſineſs, taxes were levied upon the ſubjects, and every one obliged to pay his ſhare, the druids excepted, on whom no burthenſome impoſition could be laid;‖ and the Britons, all of them, contributed chearfully to theſe payments, ſo they were not too exorbitant and diſtreſſing.** What greatly contributed to the enriching of a king, was, the ſhare which he had in the ſpoils of war: and theſe chiefly conſiſted of rings and chains of gold, with great variety of maſſy ornaments of the ſame metal.††

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. & vide Tacitus, Vita Agricola.

† Thus Cunobellinus diſinherited and baniſhed his ſon Admimus. See page 12.

‡ This is plain from the caſes of Cartiſmandua and Boudicea. See the Chronicle, part I.

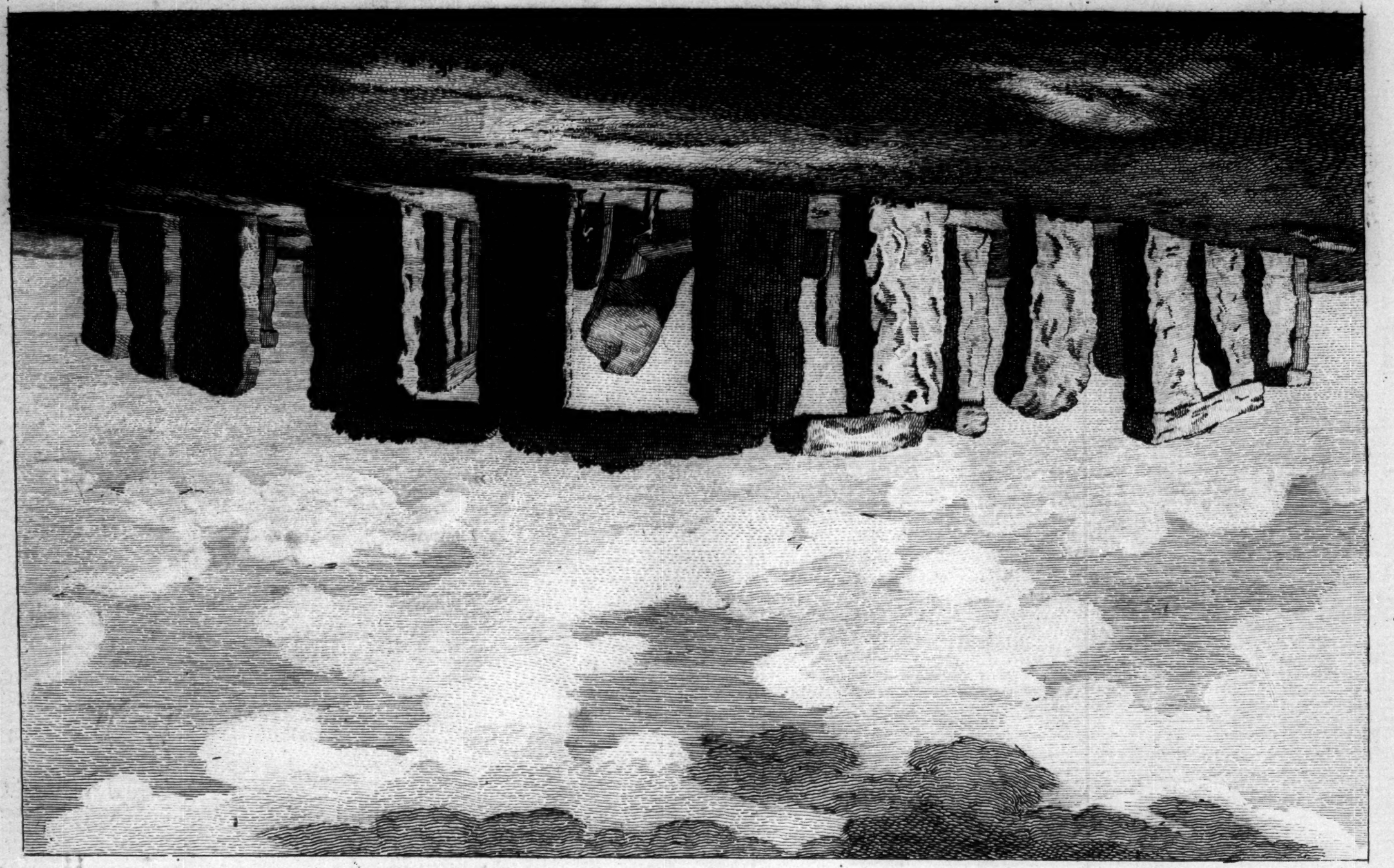
§ After the death of Cunobolin, his dominions were divided between his two ſons, &c. Vide page 13.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

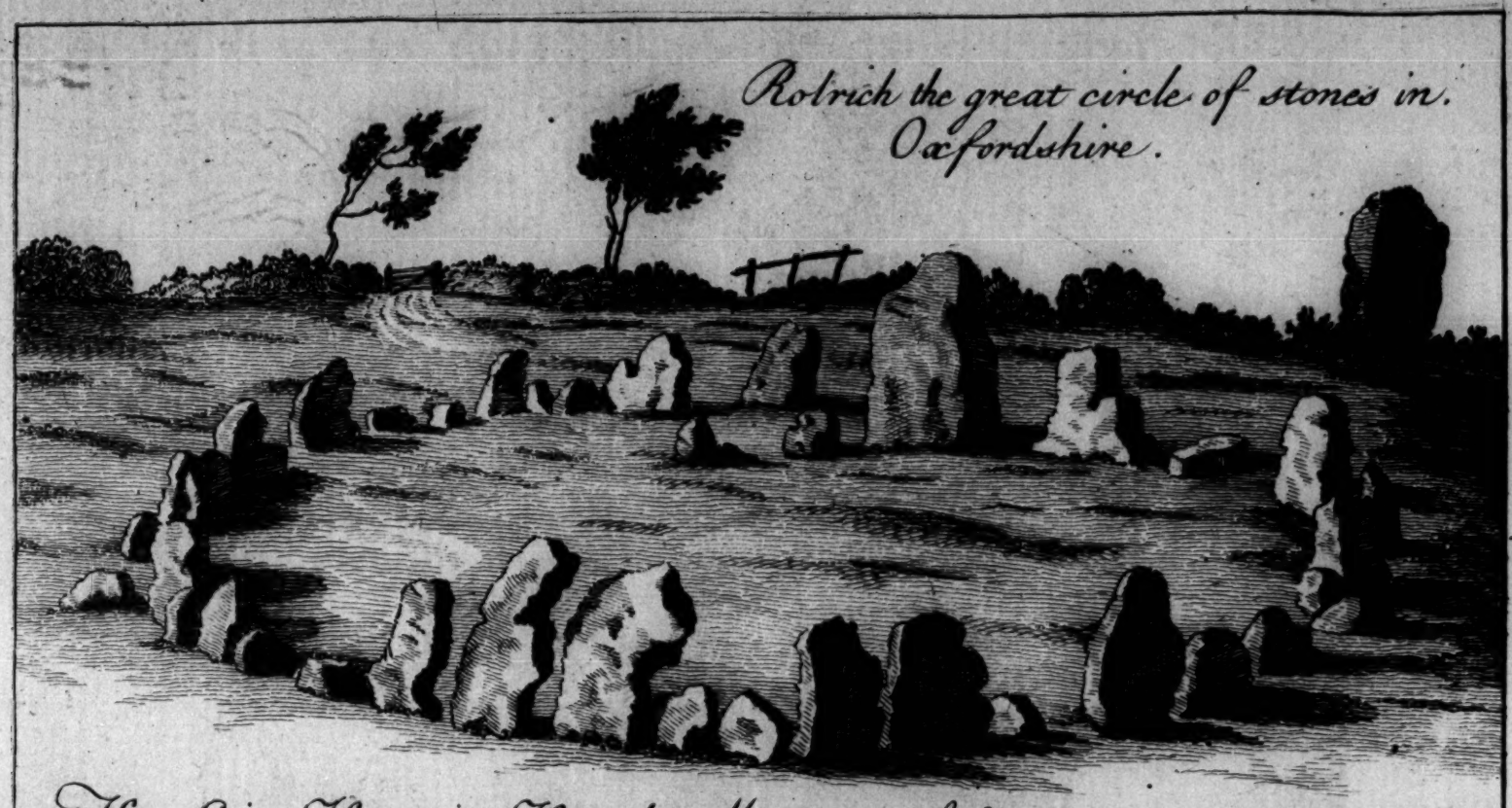
** Tacit. Vita Agric.

†† When Caractacus was carried before the emperor Claudius, the rings of gold, and other ornaments, which he had won from the neighbouring ſtates, were publicly expoſed. Vide page 18. And the riches of a Britiſh king are deſcribed by that ſame unfortunate monarch, in his famous ſpeech to Claudius. Ibid.

II



Rolrich the great circle of stones in.
Oxfordshire.

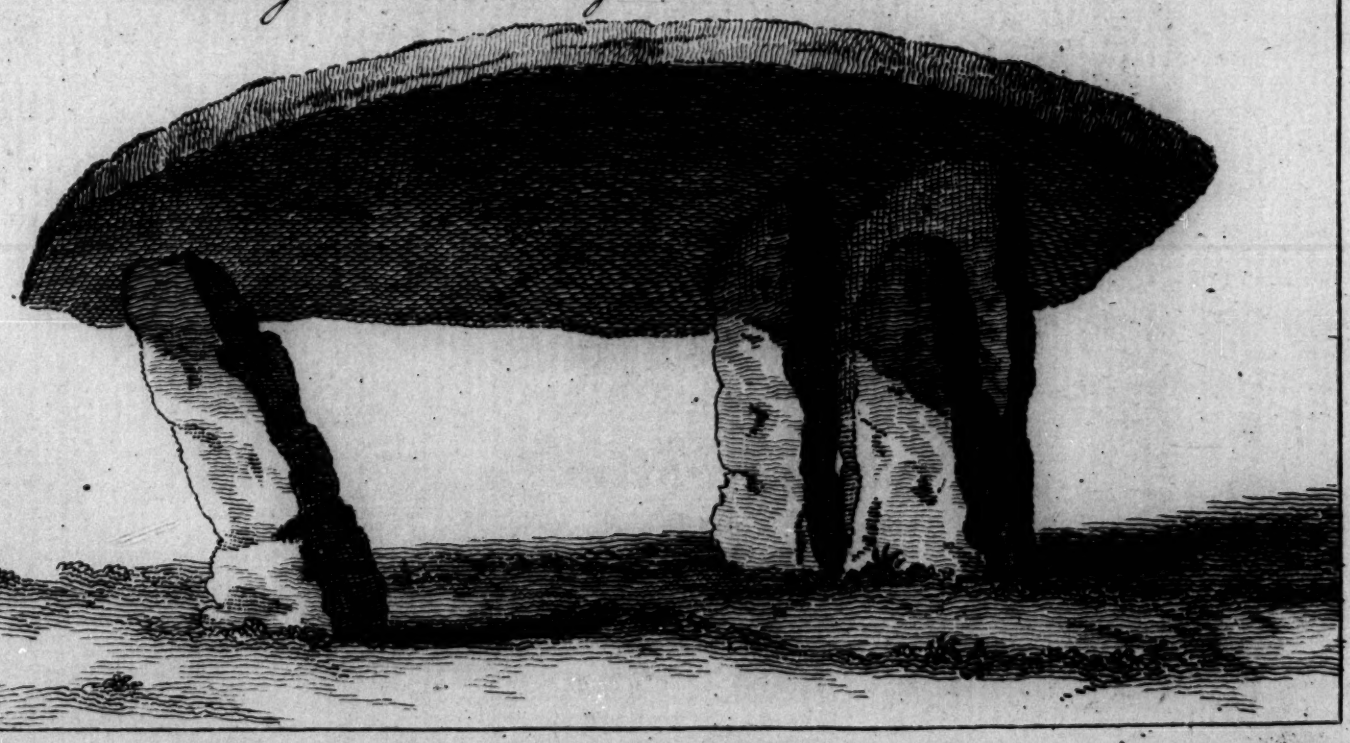


Kets Coity House in Kent the Monument of Catigern.

A. Ruind Cromlech
near Rolrich.



The large Cromlech at Layon in Cornwall.



The druids the only law-givers amongſt the Britons.

The kings of the Britons had no ſhare in the legiſlative part of the government; the druids poſſeſſed the ſole authority of making, explaining, and executing the laws: for they taught, that the laws were not to be conſidered as the decrees of princes, but the commands of their gods; therefore, the violation of the law could not be puniſhed as a crime againſt their king, or ſtate, but againſt Heaven; for this cauſe, when criminals were put to death, they were ſacrificed to the gods, and not to the juſtice of their country.* The druids had moſt likely a complete ſyſtem of laws; but as they were never committed to writing, and were only known in their full extent by thoſe prieſts themſelves, we have but very ſlender tracings of them remaining.

The druids the executors of juſtice.

In the adminiſtration of juſtice, the druids never required the aſſiſtance of the ſecular power; they executed all their ſentences by their own authority, whether they were to inflict ſtripes, or even take away the life of the offender. Their authority they ſupported by the fear of excommunication, which was inflicted on any who refuſed quietly to ſubmit to their judgments. Their courts of judicature they held in the open air, in places appointed for that purpoſe; and it is thought that there was one of theſe courts at leaſt in every ſtate.†

The grand meeting of the druids.

Such was the power of the druids; but it ſeems that delinquents might appeal to judgment of the arch-druid in any caſe which was difficult to be determined in the provincial courts: thus, once every year a general meeting was held at ſome appointed place, where the provincial druids did attend, and the proceedings of the year were examined and diſcuſſed before the arch-druid, who then pronounced the final ſentence.‡ In what part of Britain this grand aſſembly was held, cannot eaſily be aſcertained; but when any one ſhall behold the ancient ſtupendous ſtructure which yet remains upon Saliſbury Plains, called Stone Henge, he will inſtantly conclude that it was erected for ſome important purpoſe; and for what more likely than for this, built, as it is, upon an extenſive plain, where the ſurrounding multitude might eaſily be aſſembled together, and left open all around, that the judges might be ſeen by every one? If we grant this, then the leſſer circles of ſtones which abound in this kingdom may have been the places appointed for the provincial courts; ſuch an one, without doubt, was the circle of ſtones, now called Rolrich, in Oxfordſhire.§

Laws concerning marriage.

But to return:—The laws of marriage amongſt the Britons certainly were, that no man ſhould have more than one wife, or any woman more than one huſband;‖ yet it is ſaid, that their women were not ſo chaſte

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. l. v. Strabo, lib. iv. † Cæſ. ut ſup. ‡ Ibid.

§ That the reader may have the better idea of theſe ancient remains, we have ſubjoined two plates; the one repreſenting Stone Henge, and the other Rolrich. The reader is alſo referred to the firſt volume of the Hoɒa Anȝel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants of England, page 13, where he will find this opinion ſtill more fully explained.

‖ This may be proved by the ſtory of Cartiſmandua, who brought herſelf into great diſgrace for violating her marriage-bed. Vide Tacit. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 9.

and

and ſcrupulous as they ought to be, for one of them would frequently cohabit with ten or twelve men, eſpecially if they were near relations to each other.* Huſbands and fathers had abſolute authority over the perſons of their wives and children, and might put them to death if they thought they deſerved it.† They alſo, doubtleſs, had particular laws for the ſucceſſion of their children, though at the preſent time they are not to be diſcovered.

Various laws.

Their penal laws, as well as the laws for the preſervation of their property, are not known; but in reſpect to the latter, as cattle were their chief wealth, no doubt ſevere puniſhments were inflicted on ſuch as ſtole, or hurt them. Their law of evidence is equally uncertain; oaths were common amongſt them, but they were of different forms, according to the different ſtates, the people of every nation having a method of taking an oath, peculiar to themſelves. In caſes of ſuſpicion, where proof could not be obtained, torture was uſed to make the delinquents confeſs their guilt.‡

Uncertain whether ordeals were amongſt the Britons.

Though we have no mention made of ordeals amongſt the druids, yet the appealing to Heaven for evidence was ſo very common with all nations, that we cannot but ſuppoſe the druids, who were for promoting every kind of ſuperſtition, and advancing every thing that could confirm their own authority, made uſe of ſuch applications to their deities, though their form and the manner of them is not to be diſcovered at preſent.

CHAP. III.

The Changes in the Britiſh Government occaſioned by the Romans.

No alteration in the government till the time of Claudius.

THE two expeditions of Julius Cæſar produced no change in the Britiſh ſtate, or government, which remained in its original form all over the iſland until the conqueſts of Claudius. The Romans

* Thus Cæſar reports, and his account is confirmed by an anecdote related by Dion Caſſius; but a modern author ſuſpects, that they may have been deceived by the appearance of things; "for, (ſays he) the "houſes of the Britons were not like ours "at preſent, nor the Romans in thoſe "times, divided into ſeveral apartments, "but conſiſted of one round circular room, "or hall, with a fire in the middle, around "which the whole family, men, women, "and children, all ſlept on the floor, on one "continued bed of ſtraw or ruſhes; this "excited unfavourable ſuſpicions in the "eyes of ſtrangers, accuſtomed to a more "decent way of living; but thoſe ſuſpi-"cions are moſt probably without founda-"foundation." Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. chap. vii. But if this is true, why do we hear of the chaſtity of the ancient Germans, from Cæſar, who lived in the ſame crouded manner? Why were they not liable to the ſame ſuſpicious cenſure as the Britons? But I doubt the accuſation was but too well grounded.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

‡ Ibid.

at

at firſt began to form an alliance with as many of the Britiſh ſtates as they could, in order to hinder the combination of the chiefs, which would have been very prejudicial to their deſigns; for this reaſon, they pretended the greateſt friendſhip for ſuch as eſpouſed their cauſe, and inſtead of decreaſing, added to their dominions: but at the ſame time, under the artful inſinuation of protecting them from the aſſaults of their enemies, and preſerving the peace of their ſtate, they deprived theſe unſuſpecting monarchs of all their real authority.*

Methods which the Romans took to ſecure their conqueſts.

As ſoon as they had obtained firm footing in the land, they planted colonies of veteran ſoldiers to ſecure their conqueſts, and be a conſtant check upon the inhabitants. The firſt colony which they eſtabliſhed here, was that at Camulodunam, which city had formerly been the chief ſeat of Cunobelinus. Alſo, to gain the favour of the multitude, they made free cities in Britain, the inhabitants of which were allowed the ſame privileges as the citizens of Rome: to theſe places flocked the chief part of the Britons, who were adherents and promoters of the deſigns of the Romans. Of this ſort were London and Verulam, at the time of the revolt under Boudicea, queen of the Icenians.†

The druids deſtroyed, and why.

The Romans ſoon found the difficulty, or perhaps the impoſſibility, of altering the courſe of the Britiſh government, or introducing their own laws amongſt the natives, whilſt the druids retained their power and authority; and the diſturbances which thoſe crafty prieſts were conſtantly fomenting, in order to ſupport their declining fame, obliged the conquerors, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, not only to deſtroy them, but to aboliſh by force the ſuperſtitious doctrines which they had inculcated, as contrary to the policy and government which they (the Romans) were deſirous of impoſing upon the Britons.‡

The Roman laws eſtabliſhed in Britain.

The druids removed from the ſtate, and deprived of all their authority, and the affections of the people weaned by degrees from their doctrines, the whole conſtitution and form of government amongſt the Britons underwent a total change, and the laws of the Romans were eſtabliſhed in every part of the iſland that was ſubjected to them.

The preſident, or governor of Britain.

The government of the Roman province in Britain was committed to the care of a preſident, or imperial legate, whoſe power was very extenſive; for the whole war, and management of the Roman troops, as well as full direction of all civil affairs, were committed to him. We often find theſe men abuſed their authority, and became offenſive to the natives: the emperor Hadrian being convinced of this evil in or about the year 131, by edict abridged the power of the preſidents of conquered provinces, and laid their conduct under ſeveral neceſſary reſtrictions.§

The imperial procurator.

There was yet another officer of great conſequence appointed in the Roman provinces, named the imperial procurator, who was in ſome

* Vide Tacit. Annal.
† Ibid. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
‡ Suet. in Vita Claud.
§ Hiſt. des Emp. par Tillemount, tom. II. page 214.

measure independent of the president; he had the chief direction in the collecting and managing of the imperial revenues; he also often acted as a spy upon the governor of the province, and informed the emperor if he found any thing amiss in his conduct. These two officers, when they agreed together, might not only plunder and distress the provincials, but even rob the emperor and the state of their proper revenues.*

The vicar of Britain.

These two continued for a long time to be the chief officers employed by the Romans in Britain; but Constantine the Great established a prefect in Gaul, under whom an officer, called the vicar of Britain, presided in this island, and his authority extended over all the Roman provinces here; his residence was chiefly at London, where he lived in great pomp; his court was composed of several officers for the transacting the business of his government; as a principal officer of the agents, a principal secretary, two chief auditors of accounts, a master of the prisons, a notary, a secretary for dispatches, an assistant, under assistants, clerks for appeals, serjeants, and inferior officers. Appeals might be made to him from the governors of the provinces, and from him to the prefect of Gaul. He bore the title of His Excellence;† the ensigns of his office were a book of instructions in a green cover, and five castles on the triangular form of the island, representing the five provinces under his jurisdiction.‡

Britain divided into provinces.

Until the days of Severus all the Roman possessions in Britain made but one province, which that emperor divided into two. In after times, when the authority of the Romans was extended by new conquests, and all that tract of country subjected to them which lay between the two walls, they divided the whole into five provinces, the names and extent of which are as follow:

Five provinces of Britain.

I. Flavia Cæsariensis; this province extended from the land's end in Cornwall, to the south foreland in Kent, and was bounded on the south by the English channel, on the north by the Bristol channel, the Severn, and the Thames. It comprehended these nations,—the Danmonii, Durotriges, Belgæ, Attrebatii, Regni, and Cantii; which are now Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent.

II. Britannia Prima, the second province, was bounded on the south by the Thames, on the east by the British ocean, on the north by the

* It is of these two officers that the Britons are complaining in the Life of Agricola. "In time past (say they) we had "but a single king, we are now burthened "by two; one of these, the governor ge- "neral, who tyrannizes over our persons "and lives; and the other, the imperial "procurator, who embezzles our substance "and fortunes: both equally pernicious "to us, whether they are quarrelling "amongst themselves, or whether united "by good intelligence and unanimity." Against them the one employed his predatory bands, as did the other his centurions, and their men; and both exercised violence alike, both treated them with equal insults and contempt. Tacit. Vita Agricola.

† Spectabilis in orig.

‡ Notitia Imperii, cap. 49.

Humber, and on the weſt by the Severn. It comprehended the tribes of the Dobuni, Cattivellauni, Trinobantes, Iceni, and Coritani; which are now Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Hertfordſhire, Middleſex, Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire, Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbyſhire.

III. Britannia Secunda, the third province, was bounded on the ſouth by the Briſtol channel and the Severn, on the weſt by St. George's channel, on the north by the Iriſh ſea, and on the eaſt by Britannia Prima. This province contained the countries of the Cornavii, Silures, Demetæ, and Ordovices; which are now Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, Cheſhire, Herefordſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Monmouthſhire, Glamorganſhire, Caermarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, Cardiganſhire, Montgomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Denbighſhire, and Flintſhire.

IV. Maxima Cæſarienſis, the fourth province, was bounded on the ſouth by the Humber, on the eaſt by the German ocean, on the weſt by the Iriſh ſea, and on the north by the wall of Severus. This province contained two nations, the Pariſi and the Brigantes; which now make the counties of York, Durham, Lancaſter, Cumberland, and Northumberland.

V. Valentia was the fifth, and moſt northern province of Britain; it was erected A. D. 369, by Theodoſius, and called by this name in honour of the emperor Valens. This province contained all that country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius, and was inhabited by ſeveral Britiſh nations, called by the general name of Maæatæ.*

The governors of the provinces.

Theſe five provinces of Britain had each of them its governor, and a court compoſed of proper officers for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The governors of the two moſt northern provinces, Valentia and Maxima Cæſarienſis, were of conſular degree; but thoſe of the other three were only ſtiled preſidents. By the vicar of Britain, and theſe five governors of the provinces, all civil affairs were regulated, juſtice adminiſtered, and the taxes and public revenues of all kinds collected.†

The policy of the Romans.

After the Romans had ſubdued the Britons, in order to proceed with the greater ſecurity, they took their arms from them; alſo, they impreſſed ſuch of their youth as were ſtrong, and able to bear the fatigues of a camp, and ſent them over to the continent, where they might be ſerviceable to the Roman ſtate; by this means the force of the provincials was conſtantly kept within bounds, and their conquerors had nothing to fear from their diſcontents: another method, and the moſt natural one, which the Romans took to ſecure their conqueſts, was, to erect a multitude of forts and ſtrong-holds in the moſt advantageous parts of the iſland, in which were placed garriſons of ſoldiers, for they kept a conſtant

* Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. fol. 231 & 232.

† Notitia Imperii, cap. 49. Heineccius Antiq. Rom. tom. IV. page 258.

ſtanding army, which was a great burthen to the Britons; but at the ſame time, theſe political meaſures prevented their frequent breaking out into open rebellions, and gave occaſion quickly to ſubdue them when they did ſo. At the time in which the Romans held the five provinces in Britain, they are ſuppoſed to have had an army conſiſting of nineteen thouſand two hundred foot, and one thouſand ſeven hundred horſe; but as the inteſtine diſcords in the empire required aſſiſtance, theſe were by degrees diminiſhed, and at laſt they all forſook the iſland.*

Taxes laid upon the Britons.

The conqueſt of South Britain effected, and the Romans having made their footing firm, the chief cauſe of their undertaking was next attended to, and this was the levying of taxes; which ſeems to have belonged to the office of procurator to overſee. Theſe, whilſt they were collected with equity, were chearfully complied with by the provincials.

Taxes on corn, &c.

The Britons were obliged to pay a tax of their grain, which alſo they were conſtrained to carry to a conſiderable diſtance, that it might be lodged in the places appointed for its reception; this was a great grievance to them, but it was remitted by Agricola in the very firſt year of his government.† It is thought, that of the corn, as much as might be neceſſary for the army was taken in kind; for the remainder the huſbandman paid a certain ſtipulated ſum. A tax was laid upon their orchards, which was heavier than the former, becauſe there was not much trouble attending their cultivation; a fifth part of their produce is what was generally exacted.

Taxes on paſtures, &c.

Another tax, called Scriptura, and levied on the paſture grounds; this exaction was very oppreſſive: when the huſbandmen could not raiſe coin enough to anſwer the demand, they were obliged to ſell their cattle, or elſe borrow money of the wealthy Romans, to defray it. Seneca alone is reported to have lent the Britons, on ſome ſuch occaſion, the aſtoniſhing ſum of three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, which being rigorouſly demanded, at a time when they were unable to pay, was one of the grand cauſes of the revolt under Boudicea. Beſides this tax, it is highly probable that certain paſture lands were ſet apart for the forage of the horſes belonging to the Roman ſoldiers.

Various other taxes.

A tax was likewiſe levied upon the cattle of the Britons: this was moſt likely taken in kind, for the ſupport of the ſoldiers. Mines were taxed according to the value of their produce; alſo every kind of merchandize in proportion to its worth. A poll tax, or a certain payment exacted from every individual, was impoſed; and another payment when any perſon died, before the dead corpſe could be buried.‡ The exact ſums

* Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit.

† Tacit. Vita Agric.

‡ Boudicea, in her famous ſpeech to the Britons before the battle with Suetonius, takes notice of theſe two taxes in particular: ſpeaking of the Romans, "Have they "not deprived us (ſays ſhe) of our moſt "valuable poſſeſſions, and do we not pay "grievous taxes for what is left? Beſides "all thoſe heavy impoſitions on our eſtates "and goods, are not our perſons taxed? "Do we not pay for the very heads on our "ſhoulders?

ſums which were gathered from theſe taxations are not to be diſcovered; however, we learn, from various paſſages of hiſtory, that they were very oppreſſive to the inhabitants. Beſides the impoſitions already mentioned, the Romans had a great variety of other taxes, with which they burthened their provinces; ſuch as thoſe laid on houſes, pillars, hearths, animals of ſeveral kinds, urine, and the like, which at ſome time or other moſt likely were forced upon the Britons; for we muſt not imagine that all theſe impoſitions were laid upon their backs immediately upon the ſubduing of this people, nor yet all of them at one time.

The ſtate of the Britons when the Romans left them.

This is a ſhort ſketch of the Roman policy and government in Britain, which overturned the former cuſtoms of the natives, and alſo ended in their ruin; for by this means we find them brought up in ignorance of the uſe of arms, deprived of their youth, and ſuch as were able to protect the ſtate from their foes, ſo that when the Romans took their leave of the iſland, they left the provincials in a much more deplorable condition than even their former ſervitude had been. Every man was now fearful of the approaching danger, and without regard of others, followed the dictates of his own inordinate deſires, ſo that the whole community were involved in a dreadful and pernicious anarchy. It is true, their common miſeries ſoon obliged them, in ſome ſort, to reſtore their former mode of government; accordingly they elected kings, but were either ſo unfortunate in their choice, or capricious in their reſolutions, that they ſoon dethroned them again, and ſet up others ſtill worſe than the former: this was their condition when the total ſubverſion of their ſtate was threatened by the northern inſurgents. This cauſed them to ſummon a general council, in which Vortigern ſeems to have borne the chief ſway, who, by his inadvertent advice, completed the ruin of the wretched Britons.*

CHAP. IV.

The State of Architecture amongſt the Britons.

Gradual improvents in architecture.

TO trace the origin of this art from its firſt commencement, we ought to take a view of mankind in a ſtate of nature, when their wants were only ſuch as were dictated by inſtinct, for the preſervation of life. Food was the firſt object of their purſuit, and probably the very

" ſhoulders? Why dwell I on theſe exactions " from thoſe that are living? Even the " dead are burthened with taxes! You all " well know that we are obliged to pay " for the bodies of our deceaſed friends." Xiphil. ex Dion. in Nerone.

* Gildas Hiſt. & vide page 60, of this volume.

next

next that of ſeeking ſome retreat from the inclemency of the ſeaſons. In the winter they retired to the holes and caverns of the earth, from whence iſſuing forth in the ſummer, the ſhade of large trees and thickets, or ſuch like habitations leſs ſecure, might ſuffice. Their firſt attempt at architecture would be naturally the erecting ſmall huts, compoſed of ſtakes driven into the earth, and interwoven with wattles, or pliant branches of trees; this homely cot they covered with green boughs, to defend them from the rain. The idea of a dwelling ſuggeſted, their next ſtep might be to plaiſter over the wattles with clay, to prevent the penetration of the wind, and to make the dwelling warmer. Such is the ſtate in which we find the habitations of the ancient Germans, in the earlieſt accounts which are handed down to us; and even at that unpoliſhed period we find them not a little proud of procuring ſuch clay as was of a gloſſy nature, to make their walls withal; and by mixing a variety of colours together, produced a kind of pictures upon them.* On the other hand, the Britons are ſaid to have affected a plain colour; for this cauſe they white-waſhed the clay after it was dry with chalk. The next improvement that they made in their habitations, was to thatch them with reeds, or ſtraw, as better fence againſt the rain than the boughs which they ſucceeded. After this, they ſet about more ſubſtantial buildings, making a frame of wood, inſtead of the wattles. In this ſtate the domeſtic ſtructures were in Britain about the time of Cæſar's arrival; all of them built in a circular form, and the roof thatched up round like a cone;† in the middle of which an aperture was left for the ſmoke to iſſue out: this was the conſtruction of the common houſes; thoſe of the better ſort are ſaid to have been of ſtone.‡

Towns of the Britons, how conſtructed.

At this time the Britons had no idea of building houſes contiguous with each other, ſo as to form regular ſtreets in what were called their towns; but they were built at ſome diſtance one from the other. Their habitations were generally near the banks of a river, for the convenience of water, or in the woods and foreſts, where abundance of forage might be found for their cattle: the moſt convenient of theſe places was choſen by the prince, who there appointed his reſidence; and his followers and dependants made their habitations as near as they could conveniently to that of their ſovereign, and alſo erected ſtalls for their cattle within the ſame limit.§ A town or city thus made, they fortified all round with a ditch, and mound of earth, or rampart; and if any danger was feared, they blocked up all the entrances with trees cut down, and heaped one on the other, without having the branches lopped from them.‖ Other towns were of ſlighter conſtruction, and only fortified with trees felled around, wherein haſty huts were made for the occupiers, and others for their herds; theſe were not intended for long continu-

* Tacit. de Morib. German.
† Diod. Sic. lib. v.
‡ Rowland's Mona Antiqua.
§ Diod. Sic.
‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

ance,

ance, being chiefly inhabited by the inland Britons, whose living depended only on their cattle, and so were under the necessity of being continually removing for the benefit of pasturage.* All this must be understood of the southern division of the island; for when the Romans had settled here, and advanced the arts to a considerable degree, the northern Britons were still in a state of barbarity, and dwelt in holes and caverns amongst the mountains, or at best in a sort of rude huts or tents.†

Stone Henge considered.

When one considers the low state of the arts, even in the southern parts of Britain, at the time of Cæsar's arrival, and the ignorance of the natives in the improvement of architecture, we can but admire that curious remaining proof of their indefatigable labours, Stone Henge; and we are naturally struck with wonder at beholding those vast stones set up in so much order, by a people who scarcely afforded time to build even tolerable dwellings for themselves. But we must look upon this as a place constructed for some great and important purpose, which was most likely planned out and executed under the immediate direction of the druids, who were the only masters of the arts and sciences at that time. Spirited up by the advice of the priests, they might willingly assist in the forwarding such an edifice, whether it was intended as a temple for their gods, or a place of public judicature.‡

The Romans introduce the art of architecture very early.

The Romans, immediately they had got footing upon the island, made haste to improve the dwellings of those provincials who had espoused their cause, and formed their towns into regular cities. Thus, as early as the year of our Lord 61, when the Roman colony of Camulodunam was destroyed by Boudicea and her army, it appears to have been a large well-built town, in which there was a temple adorned with statues, a theatre, and other public edifices.§ At the same time also, we find that London and Verulam were large, populous, and beautiful cities.‖

The Britons learn this art of the Romans.

All these improvements, it is true, were performed by the Romans themselves; but by degrees the knowledge of architecture diffused itself amongst the native Britons, who began to have a taste for peace and repose; and these favourable inclinations the crafty conquerors sought not to check, but, on the contrary, forwarded as much as lay in their power, exhorting and assisting them in building temples to the honour of the gods, houses for themselves, and places for public assemblies, and commended their diligence in such pursuits; because by this means their affections for liberty were lulled asleep, and they submitted with the greater readiness to the yoke which was imposed upon them; for having

* Strabo, lib. iii.
† Herodian, lib. iii.
‡ See the Hoɲda Anzel cynnan, or the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of England, vol. I.
§ Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10. Xiphil. ex Dion. Nic. in Neron.
‖ Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.

once

once a taſte of ſplendour and luxury, the love of freedom was forgot, their minds were effeminated, and the heroic ardour of their anceſtors ceaſed to glow in their breaſts.*

Britain famous for artificers.

This was the ſtate of the arts in the ſouthern parts of Britain during the government of Julius Agricola; and the provincials profited ſo much from the inſtructions of their preceptors, that when Conſtantius Chlorus rebuilt the city of Antun, in Gaul, about the year 296, the chief workmen whom he employed were ſent from Britain, which at that time abounded with the beſt artificers.†

The decline of architecture amongſt the Britons.

In the beginning of the fourth century the art of architecture was in its zenith in Britain; from that period it loſt ground apace, ſo that before the final departure of the Romans the Britons were ſuch miſerable artificers, that they were obliged to repair the wall of Antoninus Pius with turfs, not having any workmen amongſt them, who underſtood enough of maſonry, to repair it with ſtone.‡ If this was true, we muſt recollect at the ſame time, that it could be only applicable to the inhabitants of the very northern province of Valentia; and in theſe parts the arts never flouriſhed to that degree which they did in the ſouth, where, no doubt, even at this very time, ſome faint traces of their ancient ſkill remained.

The Romans leaving Britain the ruin of this art.

The Romans taking their final leave, the architecture of the Britons fell at once into decay; for the ferocious plunderers, the Scots and Picts, breaking out from their retreats where they had hid themſelves, over-run a great part of the kingdom, and the unhappy provincials flying before them, left their cities to their mercy, who beat down and deſtroyed the principal places wherever they came: and after this, the arrival of the Saxons determined their fate; for that fierce people taking poſſeſſion of what remained to the ſouthern Britons, thoſe miſerable beings were driven again to their caves and dens, which had been poſſeſſed before by their barbarous progenitors.§

The arts of carpentry and maſonry.

To what height the knowledge of carpentry and maſonry were carried before the arrival of the Romans, cannot be determined; yet their houſes and utenſils of huſbandry, as ploughs, harrows, and the like, alſo all their neceſſary implements for the manufacture of cloth, required the hand of the carpenter to complete; but the greateſt proof of their ſkill in this art, is, the chariots that they uſed in war, which muſt have been very neatly and ſtrongly put together, to ſuſtain ſo many violent motions as we are told they did, and yet to run ſo lightly, and be ſo eaſily turned from place to place.‖ That the Britons had more than a mean ſkill in maſonry, Stone Henge may clearly prove; and alſo, that they were well acquainted with various mathematical engines, neceſſary

* Tacit. Vita Agric.
† Eumenii Panegyr. viii.
‡ Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12.
§ Vide page 56 of this volume, & infra.
‖ Vide Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv.

for the moving and raiſing prodigious weights.* By the Romans theſe arts were improved, and on their final departure they ſunk again with the ruined ſtate of Britain.

CHAP. V.

The Art of War, and Military Diſcipline of the Britons.

THE natural propenſity to arms, and the reſtleſs tempers of the Britons, led them frequently to the field: jealouſies and diſputes amongſt neighbouring nations, which were continually breaking out, kept up a conſtant internal war with each other; and this martial ſpirit was diffuſed throughout the whole iſland, ſo that all the inhabitants, the druids alone excepted, were trained up to war, and taught betimes the uſe of arms.† The Britons well acquainted with the art of war.

The armies of the Britons were not divided equally into diſtinct corps, containing each of them a fixed and certain number of ſoldiers, like thoſe of the Romans and more poliſhed nations; but every clan or family fought in a diſtinct band, under the command of the head of that clan;‡ the advantage ariſing from this method of arrangement, was, that the family bands were united by the ſtrongeſt ties of love and friendſhip, as well as the moſt ſolemn oaths; and it is natural to imagine they would fight with the greater alacrity, whilſt on the valour of each individual depended in ſome meaſure the life of his father, his brother, his ſon, or his neareſt relations. All the ſeveral clans which compoſed a nation, fought under the conduct of the king of that nation; and when a public war required a combination of the forces of ſeveral nations, one of the kings, moſt famous for his valour and military conduct, was choſen from the reſt, as chief general, and inveſted with the ſupreme command.§ This ſound policy, had it been well attended to, would have protracted, if not entirely prevented, the Roman conqueſt. What gave the conquerors ſuch ſpeedy poſſeſſion in the iſland, was, the diviſions and diſcords amongſt the natives themſelves; for, inſtead of continuing firm in their combinations, and unanimous in their reſolutions and conduct, every chief was jealous of his fellow, and whole communities diſſenting from each other, divided their forces, and fell an eaſy prey into the hands of their more politic enemies.‖ The armies of the Britons, how compoſed.

* Stukeley's Stone Henge, and Borlaſe's Hiſt. of Cornwall.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

‡ Tacit. Vita Agric.

§ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8. Xiphil. ex Dion. in Neron.

‖ Tacit. Vita Agric.

Three kinds of Britiſh troops.

The Britiſh troops conſiſted of three kinds of ſoldiers; as their infantry, their cavalry, and thoſe that fought from the war chariots.

The infantry, their arms and habit.

The infantry conſtituted the moſt material part of the army of the Britons;* thoſe of the more ſouthern and improved parts of the iſland were habited like the Belgic Gauls, with whom they were very converſant; their dreſs conſiſted of a woollen tunic, thickly wove with coarſe harſh wool, over which they wore a kind of caſſock or cloak,† reaching down a little below the hips; their legs and thighs were covered with cloſe garments, called Bracæ; on their heads they wore helmets of braſs, ornamented at top with horns of the ſame metal, or elſe with birds or beaſts, rudely carved out; ſome had iron breaſt-plates, full of hooks, others again fought without; they wore a long ſword or ſpatha, hanging obliquely croſs their right thighs, and ſuſpended from a girdle by chains of iron or braſs. They alſo bore in their hand a large dart, whoſe ſhaft of iron was a cubit in length, and near as broad as two hands put together,‡ and ſhield proportioned according to the ſtature and ſtrength of the bearer, which was commonly ornamented with various rude figures.§ The foot ſoldiers amongſt the inland Britons were more lightly armed, wearing garments made of the ſkins of beaſts,‖ and bound round their middles, carrying ſmall ſhields on their left arms; their chief offenſive weapon was a ſpear; beſides which, it is likely they might bear ſwords, either of iron or braſs.** The Calidonians, and other northern nations, uſually fought naked, having neither breaſt-plates, helmets, or any other defenſive armour, except a ſmall light ſhield, or target; and their offenſive weapons were long broad pointleſs ſwords, ſuſpended by iron chains; and ſhort ſpears, with round balls of braſs at the end, with which they uſed to make a noiſe before an engagement, to frighten the horſes of their enemies;†† In this ſtate were they found, when Severus entered their territories, A. D. 207. To make amends for their want of armour, they were ſwift of foot, and very expert in all their motions; and the chief reaſon for their going naked, was, that garments and heavy accoutrements would have been burthenſome to them in their marches; for, in their retreats they would paſs the bogs and fens, and ſwim over deep waters with ſurprizing alertneſs, ſo that it was impoſſible for thoſe who were heavy armed to overtake, or even purſue them.‡‡

The cavalry of the Britons.

The cavalry of the Britons were mounted upon ſmall, but hardy, mettleſome horſes, which they managed with the utmoſt dexterity; their arms, offenſive and defenſive, were chiefly the ſame with thoſe of

* Tacit. Vita Agric.

† Τάγοις ῥαβδωτοῖς, caſſocks of rods. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

‡ See this ſoldier delineated, plate V. of this volume.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. v. & Strabo, lib. iv. &c.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal.

** See this ſoldier, plate V. the middle figure in the plate.

†† See a delineation of this Briton alſo, plate V.

‡‡ Tacit. Vita Agric. Xiphil. ex Dio. Nic. in Sever. Herodian, lib. iii.

the infantry, for they would often diſmount from their horſes, and fight on foot.

Thoſe who fought from the war chariots ſeem to have been compoſed of the chief people, and very flower of their youth; they were ſo expert by long cuſtom, that they could manage their horſes at their pleaſure, drive them full ſpeed down ſteep hills, turn them in the ſhorteſt compaſs, run upon the pole of the chariot, and with the greateſt nimbleneſs return to their ſeat.* The moſt honourable perſon amongſt them took the reins, and guided the chariot; and under his conduct his friends or followers fought.† The chariot fighters.

The war chariots of the Britons were of three ſorts, all different; as the Covinus, the Rheda, and the Eſſedum.‡ The firſt of theſe was armed with hooks and ſcythes;§ this is thought to have been a light kind of chariot, made upon ſuch a conſtruction as only to contain the charioteer; for their principal uſe depended upon their force and rapidity, as all the execution was done with the ſharp hooks and ſcythes which were made faſt about it: the others, the Rheda and the Eſſedum, are ſuppoſed to have been larger than the Covinus, and without hooks; theſe, beſides the charioteer, contained ſome few warriors, armed with lances, which they threw at the enemy with great ſkill as the chariots paſſed rapidly by.‖ The charioteers would drive upon their opponents, and by the ſudden ſhock break the ranks, and put an army into confuſion; when they were entangled amongſt a troop of horſe, the warriors, leaping from the chariots, would fight on foot; mean time the charioteer, watching diligently all their motions, placed himſelf to ſuch advantage, that if they ſhould be oppreſſed by numbers, they might ſecure their retreat to the chariots, and elude the purſuits of the foe.** We may eaſily conceive that the number of war chariots in Britain muſt have been immenſe, when we conſider that Caſibellanus, after he had diſbanded the greater part of his army, retained ſtill four thouſand of them; and at the ſame time we may obſerve, that the uſe of them was univerſal amongſt all the nations of the Britons.†† Different ſorts of war chariots.

When they drew their forces up in order of battle, they uſually placed their infantry in the center, in diſtinct lines; and as they always choſe a

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv.

† Tacit. Vita Agric.

‡ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. Tacit. Annal. & Vita Agric. Xiphil. ex Dion. in Neron. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. cap. 6, &c. &c.

§ Mela, lib. iii. cap. 6.

‖ Vide Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol I.

** Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv.

†† Ibid. lib. v. It may here be added, that Tacitus writing a conſiderable time after Julius Cæſar, ſays only, "That ſome "of the nations of the Britons uſed to "fight in chariots." We may remember, that at the time in which Tacitus lived, the Romans had ſecured their conqueſts in the ſouthern parts of Britain, and that Julius Agricola, father-in-law to that hiſtorian, as he himſelf declares, had introduced the Roman uſages with great ſucceſs; ſo that no wonder he ſpeaks only of ſome of them, namely, thoſe who inhabited the north, ſince in his time the ſouthern Britons had declined their uſe. Vide Tacit. in Vita Agricola.

Manner of arranging the armies uſed by the Britons.

riſing ground for the field of battle, theſe lines were placed one above another, each at a little diſtance from the former, ſo that the whole of their army might be ſeen, and their appearance be more formidable to the enemy.* Each diſtinct corps conſiſted of the warriors of a clan, and were commanded by their own chief. The cavalry and chariots were placed on the wings on either ſide, or elſe in the front of the army, where in flying parties they drove up and down the field, and began the engagement by repeated ſkirmiſhes. On their rear were placed their waggons and baggage, which ſerved as a kind of blockade, to prevent the enemy's attacking them in that quarter; and frequently in their waggons their wives and children were placed, to be ſpectators of the bravery of their protectors; and they, on their parts, with repeated cries and yells, inſpired the warriors with freſh ſpirit, and conſtantly put them in mind that the lives and ſafety of their deareſt friends muſt depend on their valour.†

Speeches before the battle was begun.

Before the engagement was begun, the general always went from place to place, and harangued his army with a moving ſpeech, exhorting them all to fight glorioufly for their lives and liberty; the chiefs of the ſeveral bands alſo encouraged their followers, and endeavoured to infuſe into their ſouls an ardent deſire of ſignalizing their name, and reſiſting nobly all attempts to enſlave them. Theſe ſpeeches, we generally find, were received with the greateſt marks of approbation by the ſoldiers, which was ſignified by loud repeated ſhouts, and clatter of their arms.‡ There can be no doubt made, but that every one of theſe bands had their different enſign, or ſtandard, to which they might repair, and without which great confuſion muſt have happened in the time of battle. It does not appear that they had any inſtruments of martial muſic, to encourage the living, or drown the cries of the maimed; loud ſhouts, and repeated noiſes, made by themſelves, appear to have been all the arts they made uſe of on ſuch occaſions.§

Stratagems of war.

As the art of war was ſo familiar to the Britons, we can ſcarcely doubt of their uſing various ſtratagems to deceive the enemy, and gain advantage to themſelves. The artful conduct of Caſibellanus, when purſued by Cæſar, in a great variety of particulars, the feigned flights of the Britons to draw the Romans into ambuſhes, the endeavouring to ſurround their armies in engagements, and a great variety of ſchemes put in practice by the Britiſh generals, not only redound to their laſting honour, but alſo prove their knowledge and addreſs in the great requiſites of military conduct.‖

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8. & Vita Agric.

† Ibid. ibid.

‡ Ibid. ibid. & Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10. Xiphil. ex Dion. in Neron. & vide pages 17, 24, & 31, of this volume.

§ The Gauls indeed, we are told by Diodorus Siculus, uſed a ſort of war trumpet, "Barbaricis etiam pro ſuo more tubis "utuntur quæ horridum & bellico terrori "convenientum reddunt mugitum inflatæ." Perhaps the Britons might do the ſame, though it is not noticed by the hiſtorian. Vide Diod. Sic. lib. v.

‖ Cæſar, Bel. Gal. lib. iv. & v. Tacit. Annal. ut ſup. & Vita Agric.

Fortifications

Fortifications they either never attended to, or elſe knew not how to make; for their ſtrongeſt places were only ſurrounded by a ditch, and valum of earth; and the entrances blocked up with trees cut down, and laid acroſs them;* or inſtead of the valum, a rude wall of great looſe ſtones, without mortar or cement;† indeed it was but ſeldom that they threw up entrenchments about their camps, their carts and waggons placed in a circle round them, was all the guard they cared for; nor is this much to be wondered at, when we conſider the fiery and ungoverned tempers of the Britons, who were always too eager for the battle, to raiſe up works about them, which might protract the time, or be troubleſome to perform.

Britons ignorant of making fortifications.

The Romans when they had once gained ground in Britain, with their uſual policy, introduced a love for luxury and idleneſs amongſt the provincial natives; and by that means cauſed a univerſal decay of military diſcipline: after their departure, the unhappy Britons ſoon found by woeful experience, that the knowledge which they had gained, was but ill compenſated for the loſs of national courage, and the power of ſelf defence.‡

The Romans the ruin of military diſcipline in Britain.

CHAP. VI.

Agriculture and dependent Arts.

IT is the firſt conſideration of mankind, to procure food, without which they know they cannot long ſubſiſt. In the earlier ages, the ſpontaneous roots of the earth, and fruits of the trees, might be firſt eaten; ſoon after the fleſh of animals, was found to be a more ſubſtantial nouriſhment; this naturally introduced hunting into the world; the knowledge of which was quickly attained by every nation, however barbarous. The Britons were well acquainted with hunting; and even ſo late as the beginning of the third century, it was the chief method by which all the inhabitants beyond the wall of Hadrian, ſupplied themſelves with food: for though their coaſts abounded with fiſh, yet they were ignorant of the art of taking them; not perhaps from their want of invention, but inclination; for they would not eat them when caught.§

Hunting when general in Britain.

In the ſouth of Britain, where the natives were more civilized, hunting was only followed as an amuſement, and not to ſupply their neceſſary wants; therefore we find the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts,

State of agriculture on Cæſar's arrival.

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.
† Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 8.
‡ Gildas Hiſt.
§ Xiphil. ex Dio. in Sever.

oppoſite

oppoſite to Gaul, had in the days of Cæſar already made great advancements in the neceſſary arts to render life comfortable and pleaſing :* and the more inland natives, were but a ſtep behind them; theſe latter ſubſiſted entirely by paſturage; they never ſowed any lands, but fed upon the milk, and fleſh of their cattle, which was all the wealth they boaſted :† but their ſouthern neighbours, manured and cultivated their ground, and ſowed corn, which being reaped in proper time, was laid up in the ears in ſubterraneous caves and granaries; from whence they took as much as was neceſſary for the day, and having dried the ears, they beat the grain from them, which they bruiſed, and made into a ſort of bread for preſent uſe.‡

The Romans improve this art.

Upon the eſtabliſhment of the Romans in Britain, agriculture was greatly improved, for the veteran ſoldiers who were planted in colonies, amongſt the natives, were as expert in this art, as they were in the battle; from them, the Britons ſoon took example, and purſued the readieſt methods to improve their lands; and by this means, more ground was cultivated, and the produce encreaſed; ſo that the provincials not only procured corn enough for their conſumption at home, but a conſiderable overplus was conſtantly exported to the continent for the uſe of the Romans there, and that in prodigious quantities.§ The great manure of the Britons was marle, a fat clay or earth, which they held in high eſteem.‖

Gardening firſt taught by the Romans.

The Britons were ignorant of gardening until the arrival of the Romans,** who planted orchards immediately upon their coming into the iſland; and they ſoon found that the ſoil was fit for moſt kind of trees and vegetables; at the firſt it was thought that vines and olives†† would not flouriſh here; but as thoſe conquerors became better acquainted with the land, they found it was alſo very proper for the growth of vines; accordingly leave was obtained of Probus the emperor of Rome, to plant vineyards and make wine.‡‡ All the various branches

* Diod. Siculus, lib. v. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

‡ Diod. Siculus, lib. v. Some veſtiges of this antient way of dreſſing of corn was diſcovered not long ago in ſeveral of the iſlands of Scotland. "This method "is called Graddan, from the Iriſh word "Grad, which ſignifies *quick*. A woman "ſitting down, takes a handful of corn, "holding it by the ſtalks in the left hand, "and then ſets fire to the ears, which "are preſently in a flame; ſhe has a "ſtick in her right hand, which ſhe ma-"nages very dexterouſly, beating out the "grain at the inſtant the huſk is quite "burnt, for if ſhe miſs of that ſhe muſt "uſe the kiln; but experience has taught "them this art to perfection, The corn "may be ſo dreſſed, winnowed, ground, "and baked within an hour." Martin's Deſcrip. of the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, p. 204.

§ Amm. Marcel. lib. xviii. cap. 22. Zoſimi Hiſt. lib. iii.

‖ Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvii. cap. 6.

** Strabo. lib. iv.

†† Tacit. Vit. Agric.

‡‡ Script. Hiſt. Auguſt. page 942.

of

of agriculture were ſoon made known to the ſouthern Britons; yet theſe improvements advanced but gradually into the north, for in the time of Severus, we are aſſured, that the Maæatæ and Caledonians, who inhabited beyond the wall of Hadrian, lived in barren mountains, and that they had no walled towns or cultivated lands, but lived on the milk and fleſh of their flocks and herds, or on the fruits of the trees, or elſe on what they got by plunder and hunting:* but the emperor Severus by levelling a great part of the country, and by draining the marſhes, made it more fit for cultivation: from this time perhaps they might by degrees have applied themſelves to huſbandry; and the Chriſtians who fled from the perſecution of Diocleſian, and took refuge amongſt this people, without doubt inſtructed them in the arts of huſbandry, as well as in the doctrine of Chriſtianity.†

The departure of the Romans occaſions the ruin of agriculture.

After the departure of the Romans, ſuch a ſcene of miſery and diſtreſs enſued in the ſouthern parts of Britain, that little attention could be paid to the neceſſary affairs of the people; and huſbandry amongſt the reſt was neglected; by which means cruel famines, added to the misfortunes of the Britons, operated almoſt as powerfully as the ſwords of their enemies in their deſtruction.

Wheel carriages of the Britons.

The Britons were not at a loſs for carts and waggons to convey their corn from place to place, or to ſerve every neceſſary purpoſe of agriculture; theſe we find they had in uſe, long before the arrival of the Romans;‡ nor can we wonder at it, when we recollect the chariots of war (a far more perfect kind of wheeled carriages than theſe were required to be) were univerſally uſed in Britain, when Cæſar made his firſt invaſion:§ beſides common carts and waggons, if we may believe ſome authors, they had alſo other ſorts of carriages, which were uſed by the principal people for pleaſure, to convey them to and fro; theſe were of two ſorts, the Benna, and the Petoritum; which differed from each other, the firſt ſuppoſed to have only two wheels, and the latter four: the common waggon as above mentioned, is uſually called Carrus or Currus, by the antient authors.‖

* Xiphil. ex Dio. Nicæo. in Sever.

† St. Jerome reproaches Celeſtius a Scotchman, "that his belly was ſwelled "or diſtended with Scot's pottage or haſty "puddy." St. Hieron. Comment. in Jeremiah. Which is a proof at leaſt, that in the beginning of the fifth century the Scots or Weſtern Calidonians lived partly upon this meal, to which they had been abſolute ſtrangers two hundred years before when invaded by Severus. Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. i. p. 317.

‡ Diod. Siculus, lib. v.

§ Vide page 259 of this volume.

‖ Aylett. Sammes. Antiq. Anc. Brit. pp. 120 and 121.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Commerce and Navigation of the Britons.

The Phœnicians the firſt traders with the Britons.

THE firſt people who viſited Britain on account of trade were the Phœnicians; their coming was very early, though the exact time is not known; for a long time they kept the ſituation of the iſland ſecret, leſt the Greeks ſhould purſue the ſame rout, and ſhare their trade:* the moſt conſiderable commodities that the Phœnicians exported from the Scilly iſlands and bordering continent of Britain, were tin, lead and ſkins of beaſts,† amongſt which laſt no doubt the Britiſh wool may be included. In return for theſe articles, it does not appear that the merchants ever paid the Britons in gold or ſilver coin; the principle things which they imported were ſalt, earthen-ware, and trinkets made of braſs;‡ as bracelets for the arms, chains for the neck, rings and the like, all of which the Britons greatly affected.

The Greeks diſcover Britain.

Nothwithſtanding all the precautions uſed by the Phœnicians, to keep the ſituation of Britain from the knowledge of the Greeks, that people at length diſcovered it; and as early (it is thought) as three hundred years before the Chriſtian æra.§ The arrival of the Greeks greatly extended the trade of the Britons, and by the frequent intercourſe with the merchants, all the inhabitants of Britain on the ſea-coaſts, oppoſite to Gaul, became more civilized; though it does not appear that either the Phœnicians or the Greeks, attempted to plant any colonies upon the iſland. As the Greeks encreaſed their trade, they ſhortened their ſea voyages; and the tin which was got upon the continent of Britain, after being refined, and melted down into ſmall ingots, was by the native Britons conveyed in carts and waggons, at low water, over into the Iſle of Wight; and there ſold to the Greek merchants, who exported it from thence to the continent of Gaul, and ſo it was carried by land on horſes, to the mouth of the Rhone, from whence it was ſent to all parts of the world, where thoſe merchants traded.‖

Taxes impoſed on the Britiſh merchandiſe.

This ſeems to have been the ſtate of commerce in Britain, when Julius Cæſar invaded the iſland: he impoſed a tribute upon the natives on his departure, and though it was never paid by them, yet it afforded a handle to the ſucceeding emperors, to make demands upon them. Auguſtus drew great profits from the Britons, without any expence or

* Herodotus makes mention of the Caſiterides or Scilly iſlands, from whence the Phœnicians fetched their tin, but declares he could not diſcover their ſituation.

† Strabo. lib. iii. ſub fine.

‡ Ibid.

§ Vide Sammes Brit. chap. vi. & Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. I.

‖ Diod. Siculus, lib. v.

trouble;

trouble; partly by preſents, which were made him by ſuch of the Britiſh princes as courted his favour; and partly by taxes laid upon goods, imported from the continent to Britain, or exported from Britain to the continent; and as thoſe duties were in general very reaſonable, the Britiſh merchants did not complain, but carrried on their trade quietly under the protection of the Romans.*

Merchandize of the Britons.

After the Romans became acquainted with the Britons, beſides the uſual merchandize of tin, lead, and ſkins, other valuable things were found, which extended the commerce of the latter, and the revenues of the former; theſe were gold, ſilver, iron, corn, cattle, ſlaves, and dogs for hunting;† with various precious ſtones, and pearls:‡ chalk, lime and marle, are alſo to be reckoned amongſt the Britiſh exports at this period:§ amongſt theſe we muſt not omit baſkets made of wicker,‖ which were manufactured in Britain, with ſuch niceneſs, that they bore a great price, and were uſed at Rome: amidſt a great variety of goods which the Romans imported in lieu of theſe articles we find the following trinkets enumerated: ivory bridles, gold chains, cups of amber, and drinking glaſſes;** theſe are ſome few, and perhaps the moſt valuable commodities, for theſe could only be intended for the kings, and chief nobles amongſt the Britons; the more common ſort of people were doubtleſs contented with things of leſs worth: but we may reaſonably conclude, that as the natives grew more refined by their intercourſe with the Romans, a vaſt multitude of other things, of ſtill more conſequence, were required, and theſe baubles ceaſed to conſtitute any conſiderable part of the foreign imports.

* Strabo. lib. iv.

† Ibid.

‡ Concerning the pearls of Britain, Tacitus ſays, they "are of a dark and "livid hue," Vit. Agric. and Pliny to the ſame purpoſe: "In Britain ſome pearls do "grow, but they are ſmall and dim, not "clear and bright:" he after adds, "Julius Cæſar did not deny that the breaſt-"plate which he dedicated to Venus Mo-"ther, within her temple, was made of "Britiſh pearls." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. ix. cap. 35.

§ The following remarkable inſcription, which was found with many others near Zeland A. D. 1647, makes it appear that chalk was exported from Britain to the continent in very antient times; and that this trade was carried on by a claſs of men who were called Britiſh chalk merchants:

DEAE NEHALENNIAE
OB MERCES RECTE CONSER
VATAS SECVND: SILVANVS
NEGO+ TOR CRETARIVS
BRITANNICIANUS
V. S· L· M

To the goddeſs Nehalennia,
For his goods well preſerved,
Secundas Silvanus,
A chalk merchant
Of Britain,
Willingly performed his merited vow.

This proves at leaſt, that the chalk trade was carried on before Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed in Britain. Vid. Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. i.

‖ Of theſe Martial ſpeaks, lib. xiv. c. 99.

Barbara depictis veni baſcauda Britannis,
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma ſuam.

A baſket I, by painted Britons wrought,
And now to Rome's imperial city brought.

** Strabo. lib. iv.

Trading towns in Britain.

The chief trading towns, during the government of the Romans, are thought to have been Clauſentum or Old Southampton, and Rutupæ or Richborough;* beſides there is little doubt, but that London was a place of great conſequence as a commercial town; for as early as the year 60, we find it famous for its wealth and the reſort of merchants, though it was not then diſtinguiſhed by the title of a colony.†

The ſhipping of the Britons.

Whilſt the trade with Britain was carried on by the Phœnicians and the Greeks, the Britons had no need of ſhips; whatever they wanted was ſupplied by the merchants, in exchange for the commodities which abounded in the iſland; but after, as they traded to the continent of Gaul, it is highly probable they were furniſhed with veſſels, to carry their goods over thither, and bring back what they obtained in exchange. The accounts which are left us concerning their veſſels, only make mention of ſmall boats, which were either made of wicker, and covered over with hides of oxen;‡ or in the more perfect ſtate, the keels and ribs were conſtructed of a ſtrong light frame of timber, which like the former, was covered with leather; and in theſe boats, the inhabitants of Ireland and Calidonia, in the ſummer, would paſs the ſea which flows between Britain and Ireland,§ and is often very rough and boiſterous. In the ſouthern parts of Britain alſo, the ſame ſort of boats were made uſe of, chiefly perhaps to paſs rivers and deep waters which were not fordable, and to tranſport their merchandize from place to place.

Reaſons why the Britons are ſuppoſed to have large ſhips.

Yet it is highly probable, that beſides theſe little boats, the Britons had larger veſſels, built of more ſolid materials; and we have great reaſon to believe this, when we find ſhips of a much compleater conſtruction made uſe of by the Gauls, and in thoſe very parts that traded with the Britons. Beſides, when the Veneti, inhabitants of the promontory of Gaul, now called Britanny, were preparing to attack the forces of Cæſar by ſea, they ſent into Britain for aſſiſtance, which was granted them:‖ and we may eaſily conceive, that ſmall wicker boats could have been of no uſe againſt ſhips and galleys built on the Roman conſtruction: there is little doubt to be made, but that thoſe of the Britons were nearly, if not exactly the ſame, with thoſe of the Veneti; which were built with their keels flatter than the Roman veſſels, that they might lie more conveniently in the ſhallows; their prows were very erect, and their ſterns alſo adapted to the violence of the waves in a ſtorm: theſe ſhips were entirely conſtructed of oak, ſo that they were not eaſily broken, or hurt, by the ſharp irons in the prows of the Roman gallies: the ſeats for the rowers were made of beams a

* Muſgrave, Bel. Brit. et Battely Antiq. Rutup.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 49.

‡ Lucan. lib. i. & Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 16.

§ Solinus, lib. iii.

‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iii. cap. 9.

foot broad, and faſtened with iron pins an inch thick: the anchors were faſtened with iron chains, inſtead of cables; and the ſails were made of hides, or tanned leather cut thin:* ſuch ſubſtantial veſſels as theſe might be ſerviceable to the Gauls, in the engagement with the Romans, which ſoon after followed; this ſea-fight was decided on the coaſt of Arimorica, now Britanny; the united forces of the Gauls and Britons, conſiſted of two hundred and twenty large ſhips, which were almoſt all of them deſtroyed in the conflict. This unhappy adventure entirely ruined the naval force of the Gauls and Britons, which is the reaſon by ſome aſſigned, why the Britons did not oppoſe Cæſar by ſea, when he invaded them the year following.†

Britons do not make long voyages.

The Britons do not appear to have ever undertaken any long voyages, either in their little boats, or their larger veſſels; we read indeed, that in the former, they uſed frequently to go to an iſland ſix days ſail diſtant from Britain;‡ but there is reaſon to believe, that in the latter, they never proceeded further to the ſouth, than the mouth of the river Garronne in Gaul.§

The Romans encreaſe the number of ſhips in Britain.

The Romans improved the Britiſh ſhipping; the emperor Claudius, beſtowed ſeveral privileges by law, on thoſe who built ſhips for trade,‖ ſo that their number was preſently encreaſed: about the year 359, we find no leſs than eight hundred ſhips, employed in the exportation of corn from Britain to Gaul. Beſides the merchant veſſels, the Romans alſo had a fleet of ſhips of war, to ſecure the coaſt, and protect the trade; this fleet was commanded by an officer of great rank and diſtinction; his title was high admiral of the Britiſh ſeas:** this important office, was filled by Sejus Saturnius, in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: alſo, we may recollect, how very formidable the fleet was under Carauſius and Alectus, the two uſurping tyrants, who aſſumed the purple in Britain, the former about the year 286, the latter A. D. 293.††

The Roman fleet in Britain kept againſt the pirates.

Soon after the death of Alectus, the Saxon pirates, who had before infeſted the ſea-coaſts, began again their uſual ravages; plundering the inhabitants near the ſea-ſhore, and ſeizing upon the merchant ſhips, which were proceeding on their voyages; theſe inſults obliged the Ro-

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iii. cap. 13.

† Selden's Mare Clauſam. lib. ii. cap. 2, &c.

‡ Pliny ex Timæus. See Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 16. When one conſiders this paſſage, one knows not what to make of the account given by Solinus, "That the Britiſh ſailors when they began a voyage, always abſtained from food until it was compleated."

§ Strabo, lib. iv.

‖ Sueton. in Claud. cap. 18 & 19. But theſe privileges were confined to thoſe who built ſhips capable of carrying ten thouſand Roman modia, or about three hundred and twelve quarters of Engliſh corn. By this we may form ſome idea of their ſize at this period. Vide Dr. Hen. Hiſt. Brit. vol. I.

** Archigubernus Claſſis Britannicæ.

†† Vide page 41 and 42 of this vol.

mans to keep a ſtrong fleet upon the Britiſh ſeas; and to render themſelves more ſecure, they erected ſeveral forts upon the coaſts, where the pirates uſually landed; and theſe were put under the command of an officer of conſiderable rank, called the Count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain.*

The Romans take their ſhipping with them.

When the Romans took their leave of Britain, they made uſe of their fleet to tranſport them into Gual; ſo that the hapleſs Britons were left open and defenceleſs on all ſides, their inland terrtories were oppreſſed with the continual outrages of the Scots and Picts, and their ſea-coaſts were plundered by the barbarous ſea-rovers and pirates.

CHAP. VIII.

Working of Metals and Coinage of the Britons.

The Britons anciently underſtood the working of metals.

THAT the Britons underſtood the art of working of metals in antient times, may be proved from a great number of ſharp inſtruments which they had, as axes, ſpear and arrow heads, ſwords, and the like, made of various metals. Tin, in all probability, was the firſt metal which they underſtood the nature of, and this they uſed to dig up and refine, long before they were diſcovered by the Romans; eſpecially thoſe who dwelt towards the land's end, who by frequent intercourſe with foreign nations, were much more civilized: theſe dug the tin ore out of their mines, and refined it with great dexterity and art; after which they melted it, and caſt it into ſmall blocks or ingots, of a ſquare form like dice, which they conveyed in carts and

* Comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam---and the nine forts under his command were, 1 Branodunum, *Brancaſter*; 2 Garionnonum, *Burg Caſtle*, near Yarmouth, both on the Norfolk coaſt; 3 Othona, *Ithancaſter*, near Maldon in Eſſex, now over flowed by the ſea, though at low water ſome of the foundation is yet to be diſcovered; 4 Regulbium, *Reculver*; 5 Rutupæ, *Richborough*; 6 Dubris, *Dover*; 7 Lemanæ, *Lime*; all theſe laſt four are on the coaſt of Kent; 8 Anderida, *Haſtings*, or *Eaſtbourn*, in Suſſex; 9 Portus Adurnus, *Portſmouth*, in Hampſhire. Horſl. Brit. Rom. p. 471. Theſe nine forts were garriſoned by two thouſand two hundred foot, and two hundred horſe. Ibid. The enſigns of the count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain, were a ſmall book of inſtructions, and the figures of nine caſtles, repreſenting the nine forts under his command: his court was compoſed of the following officers; the principal officer from the court of the maſter of the foot, two auditors from the ſame court, and a maſter of the priſons alſo from the ſame court, a ſecretary, an aſſiſtant, an under aſſiſtant, a regiſter, clerks of appeal, ſerjeants, and other under officers. Notitia Imperii, cap. 52.

waggons

waggons to the Iſle of Wight, where it was ſold to the merchants, who came thither on purpoſe to traffic with the natives.*

Had knowledge of lead in early times.

Lead alſo they dug out of their mines. and refined; this metal was one of the chief commodities which the Phœnicians and Greeks, exported from Britain;† and we cannot doubt their being very early acquainted with the uſe of it, becauſe the ore is ſaid to have been found very near the ſurface of the earth, and in ſuch prodigious abundance, that the natives were by a law forbid to take up more than a fixed quantity annually for exportation.‡

Copper and braſs imported into Britain.

Copper and braſs were imported into Britain by the Phœnicians, who exchanged thoſe metals for tin and lead:§ yet when the emperor Severus invaded the northern parts of Britain, the Maæatæ and the Calidonians ſeem to have had ſome knowledge of working the laſt of theſe metals, by the round balls of braſs which were faſtened at the end of their ſpears. Probably they received them from their neighbours in the ſouth, for which, perhaps, they paid cattle, or ſome ſuch conſideration.‖

Other metals of the Britons.

The Britons had iron, but it was ſo very ſcarce, that their money was made of it, and trinkets to adorn their perſons: the general uſage of this excellent metal was firſt introduced by the Romans, who erected foundaries, and ſet up forges, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom for the manufacturing of arms, tools, and utenſils of every kind. Gold and ſilver were not known to be in the iſland at the time of Cæſar's arrival;** but a ſhort time after, both theſe metals were diſcovered;†† the art of refining and working them, the Britons might learn from their neighbours, the Gauls, who underſtood both extremely well.

The Britons ignorant of the potter's art.

The earthen veſſels, which conſtituted a part of the merchandize that the Phœnicians brought into Britain,‡‡ may plainly prove that the natives themſelves were not expert in the manufacturing of them; though, without doubt, they could not be ignorant of ſome method of forming veſſels of clay, and to dry them in the ſun, in order to hold liquids: this we may conclude from the early want which every people muſt find of ſuch neceſſary utenſils, and which were ſo eaſy to be made. However this may be, when the Romans came into the iſland they had no longer any need to have them imported from abroad; thoſe ingenious people made all ſorts of earthen ware in the greateſt perfection, and without doubt inſtructed the Britons in their art.

No coined money in Britain when Cæſar invaded it.

When Cæſar invaded Britain the natives were ignorant of the uſe of coin: their treaſures conſiſted of rings and tallies of iron, which they gave in exchange for ſuch merchandize as they wanted.§§ Coined mo-

* Diod. Sic. lib. v.
† Strabo, lib. iii. ſub fine.
‡ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxiv. cap. 17.
§ Strabo, ut ſup.
‖ Xiphil. ex Dion. Nic. in Severus.
** Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.
†† Tacit. Vita Agricola.
‡‡ Strabo, lib. iii. ſub fine.
§§ "Utuntur, aut ære, aut annulis "ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis "pro nummo." Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 9.

ney; it is thought, was firſt introduced into Britain by the Gauliſh merchants ſoon after the departure of Julius Cæſar; and from them alſo the Britons learnt the art of coinage.*

When money was firſt coined in Britain, and by whom.

How early coined pieces were made uſe of in Britain has long been a matter of great diſpute amongſt the learned; but thoſe opinions ſeem moſt likely to be true, which fix the æra of coinage in the reign of Auguſtus, and make Cunobelinus the firſt Britiſh prince who ſtruck money in Britain;† and he muſt have coined to a conſiderable amount, for no leſs than forty coins of gold, ſilver, and copper, of this prince, have been diſcovered, all of them of different dies and ſtamps, ſo that he muſt have made at leaſt forty different coinages;‡ and as there is great reaſon to conclude that other kings of the Britons followed the example of this prince, a prodigious quantity of money muſt ſoon have been produced.

The Romans forbid the currency of Britiſh money.

After the Roman conqueſt there was no more Britiſh money coined; for thoſe conquerors not only forbid the making of a new coinage, but put a ſtop to the circulation of what was already ſtruck, and inflicted ſevere penalties on any who gave or received ſuch coin in barter for merchandize, ſo that the Roman money was ſoon made current amongſt the provincial Britons; and as the Romans increaſed the commerce of the inhabitants, there is no doubt but by that means they added to their wealth, ſo that a vaſt quantity of real ſpecie muſt have been circulated in the ſouthern parts of Britain whilſt the Roman government was in a flouriſhing condition.

The decline of the wealth of the Britons.

The wealth of the Britons declined about fifty years before the final retreat of the Romans from Britain, owing, in great meaſure, to the deſtructive ravages of the Picts and Scots in the northern parts of the provinces, and of the Franks and Saxons in the ſouth upon the ſea-coaſts, who barbarouſly deſtroyed every place wherever they came. Beſides this, the two unfortunate expeditions of Maximus and Conſtantine, (the firſt happening A. D. 381, and the laſt A. D. 408) gave a fatal blow to the declining wealth of the provincials; for theſe two adventurers collected and carried off all the money that they could get, in order to ſupport their cauſe, and pay their army.§

* Pegge's Eſſay on the Coins of Cunobelinus.

† Ibid.

‡ Mr. Pegge very properly arranges the coins of this prince in the following claſſes:

1. Thoſe with the king's head and name, or ſome abbreviation of it.

2. Thoſe with the king's name, and place of coinage.

3. Thoſe with the king's name, and the word Taſcia.

4. Thoſe with the king's name, the word Taſcia, and the place of coinage.

5. Thoſe with the word Taſcia only.

6. Thoſe with the word Taſcia, and the place of coinage. See ſpecimens of all theſe claſſes, plate IV.

The word Taſcia has been variouſly accounted for; but Mr. Pegge ſuſpects, that it may have been the name of the mint-maſter of Cunobelinus. See Pegge's Eſſay on the Coins of Cunobelinus.

§ Vide pages 49, 50, & 52, of this vol.

Shortly

CLASS I.



II



III



IV



V



VI.



Shortly after this, the Romans left the Britons to themſelves, and their troubles fell ſo ſucceſſively upon them, that they had no leiſure to make freſh coinages, or even to make uſe of what little money they had left. The miſeries of the Britons.

In the early times, the want of ſolid roads and bridges muſt have been a great hindrance to the Britons in conveying their goods from one place to another: all theſe inconveniencies were alſo remedied by the Romans, who made four great roads through the ſouthern parts of Britain, and bridges over rivers, ſo that all ſorts of merchandize might be carried from one part of the iſland to the other with the greateſt eaſe and expedition. Theſe improvements were ſoon broke in upon by the calamities which followed upon their departure. The Romans make roads and bridges in Britain.

CHAP. IX.

The Cloathing Arts, and Habits of the Britons.

WHEN men had provided themſelves with food, and were in the poſſeſſion of habitations to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, their next thoughts were in general employed in furniſhing themſelves with cloaths for the covering of their nakedneſs. After they had ſlain the beaſts of the field for their food, the appropriating their ſkins for garments ſeems to be a circumſtance ſo natural, and likely to follow, we may eaſily conclude that ſuch were the habits of men in the very ancient ages; and that ſuch was the habit of the inland Britons, when Cæſar invaded their iſland, we have ſufficient teſtimony to prove.* Clothing, an early conſideration.

We have alſo the greateſt reaſon to believe, that the inhabitants of South Britain were acquainted with the arts of dreſſing, ſpinning, and weaving both flax and wool before the arrival of the Romans, becauſe their neighbours, the Gauls, had long underſtood them; and, as a proof, we may add, that the inhabitants of the Caſſiterides, or Scilly iſlands, were then clothed, and their perſonal appearance was as follows:—A long black tunic reaching down to their ancles, and bound round the waiſt with a girdle; they wore their beards long, and hanging on each ſide of their mouths like wings.† Beſides, we are aſſured that the inhabitants of Kent, and the ſea-coaſts, were by far more civilized than the inland Britons;‡ therefore, it almoſt amounts to a proof of their having garments, though they are not particularly deſcribed. Reaſons for thinking the Britons were acquainted with the arts of clothing.

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

† Strabo, lib. iii. See this figure delineated, plate V. of this volume, the ſecond figure from the left hand ſide of the plate.

‡ Cæſar, ut ſup.

The

Various cloths made by the Gauls.

The Gauls made ſeveral ſorts of cloth; the firſt and moſt valuable was manufactured of fine wool of different tints, which being ſpun into yarn, was woven chequer-wiſe, ſo as it might fall into ſmall ſquares of various colours.* Another garment they made of coarſer wool, which was very thickly woven; this cloth was uſed by the Romans themſelves in cold weather:† alſo a very thick kind of cloth they uſed to make, of wool driven tightly together, without ſpinning or weaving, which, if worked up with vinegar, was ſo hard and impenetrable, that it was eſteemed a good guard againſt the edge or point of a ſword; and what was ſheared off, and came from it, (when taken out of the coppers and leads where it was dreſſed) made excellent flocks, which were uſed in ſtuffing matraſſes.‡ Thus much for their woollen manufactory. They were equally famous for their linen, which they wove with great dexterity, as alſo cloths to make ſails for ſhips; theſe were ſold to various nations, and conſtituted a great part of their trade.§

Ancient method of bleaching linen.

When they had compleated their linen in the loom, they proceeded to uſe ſeveral arts to make it more ſoft and beautiful, and to bleach it; the whole proceſs, as well as the whiting the flax before it went to the loom, was as follows:—The unſpun yarn was put into a great mortar, where it was pounded and beaten in water; when it was come to a certain whiteneſs, it was ſent to the weaver; and when it was received again from him made into cloth, it was laid upon a large ſmooth ſtone, and well beaten with broad-headed cudgels: the more frequently it was beaten, and the more labour was beſtowed, the ſofter and whiter the cloth always proved; but very frequently they would mingle the juice of poppies with the water which they uſed on theſe occaſions, and that was thought to contribute conſiderably to the making the linen more white and beautiful.‖ Sometimes they uſed ſoap to ſcour their cloths, which they made of the fat of animals, and the aſhes of certain vegetables; nay, even the invention of this valuable article is attributed to them.**

The art of dying.

Now we are ſpeaking of their linen and woollen manufactories, we muſt not forget their ſkill in the art of dying their cloth of various colours, which they performed in a very ſkilful manner; for they found means to counterfeit the purple of Tyrus, the ſcarlet, and the violet in grain. In ſhort, they were able to make all ſorts of colours that can be thought of, and that with the juice of herbs only.††

First garments of the Britons.

When the Britons became a little more civilized, and began to wear garments, the mantle, or plaid, was the firſt they adopted, which was ſo made as to cover all the trunk of the body, before and behind, and

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. Pliny's Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 48.

† Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Pliny's Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 48.

§ Ibid. lib. xx, cap. 1.

‖ Ibid. lib. xix. cap. 1.

** Ibid. lib. xxviii. cap. 12.

†† Ibid. lib. xxii. cap. 2. From the ſame ſame author we may gather ſeveral of the herbs uſed for the commoner colours, as woad for blue, the hyacinth for light reds, and the like.

was



was faſtened upon the breaſt with a claſp; or, for want of that, with a thorn.* Theſe mantles are thought to have been all of one colour, and ſmooth on the inſide, with long hair on the outſide, like the common rugs which are laid on the beds by way of coverlets:† and in early times theſe rude garments were eſteemed a luxury, and worn by none but the kings and nobles; but as the habits were improved, perſons of that high rank provided themſelves with a better ſort, and the rug deſcended to the common people.

The habit of a Belgic Gaul, which was alſo adopted by the ſouthern Britons, from unqueſtionable authority, was as follows:—A tunic, ornamented with various flowers; cloſe garments, called bracæ, which covered their legs and thighs; over their tunic they wore a caſſock, or cloak of chequer-work, joined together with laces on the inſide, ſo as to form the appearance of flowers; this laſt garment was made thicker and more maſſy for winter, and thinner for the ſummer. Some wore belts over their tunics, adorned with gold or ſilver, from which hung their ſwords, ſuſpended by chains of braſs or iron; on their heads they wore helmets of braſs, ornamented with horns of the ſame metal; about their necks and about their wriſts they wore chains and bracelets of gold,‡ as alſo large golden rings upon their fingers.§ This was the dreſs of a warrior, and moſt likely of a chief nobleman.‖ Others again we find without the tunic, and wearing a woollen robe with ſleeves, which reached down to their hips.** The habit of a Belgic Gaul.

Next to theſe we may juſtly place the ancient inhabitants of the Caſiterides, who wore long black garments, as was before obſerved, and walked about from place to place with ſtaves in their hands.†† And after theſe again ſhould be added the inland inhabitants of Britain, who were cloathed in ſkins:‡‡ and theſe were the habits of all the natives who poſſeſſed the ſouthern diviſion of Britain at the time of Cæſar's arrival. Habits of the Britons.

The Maæatæ and Calidonians were not at this time diſcovered to the Romans; and even when they were by Julius Agricola,§§ all that we can learn concerning them, is, that they were in a ſtate of barbarity; and this we may be well aſſured of, for when we meet with a more particular account of them, ſo late as the reign of the emperor Severus, we find them ſtill naked, wearing about their necks and bellies large rings, and chains of iron, which they looked upon as great ornaments, and prized them as highly as other nations do ſilver or gold. Yet it ſhould ſeem that this nakedneſs did not proceed from the abſolute want of garments, but from pride; for they painted their bodies with various co- The barbarity of the northern nations.

* Pelloutier Hiſt. Celt. lib. i. p. 301.
† Strabo, lib. iv.
‡ Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.
§ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxiii. cap. 1.
‖ See plate V. of this volume.
** Strabo, lib. iv.
†† Ibid, lib. iii. See plate V.
‡‡ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. See plate V. of this volume.
§§ Tacit. Vita Agricola.

lours, and made thereon the repreſentation of animals, and they were fearful if they were cloathed all theſe delightful ornaments would be hid;* they either knew not the uſe of ſhoes, or did not care to wear them.†

The dreſs of the druids, and of the women.

The habits of the druids differed from thoſe of the laity, and, if not always, upon their ſolemn feſtivals and ſacrifices were white, and very probably of linen for diſtinction's ſake.‡ How the women were habited at this early period we are not ſo well informed; only we find, that they let their hair hang looſe upon their ſhoulders, and being turned back before, fell down behind, without tying or braiding; a conſtant attention was paid to make it of a yellow hue by art, if it was not ſo naturally; and even where it was, it was thought more beautiful if the tint could be heightened.§ The women alſo wore maſſy chains of gold about their necks, great bracelets upon their arms, and rings upon their fingers.‖

The habit of Boudicea deſcribed.

The habit of Boudicea, the famous Britiſh heroine, is very luckily preſerved, as well as a perfect deſcription of her perſon: She was a large well-made woman, of a ſevere preſence, and her voice was loud and ſhrill; her hair, which was of a deep yellow, and very long, hung down to the bottom of her back, and on her neck ſhe wore a maſſy chain of gold; ſhe was habited in a tunic, wrought and interwoven with various colours, over which was a looſer robe of coarſer make, and bound round her with a girdle, faſtened with buckles. This was her uſual habit; but as ſhe was now upon the point of giving battle to the Romans, ſhe bore a ſpear alſo in her hand.**

Head coverings, and ſhoes.

What covering the Britons or Gauls had for their heads when they did not wear their helmets or accoutrements of war cannot be diſcovered, but perhaps none at all; for whenever their dreſs is deſcribed we meet not with any mention made of them: or, if they had any, it is likely they were only caps made of the ſkins of beaſts, with the hair turned outwards. In like manner might their ſhoes be made of ſkins, with the hairy ſide outermoſt, and bound round the inſtep with a cord or thong. We may be well aſſured that the more civilized Britons had ſome ſort of ſhoes,

* Herodian. in Vita Severus, lib. iii. cap. 46. & Xiphil. ex Dio. Nic. in Sever. Iſidorus writes us, that the name of the Picts, (which was given latterly to the Maæatæ) correſponded well with the appearance of their bodies: for (adds he) they ſqueeze the juice of certain herbs into figures made on their bodies with the points of needles, and ſo carry the badge of their nobility upon their ſpotted ſkins. Iſidorus Orig. lib. xix. cap. 23. So alſo Solinus ſays, as this operation was done with ſharp needles, and was very painful to them, thoſe were eſteemed the braveſt who bore it with the greateſt fortitude, and received the deepeſt punctures to imbibe the greateſt quantities of paint. Solin. lib. xxxv. ſub finem.

† The reaſon why they wore no ſhoes, might be becauſe they thought they would prevent their running ſo ſwift; ſo alſo, they would wear no armour becauſe it was cumberſome to them when they paſſed the bogs and fens. Herodian, ut ſup. See one of theſe Britons repreſented plate V. of this volume.

‡ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

‖ Ibid. & Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxiii. c. 1.

** Xiphil. ex Dion. in Nerone. See this figure delineated, plate V.

for

for a particular ſtreſs is laid upon the barbarity of the Maæatæ and Calidonians from their being unſhod.*

The habits of the Britons particularized.

We will now take a ſhort review of the habits which we ſuppoſe to have been worn by the civiler Britons, and which we have ſeen by undoubted authority was the attire of the ancient Gauls. The firſt is the robe, or cloak; whether it be made of the baſket, or chequer-work, or whether made of woollen cut ſmooth on the inſide, and the hair left long on the outſide like a rug, both theſe ſorts were worn by the Gauls, and one of them had ſleeves.† The ſecond part of their dreſs was the tunic.‡ The third part, and the moſt remarkable, the bracæ,§ which were a ſort of garments not unlike the trowſers of our ſailors in the preſent day, ſaveing only that they came down to the ancles, and were there tied round cloſe to the ſhoe. Theſe habits, which were certainly worn by all the Celtic nations, may be ſeen frequent enough in many figures on the Trajan and Antonine columns; and the authorities quoted below may perhaps amount to a proof, that theſe were alſo the habits of the Britons who dwelt upon the ſea-coaſts oppoſite to Gaul.

Ornaments worn by the Britons.

The perſonal ornaments which the Gauls affected moſt, were large chains of gold; theſe they wore round their necks; maſſy bracelets for their arms, and rings for the fingers, of the ſame metal; all which were univerſally uſed by both ſexes. And we are well aſſured that the South Britons adorned themſelves in the ſame manner;‖ nay, ſo generally was this taſte diffuſed throughout the iſland, (which proves it of long ſtanding) that in the north, where gold was not to be procured, the natives made chains, rings, and bracelets, of iron; of which, alſo, they were not a little proud.**

The change made in dreſs by the Romans.

It was ſome time after the Romans had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Britain before the natives were prevailed upon to quit their ancient habits. Julius Agricola, who, in all his proceedings, diſcovered his prudence as a commander and as a governor, by lenitive meaſures led them by degrees from one ſtep of luxury to another; and it is under his adminiſtration that we firſt find them wearing the Roman apparel, which before they had ſhewn great diſlike to. As they now began to learn the Roman language, to build temples, places of aſſembly, and imitating the cu-

* Xiphil. ex Dio. Nic. in Sever.

† Varro informs us, that the Britons uſed to wear a garment called a *Gaunacum*, which was of divers colours woven together, making a gaudy ſhew. This garment anſwers well to the deſcription of the above robe, or cloak, as given before, page 258 of this volume.

‡ The tunic, Strabo expreſsly declares, was worn by the inhabitants of the Caſſiterides, before deſcribed; the tunic of various colours makes a part of the habit of Boudicea, as before declared.

§ That the Britons alſo wore the bracæ, let Martial bear witneſs, "Quam veteres "brachæ Britonis pauperis, &c."

‖ This may be proved from the great variety of rings, and chains of gold, which were carried before Caractacus in triumph, when he was led before the emperor Claudius: theſe he had taken in his wars from the monarchs of kingdoms neighbouring to his own.

** See the authority quoted before.

ſtoms of their conquerors in all their proceedings,* the habits above-deſcribed were no longer uſed, but the gown of the Romans, and other garments more convenient, or perhaps, at leaſt, more agreeable.

The Romans improve the clothing art.

The Romans, ſoon after they had brought the natives to conform to their cuſtoms and habits, improved the art of making cloth, and there was an imperial manufactory eſtabliſhed at Venta Belgarum, now Winchester, where all ſorts of woollen and linen cloth was made for the uſe of the Roman army in Britain.† As the Romans improved this art, ſo alſo at their departure it declined; for the miſeries which followed in Britain prevented a proper attention being paid to it.

CHAP. X.

Learning, and the State of the polite Arts amongſt the ancient Britons.

The druids the only people of learning amongſt the Britons.

THE druids were the only perſons of learning in Britain before, and even ſome time after, the arrival of the Romans; and to theſe men the natives paid the higheſt honours, for they were both prieſts and philoſophers. It was cuſtomary with the Britons never to perform any ſacred rite without their aſſiſtance, for they believed them to be well acquainted with the will of the gods; and for that reaſon were the moſt proper perſons to offer up their prayers and thankſgivings.‡ Theſe prieſts, as we have ſeen before, were divided into three claſſes, the bards, the vates, and the druids;§ the firſt were poets and muſicians; the ſecond were prieſts and phyſiologiſts; and the laſt added to the ſtudy of phyſiology, that of moral philoſophy.‖

The druids improved the Britons.

Theſe prieſts poliſhed, and brought their ſcholars into a more rational way of living, and taught them ſome branches of uſeful learning. The vates, by their reſearches into the order of things, endeavoured to lay open the hidden ſecrets of nature; whilſt the druids were men of a more ſublime and penetrating ſpirit, and acquired the higheſt renown by their ſpeculations, which were at once both ſubtile and lofty.**

The phyſiology of the druids.

It is true, at this diſtance of time, there is no poſſibility of giving a clear and diſtinct account of the learning of the druids; all that we can gather, muſt be from the ſlight hints which are to be met with in the ancient authors, and which can only lead us to ſome few particulars. One of their phyſiological opinions concerning the univerſe, was, that it

* Tacit. Vita Agricol.
† Camd. Brit. in Hampſhire.
‡ Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 31.
§ Vide page 191 of this volume.
‖ Ammian. Marcel.
** Ibid.

ſhould

ſhould never be entirely deſtroyed, or annihilated, but that it ſhould ſuffer a ſucceſſion of violent changes and revolutions, which would be produced, ſometimes by the predominating power of fire, and ſometimes by that of water.* All the reſt of their various enquiries into the origin, nature, laws, and properties, of material objects, are unhappily loſt; and this misfortune, moſt likely, we chiefly owe to their refuſing to commit their opinions to writing.

Aſtrology and aſtronomy of the druids.

The druids (who were employed in matters of the higheſt ſpeculation) we find inſtructing their ſcholars concerning the heavenly bodies and their motions, and treating of the power and might of the gods.† There is little doubt to be made, but that the druids alſo pretended to a knowledge of aſtrology; becauſe, of all ſuperſtitions, this ſeems the moſt likely to lay faſt hold upon the minds of men; and when moſt of the reſt were aboliſhed as abſurd, this held its conſequence, and was not utterly rejected till very latter days: however this may be, it is certain that they were aſtronomers, though we know but little of their opinions upon this ſubject; nor can we in the leaſt pretend to inveſtigate their ideas of the mundane ſyſtem. Their time they computed by nights;‡ they had alſo the diviſion of months and years;§ both which they are ſaid to have begun from the full of the moon: but if they reckoned only twelve moons in their year, their computation muſt have fallen conſiderably ſhort of the ſolar year, and would have ſoon called for an alteration; yet by what means they rectified the deficiency is not known. It is certain that they paid great regard to the age of the moon whenever they proceeded on any buſineſs of importance; and the time that there was a new moon, or that ſhe was at the full, was always eſteemed the moſt auſpicious.‖

Arithmetic, geometry, and geography of the druids.

From a great variety of circumſtances we may be led to conclude, that the druids were ſkilled in the art of arithmetic, which muſt have been abſolutely neceſſary in all their computations, as well as in their public and private accounts. Their knowledge of the Greek alphabet is thought to have been two ways ſerviceable to them; firſt, as letters; and ſecondly, as figures. With reſpect to geometry; to what extent their knowledge of this ſcience was carried, we can by no means determine; yet it ſeems they were acquainted with it, becauſe they determined the bounds and limits of all eſtates which were diſputed; and we find them engaged in the more ſublime ſpeculations of geometry, as meaſuring the magnitude of the earth, nay, of the world itſelf. Geography again it ſeems reaſonable that they ſhould have ſome ſkill in, becauſe when annual diſputes were referred to the arch-druid, and the provincial druids delivered in their determinations upon ſuch matters as might relate to eſtates and landed poſſeſſions, this muſt be ſettled by the aſcertaining in ſome meaſure the extent of ſuch poſſeſſions.**

* Strabo, lib. iv.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. & Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2.

‡ Cæſ. ut ſup.

§ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

‖ Ibid.

** Vide Borlaſs's Hiſtory of Cornwall, and Stukeley's Stone Henge.

The

Mechanical knowledge of the druids.

The Druids were certainly well verſed in mechanical knowledge; this may be eaſily proved, when we recollect that Stone Henge, and a great variety of other ponderous ſtructures, are the laſting remains of their ſkill; for it muſt require no mean dexterity, to convey ſuch immenſe ſtones from place to place, and to raiſe them to ſuch heights as we now find them.*

The knowledge that the druids had of phyſic.

The druids alſo were the only phyſicians amongſt the Gauls and Britons; † which people were the more particularly inclined to make application to them for relief, becauſe they thought that all internal diſeaſes proceeded from the anger of the gods, and therefore none could be ſo proper to make interceſſion for them, as the prieſt of thoſe very deities from whom their afflictions came; for this cauſe alſo they offered ſacrifices, when ſick; and if dangerouſly ill, the better to prevail upon the gods to reſtore them to health, a man was ſlain, and ſacrificed upon their altars; and this belief alſo gave the ſuppoſed power to charms and incantations, ſo frequently practiſed in thoſe times of ſuperſtition, to drive away evil ſpirits, and to heal diſeaſes.‡

The anatomy and ſurgery of the druids.

What knowledge they had in the anatomy of the human body cannot be aſcertained, yet is it highly probable that they had ſome general ideas of the muſcles, nerves, great blood veſſels, and other external parts of the body; and alſo of the chief inteſtines; and this they might have learned from a long courſe of human ſacrifices. Modern authors indeed, have enlarged greatly upon this ſubject, and attributed to them, a much more extenſive knowledge of anatomy; but as what they have advanced is meerly conjectural, we have neither ſpace nor leiſure to inſert their various opinions.§ The druidical practice of ſurgery, without doubt, extended to the healing of wounds, ſetting of broken bones, the reducing of diſlocations, and ſuch obvious branches of the art. Yet all this was not done in a plain ready way; but the ſimplicity of their practice was concealed, and numberleſs charms, ſpells, and incantations made uſe of, to deceive the patient, and encreaſe their own conſequence.

Botany of the druids.

Since the chief of their medicines were compoſed of the juice and decoctions of various herbs, we may be well aſſured, that botany was not the leaſt of their ſtudies. The miſletoe, and the ceremonies uſed in cutting it from the tree whereon it was found growing, as alſo the manner of gathering‖ the herb Samulos, as well as their medicinal vir-

* Vide Borlaſs's Hiſt. Cornwall & Stukeley's Stone Henge.

† Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxx. cap. 1.

‡ There is no perſon that makes any doubt, ſays Pliny, but that magic derived its origin from medicine, and that by its flattering and deluſive powers, it came to be eſteemed the moſt ſublime and ſacred part of the art of healing. Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. ut ſup.

§ See Stukeley's Stone Henge, Borlaſs's Ant. of Cornwall, Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. &c.

‖ Vide page 196 of this volume.

tues,

tues, have been before declared.* To theſe we may add, the Selago, a kind of hedge hyſop, which was greatly admired by the druids; the perſon who gathered it was to be cloathed in a white garment, and to offer a ſacrifice of bread and wine before he proceeded to take it; when he had done this, he was to cover his right hand with the ſkirt of his robe, and with a hook, made of more precious metal than iron, cut up the herb, which he was carefully to place in a clean cloth; thus gathered, the herb poſſeſſed various wonderful qualities, and was a powerful charm and preſervative from misfortunes, and ſudden accidents of all kinds.† Vervaine alſo was in great eſteem with the druids, and many extraordinary virtues attributed to it. Beſides theſe, a multitude of others might be found; but as their virtues depended on fond ceremonies, which all bordered upon the ſame ſuperſtition, it will be needleſs as well as tireſome, to proceed in the deſcription of them.

The Anguinum or ſerpent's egg.

One thing ought not to be omitted here, which is, ſome account of the Anguinum or ſerpent's egg, which the druids had in high eſteem; and it was formed, as they pretended, by a great multitude of ſerpents cloſe intwined together, from the frothy ſaliva proceeding from their throats; when it was made, it was raiſed up in the air by their combined hiſſing; and to render it efficacious, it was to be caught in a clean white cloth, before it could fall to the ground; the perſon who performed this office, was obliged inſtantly to mount a ſwift horſe, and ride away full ſpeed, to avoid the purſuits of the ſerpents, who followed him with great rage, until they were ſtopped by ſome river. Having thus obtained the wonderful egg, he proceeded in the next place to try whether it was genuine or not; which was done by enchaſing it in gold, and throwing it into a river; if it ſwam againſt the ſtream, its virtue was indiſputable; and thoſe who carried it about them, ſhould, by its powerful influence, be ſuperior to their adverſaries in all diſputes; it would alſo procure them the favour and friendſhip of great men.‡ But all this is, in general, looked upon as a fable of the druids, in order to procure the greater price for theſe eggs, which they ſold at a high rate to the credulous people; it is true indeed, various opinions have been delivered upon this ſubject, yet none of them founded upon any certain facts.§

Preparation of medicine.

Feint is the light thrown upon the methods purſued by the druids in preparing their medicines; ſome few hints, it is true, we meet with, of their extracting the juice of herbs, their bruiſing and ſteeping them in water, infuſing them in wine, boiling them, and making fumes from them,‖ and the like; it alſo appears, that they were not ignorant of making ſalves and ointments, from vegetables.

* Vide page 196 of this volume.
† Pliny, lib. xxiv. cap. 11.
‡ Ibid. lib. xxix. cap. 3.
§ See Borlaſe ut ſup. &c.
‖ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 44. lib. xxiv. cap. 11. lib. xxv. cap. 9. et alia.

Eloquence of the druids.

When we remember the opportunities which the druids had of diſplaying their eloquence, we ſhall not ſo much wonder at the effect their ſpeeches frequently had upon their hearers. They taught their pupils, and harangued to them concerning their doctrines; they made public ſpeeches to the people, and inſtructed them in morality; they pleaded in courts of juſtice, and in great councils of the ſtate declared their opinions; and either by inviting diſcourſes, perſuaded the chiefs to peace, or elſe in powerful declamations, uſed every incentive to provoke them to war; and we find their ſpeeches were never in vain, for the greateſt attention was always paid to their inſtructions and advice.* The kings and leaders of the Britons who were inſtructed by the druids, partook of their eloquence; for always before an engagement, they harangued their army, and endeavoured to fire the minds of their ſoldiers with the hopes of glory and conqueſt, and to raiſe in them a contempt of death and danger. Though thoſe elegant ſpeeches which are handed down to us, by the Roman authors, of ſeveral Britiſh chiefs, are not entirely genuine, yet the effect which their exhortations are ſaid to have produced upon their troops, may plainly prove the force and energy with which they were delivered.†

The druids accuſed of magic.

The druids have lain under very grievous accuſations, on account of their magical juggles; but in Britain theſe deluſions ſeem to have been carried to a more extraordinary length, and with greater ſucceſs, than in any other Celtic nation; for they practiſed ſo many ceremonies and magical rites, that they were ſaid to have exceeded even the Perſians themſelves;‡ and by this art they pretended to diſcover the deſigns of the gods, and foretel future events.§ The Eubate or Vates, alſo inveſtigated the moſt ſublime ſecrets of nature, and by auſpices and ſacrifices delivered out prophetic ſpeeches.‖ Yet after all, what were theſe more than a ſort of religious juggles, which were

* The Gauls, and moſt likely the Britons, alſo had a god, named Ogmius, which in their language ſignified eloquence; they pictured him out as an old man, ſurrounded by a great multitude of people, all of whom were held by ſmall chains, which came from his tongue to their ears; and the multitude were not diſpleaſed with their bondage, but on the contrary, looked with admiration upon him. Lucian (who tells this ſtory) ſeeming to be ſurpriſed at this ſtrange repreſentation, was anſwered by a Gauliſh druid, in the following manner: You will not wonder when I inform you, that contrary to the Greeks, we make Hercules (whom we call Ogmius) the god of eloquence, whereas they attribute that honour to Mercury, who is far inferior to Hercules in power and ſtrength. We make him an old man, becauſe eloquence is never ſo forcible as when it proceeds from the mouth of the aged; and the relation that the mouth has to the ear, juſtifies that part of the picture which you wonder at, the ſlender chains reaching from the tongue of the deity, to the ears of the multitude, by which he holds them faſt; nor is it any diſgrace to repreſent Hercules in this faſhion, for it was by his eloquence that he ſucceeded in every thing, and ſubdued the hearts of all men. Lucian in Hercules Gallicus.

† Vide page 17, 24 and 32 of this vol.

‡ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxx. cap. 1.

§ Mela, lib iii. cap. 2.

‖ Ammian. Marcell. lib. xv. cap. 19.

practiſed

practiſed by the heatheniſh prieſts in all ages, and of almoſt all nations.

It ſeems certain that the druids knew the uſe of letters, becauſe their public and private accounts were always kept in writing.* The knowledge of the Greek alphabet, thoſe of Gaul received from the Greek merchants at Marſailles, who had fixed themſelves there for the convenience of carrying on their trade with the Britons; for the merchandiſe from Britain was carried by land thither, and from thence ſent to the different nations, where thoſe merchants traded:† the druids of Britain, either had the ſame alphabet from their neighbours the Gauls, or elſe might learn it from the Greek merchants, who came frequently into the iſland. Letters known to the druids and how.

The ſchools and ſeminaries of learning amongſt the druids, were held in the deep receſſes of groves and foreſts, and the caverns of the earth; in thoſe places they inſtructed the youth ‡ who were committed to their charge, in the knowledge that was neceſſary for them, according to the ſtation of life which it was intended they ſhould fill. The coming of the Romans made a great alteration in the modes of learning amongſt the Britons: Julius Agricola is the firſt we find who paid any attention to the inſtruction of the provincials; he, we are aſſured, took great care to have the ſons of the chief Britons taught the liberal ſciences; and ſuch was the ſucceſs, that they who had before deſpiſed the Roman language, now became deſirous of acquiring it, and made a rapid progreſs in learning and eloquence.§ After the converſion of the Britons to chriſtianity, the learning was chiefly confined to the prieſts and religious profeſſors, and by degrees the monaſteries became the great ſeminaries of learning. Schools and ſeminaries of learning.

The ſculptures and images of the Britons are all of them loſt. The Gauls uſed to ornament their ſhields with images of beaſts made of braſs, and upon their helmets they placed horns of braſs, figures of birds, or the faces of four-footed beaſts;‖ and it is highly probable, that this art of embelliſhing their ſhields and helmets, was not unknown to the Britons; for every warlike people, ſeem to have taken great pride in the beauty of their arms; which they either traced with figures, or poliſhed with extraordinary care. The Romans who carried the art of ſculpture to great perfection, improved the ſtate of it in Britain, a great variety of their baſs-reliefs and images, have been found in various parts of the kingdom; and it was very ſoon after their firſt arrival, that they began to manifeſt proofs of their ſkill, for as early as the year 61, not twenty years from the inva- Art of ſculpture.

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.
† Strabo, lib. iv.
‡ Mela, ut ſup.
§ Tacit. Vit. Agric.
‖ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

sion under Claudius Cæsar, we find a statue of Victory in the city of Camulodunum.*

Art of painting.

We know but little of the state of painting, and the art of colouring amongst the Britons, before the arrival of the Romas; we read indeed, of their painting their bodies. The southern Britons when they went to war stained themselves all over with woad, which made them of a blue colour;† and this they did to appear more formibable to their enemies. Again at their public feasts and solemn festivals, all of them, whether men, women, or children, were stripped naked, and stained over with woad, to such a degree, that they appeared like Ethiopians:‡ yet this was but a kind of wash, or plain colour, uniformly laid all over them. In the north the art of painting, or staining their skins, was carried to greater perfection; for there we find them picturing upon their bodies the representation of herbs, flowers, trees, and animals of all kinds.§

The Romans improve the art of painting.

The Romans, who were also well acquainted with the arts of design and colouring, without doubt, instructed the Britons in the same; and this we may be partly assured of, from the pictures and delineations of their Gods, which remained upon the walls of their cities in the days of Gildas Badonicus; yet because they might be either greatly defaced by time, or the work of ruder hands; they are said, by that pious author, to have been hideous and ugly; but the prejudices which he might have conceived against them, as the reliques of idolatry, may have caused him to look upon them in this frightful light;‖ or perhaps many of them may have beeen intended to represent satyrs and sylvan gods, who are always drawn as deformed and ugly.

The art of poetry the bards excel in.

Their remarkable fondness for poetry, may be easily conceived, from their laws and doctrines, whether religious or moral, being all in verse; the whole employment of the bards, was poetry of one kind or other; their compositions were various; the actions of great men they celebrated in heroic poems,** which they sung to the sweet sounds of the lyre;†† again they would compose satirical poems, in which they censured the vices and immoralities of the age;‡‡ and such was the power and harmony of their numbers, when they touched upon the pathetic, and strove to move the imaginations of men, that they would

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.

† Cæs. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 10.

‡ Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. xxii. cap. 1.

§ Herodian, lib iii. cap. 46.

‖ The words of Gildas describing these pictures of their gods, are as follows: "quorum nonnulla, lineamentis ad huc deformibus intra vel extra deserta mœnia solito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur." Gild. Hist. cap. 2.

** Diod. Sic. lib. v.

†† Possidonius of Apamea informs us, that it was a custom common amongst the Celtic princes, when they went to war, to carry a certain number of poets with them, who eat at their tables, and sang their praises to the people, who gathered round them in crouds. Athenæas, lib. vi. cap. 12.

‡‡ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

run

run in between two armies, juſt upon the point of engaging in battle, and by their ſongs overcome the paſſions of the rough warriors, and make them throw down their arms;* on the contrary, no doubt, when they were deſirous of blowing up the flames of war and ſedition in the minds of their hearers, they had other ſongs to raiſe their courage, and let looſe the fury of reſentment in their breaſts.

The muſic of the bards.

Muſic ſeems always to have been happily united with the flights of poetry by the Britiſh bards; their poems they conſtantly ſung to the harp; and their taſte in muſic, as well as in the expreſſion of their words, is plainly proved, by the wonderful effect it had upon the ſurrounding multitude, who liſtened to their ſtrains.

The lyre by whom invented.

The harp or lyre, is ſaid to have been invented by the Scythians; and it was uſed by all the Celtic nations; in its primitive ſtate, it had only four or five ſtrings or thongs, which were made of an ox's hide; and it was uſually played upon with a plectrum, made of the jaw-bone of a goat;† but by degrees it was improved, and became a very excellent inſtrument; the form of thoſe uſed by the Britiſh bards, as well as the number of ſtrings wherewith they were ſtrung, or how they were played upon, are circumſtances we have no means left to diſcover.

The decreaſe of learning amongſt the Britons.

Learning, and every other polite art, gradually loſt ground, ſome time before the departure of the Romans from Britain; and after they had finally taken their leave, they ſunk entirely to the ground: all their records of antient times were loſt or deſtroyed,‡ ſo that the bare outlines of the people, and the tranſactions of this important period is all we could trace out, from the curſory mention we meet with of them in the Roman authors.

* Diod. Sic. ut ſup.

† Pelloutier, Hiſt. Celt. cap. 9. p. 360. note 30. & vide Dr. Henry's Hiſt. Brit. v. I.

‡ Gildas Sapiens, himſelf a Briton, declares himſelf unſatisfied, whether the ancient Britons ever had any records or writings, to tranſmit their hiſtory and original to poſterity; and therefore plainly confeſſes, "that he took all his hiſtory "out of foreign writers, and not out of "any writings or records left by his own "countrymen, which were either loſt or "burnt by the enemy at home, or car-"ried by exiles into foreign countries." Gild. Hiſt. And Ninnius in the preface to his Hiſtory of Britain, complains, that the greateſt ſcholars amongſt theBritons had but little learning, and that they had left no memorials; and confeſſes, that whatever he had written, was collected out of the annals and chronicles of the holy fathers. Pref. Ninn. Hiſt. Brit.

CHAP. XI.

Deſcription of the Britons, and their particular Manners.

The face of the country in ancient times.

GREAT Britain, which is now ſo fair and flouriſhing, was in the times we are treating of, little better than a wild deſart, covered with woods, and full of bogs, fens, and marſhes; except perhaps ſome few countries in the ſouthern parts, which lay near the ſea-ſhore, where the inhabitants being more civilized, had begun to cultivate the land, and ſow corn. Many of theſe marſhes were drained by the Romans, who made ſolid roads through them, from one part of their poſſeſſions in the iſland to another; they alſo built bridges, and did every thing neceſſary for the improvement of the country. In Calidonia, where theſe conquerors ſeldom went, ſuch improvements did not take place; for when the emperor Severus, A. D. 207, with his army, invaded the northern nations, he met with almoſt inſurmountable obſtacles, from the wild and uncultivated ſtate of the country; ſo that in order to proſecute his march, he was obliged to cut down whole foreſts, dry up moraſſes, build bridges, and fill up the bogs; till at laſt his troops were ſo wearied, and harraſſed with a continual ſucceſſion of difficulties, that many, unable to proceed any further, begged of their companions to kill them, leſt they ſhould fall alive into the hands of their enemies. It is ſaid, that the emperor loſt no fewer than fifty thouſand of his troops in this unprofitable expedition.*

The perſons of the Britons.

The Britons, in general, appear to have been a tall,† ſtrong, nimble, and comely people; though they were not all alike, for the Calidonians are deſcribed as the ſtrongeſt built, and the beſt able to endure hardſhips; for they were accuſtomed, from the nature of their climate, to fatigues of all kinds; they could endure hunger and cold with great patience, and would remain for ſeveral days in the fens and moraſſes, up to the neck in water, without touching food of any kind:‡ theſe men, from their large limbs, and red hair, were thought to have come originally from Germany. The Silures, were remarkable for their ſwarthy complexions, and their hair, which was generally curled: theſe have been thought to have come from Spain, whilſt thoſe who poſſeſſed the ſea-coaſts oppoſite to Gaul, are univerſally agreed to have been like the Gauls, and moſt likely ſprung from them.§ As the Celtic

* Xipil. ex Dio. Nicæo. in Sever.

† Strabo ſays, that he ſaw certain Britiſh youths at Rome, who were one foot and a half higher than the talleſt perſon there: he remarks that they were fairer in perſon than the Gauls, but did not ſtand very ſtraight upon their legs; nor had they any very fine features, or elegance of ſhape or limbs. Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Xiphil. ex Dio. in Sever.

§ Tacit. Vit. Agric.

nations

nations in general are ſaid to have been remarkable for their blue eyes, we may fairly judge that thoſe of the Britons were the ſame. As the Britons were a people of good conſtitutions, and lived in a ſimple manner, we need not wonder that they ſhould arrive at great ages. Some of them are ſaid to have exceeded one hundred years.*

The general character of the Britons.

In genius the Britons excelled the Gauls, who were an acute and ready people.† In their tempers they were proud and haſty, contemning danger, and ſwift to revenge; they were brave and valiant in the field of battle, but cruel and bloody to the enemies whom they had conquered.‡ Curioſity, credulity, and fickleneſs, were the national foibles both of the Gauls and Britons; and to all theſe, at times, were owing the misfortunes of both theſe people.§ On the other hand, the Britons were open, generous, grateful, and docile; being perfectly ſimple and honeſt in all their dealings,‖ they ſubmitted with pleaſure to what was mild and legal, but were impatient of reſtraint, and oppoſed couragiouſly all tyranny, and attempts to enſlave them; but of all others, this was the ſtrongeſt characteriſtic of the Calidonians, many of whom put their wives and children to death with their own hands, rather than they ſhould fall into the power of the Romans;** they alſo were equally remarkable for their ſocial affection and duty towards their parents.

The hoſpitality of the Britons, and their exceſſes.

Another remarkable part of the character of the ancient Britons, was their hoſpitality to ſtrangers; towards whom they always behaved with the greateſt kindneſs, and received them with joy and feſtivity, holding nothing too good for them that their houſe afforded.†† With reſpect to

* Plutarch declares that ſome of them lived to one hundred and twenty years. Vide Camden, in his Preface to his Brit.

† Tacit. Vita Agric.

‡ This one may find by their behaviour to the Roman captives, whom they took in the famous revolt under Boudicea, queen of the Icenians, ſee page 23, of this volume. Diodorus Siculus and Strabo both inform us that the Gauls uſed to cut off the heads of their enemies whom they had ſlain in battle; and ſuch as were of a high rank they anointed with a certain mixture, to preſerve them, and kept them in their houſes to ſhew to ſtrangers, to whom they boaſted of their own great acts, or the valour of their predeceſſors; and ſhewed thoſe heads as proof of the truth of their aſſertions. There ſeems but little doubt to be made of the Britons doing the ſame, ſince in moſt other matters they followed the Gauls ſo cloſely. Diod. Sic. lib v. Strabo, lib. iv.

§ Cæſar informs us that it was the cuſtom with the Gauls to oblige travellers to ſtop, even againſt their wills, and they would enquire of them the news of the time, what they had heard, or might know, concerning any matter; and the common people would croud round the merchants in the towns, and oblige them to inform them from what country they came, and what news they have there. Influenced by ſuch reports and informations, they would credulouſly determine matters of the greateſt moment, and frequently to their great diſadvantage; ſince they gave credit to every doubtful report, and many impoſed on them things invented to pleaſe them. Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 5.

‖ Diodorus Siculus ſays of the Britons, that their manners were plain and ſimple, and that they were abſolute ſtrangers to the pernicious cunning and diſſimulation of the generality of people in his time. Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 21.

** Tacit. Vita Agric.

†† Diod. Sic. lib. v.

their

their chaſtity, it ſeems their ideas were groſs and unpoliſhed.* As they had not wherewithal to live luxurioufly, ſo their frugality is not to be commended, for they were very eaſily drawn into all kinds of exceſs,† and drunkenneſs was a vice they frequently gave way to; they would often drink until they were entirely overcome with the liquor, or inflamed with a kind of madneſs; and the bad effects of this vice was, that thereby ſudden quarrels happened amongſt them; for when they had drank freely, they would ſtart up and fight furiouſly, without the leaſt regard to their lives or ſafety.‡ Another blemiſh in their character, was, their proneneſs to public robberies, eſpecially in the north; for the Maæatæ and Calidonians ſupported themſelves in great meaſure by plunder and ſpoils, which they took from their neighbours in the ſouth, whom they frequently diſtreſſed to the greateſt degree in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner.§

Ranks of men amongſt the Britons.

Of the ranks of men amongſt both the Gauls and Britons we find but two ſorts, that enjoyed any conſiderable honours, and theſe were the druids and the nobles: concerning the druids, enough has been ſaid already; the nobles, or heads of clans, as many of them as formed a community, or ſtate, were obliged, when any war broke out, to join in the proſecution of it; and as any one of theſe were ſuperior either in quality or power, ſo he had more retainers about him, and in this his honour chiefly conſiſted. The common people were looked upon almoſt in the light of ſlaves, and could do nothing of their own accord; neither were they admitted to any councils, moſt of them being oppreſſed with debt, the weight of taxes, or the injuſtice of the great, ſubmitted themſelves to the vaſſalage of the nobles, who had the ſame power over them as if they were ſlaves;‖ and indeed they were frequently abuſed, and ſold as ſuch.**

Behaviour of the Britons towards the fair-ſex.

We have the greateſt reaſon to believe that the Britons behaved with all becoming decency and reſpect towards the fair-ſex. We find that the brutal carriage of the Romans towards the daughters of Boudicea, and the affronts which they put upon her, were great incentives to that deſtructive revolt that broke out ſoon after.†† What their ceremonies of marriage were, or what the particular employment of their wives, is not known;‡‡ but without doubt it was their charge to overlook the affairs of the houſe, and pay attention to ſuch buſineſs as more properly belongs to women than men; and had the care of their children until they were of

* Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v. & vide page 248 of this volume.
† Tacit. Vita Agric.
‡ Diod. Sic. ut ſup.
§ See the firſt part of the Chronicle.
‖ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.
** Strabo, lib. iv.
†† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 10.
‡‡ Cæſar relates a remarkable circumſtance relative to the marriage dowers amongſt the Gauls. "Whatever ſum "the huſbands receive with their wives, "by way of dower, (ſays he) ſo much "of their own poſſeſſions (a calculation "being made) they join to that for-"tune; a clear account is kept of this "money, and its intereſt preſerved, and "the longeſt liver of the two inherits the "whole." Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 17.

fit

fit age to be put under the tuition of the druids. Their houſhold furniture we can by no means pretend to diſplay; their beds, indeed, might be nothing more than ſkins of beaſts, ſpread upon the floor within their little cots.

Diet of the Britons.

The original diet of the Britons was plain and ſimple, nor do they ſeem to have had any idea of luxury in food before the arrival of the Romans. Some of the northern nations lie under the horrid accuſation of eating their fellow-creatures;* but this heavy charge is thought by modern authors to have been groundleſs, and only to have ariſen from miſtake, or wrong information; which opinion (as every one ought to think as charitably as poſſible) is not without a tolerable foundation.†

Plenty of proviſions in the ſouth of Britain.

The ſouthern Britons had great plenty, as well as variety of proviſions, though they ſuperſtitiouſly abſtained from eating hares, hens, and geeſe;‡ however, a bird, named Chenerotes, (ſuppoſed to be a kind of wild fowl) was in the higheſt eſteem amongſt them.§ They had alſo a great plenty of veniſon, beſides their tame cattle, as oxen, ſheep, and goats, which they drove about from place to place, and which, indeed, conſtituted the chief wealth of the inland Britons; all theſe, it ſeems, they killed and dreſſed for their uſe, as their neceſſity required them.

Manner of dreſſing their food, &c.

It is remarked of the Celtic nations in general, that they eat very little bread at their entertainments, but a great deal of fleſh, which they either boiled in water, or broiled upon the coals, or roaſted on ſpits; and of the Gauls, in particular, it is ſaid, that near the place where they intended to make an entertainment they uſually kindled great fires, whereon they placed pots, and near them ſpits, on which they roaſted large joints of meat of various kinds.‖ The Gauls and Britons had ſalt, with which they uſed to ſalt their proviſions, and preſerve them. In ancient time ſalt was a part of the commodities which the Britons received from the Phœnicians, in exchange for their tin and lead;** but, ſometime after, they learned a method of making it themſelves, inſtructed, perhaps, by the Gauls, who purſued the following proceſs:—They raiſed a pile of trees, chiefly of oaks and hazels, and having ſet it on fire, burnt it to charcoal, and whilſt it was red hot, they poured ſalt water upon it, which produced a kind of ſalt of a blackiſh hue.††

Scarcity of proviſions in the north, and why.

Their cattle afforded them milk, and amongſt the more civilized Britons perhaps the art of making cheeſe and butter might not be unknown;‡‡ but we are aſſured that the more northern nations were totally

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 32. & Hieron. adver. Soven. lib. ii.

† Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, vol. I. pages 478 & 479.

‡ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

§ Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. x. cap. 22.

‖ Poſſidonius, & Diod. Sic. lib. v.

** Strabo, lib. iv.

†† Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. ſub fine. Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xxxi. cap. 7.

‡‡ For it is thought that the words of Strabo, declaring "that ſome of the ancient Britons were ſo very ignorant, "that though they had great quantities "of milk, yet they knew not how to make "cheeſe, &c." ought not to be taken in a general ſenſe, as regarding the whole iſland, but only that part of it that was moſt unpoliſhed. Vide Strabo, lib. iv.

ignorant

ignorant of it; nor had they ſuch variety of food as was produced in the ſouth, for they inhabited the barren mountains, and their country was full of moraſſes and marſhes; neither had they any cultivated lands, ſo that their whole proviſion conſiſted of milk and fleſh, either of their tame cattle, or ſuch as they got by hunting, or wild fruits and roots; for we are aſſured they would not eat fiſh, though their rivers abounded with them: if they ever fed upon greater dainties than ſuch as are juſt mentioned, thoſe were only the ſpoils which they had taken from their ſouthern neighbours.*

The drinks uſual amongſt the Britons.

The drinks of the Gauls and Britons were chiefly ale, or mead; the latter made of honey, diluted with water, and fermented; and the former, which ſeems to have been their more common drink, was uſually made of barley; the grain being ſteeped in water, was made to germinate, by which its ſpirit was excited, and ſet at liberty; it was then dried and ground, and after infuſed into a certain quantity of water, and being fermented, became a warm, ſtrengthening, and intoxicating liquor:† when they found a deficiency of barley, ſeveral other grains were ſubſtituted in its ſtead, as wheat, rye, oats, and millet. Wine they had but ſmall quantities of, which was imported by the merchants who traded with them, but they were moſt immoderately fond of it; and when they had it in their poſſeſſion, would ſeldom leave it till they had either drank it all out, or ſo far inebriated themſelves as to be deprived of all ſenſibility.‡

Manner of ſitting at meat.

When they ſat at meat, it was not upon ſeats or benches, but upon the ground; whereon, inſtead of carpets, they ſpread the ſkins of wolves, or dogs. The gueſts all of them ſat round about, and the food was placed before them, and every one took his part; they were waited upon by the younger people of both ſexes.§ Such as had not ſkins were content with a little hay or ſtraw, which was laid under them.

Exerciſes of the Britons.

The exerciſes of the Britons were robuſt and manly; they practiſed, without doubt, like other barbarous nations, feats of war, and ſtrove to make themſelves expert in the uſe of arms. They do not ſeem to have

* Xiphil. ex Dio. Nic. in Sever.

† Iſidorus Orig. lib. xx. cap. 2. To the ſame purpoſe Diodorus Siculus, "The "Gauls made a ſtrong liquor of barley, "which they call Zithus; they alſo made a "a drink of honey, diluted with water." lib. v.

‡ Ibid. In the Scottiſh iſlands (where many of the old Britiſh cuſtoms are ſtill preſerved) "The manner of drinking (ſays Martin) uſed by the chief men, is called in their language *Streak*, i. e. *around*, for the company ſat in a circle, and the cup-bearer filled round to them, and all was drank out, whatever liquor it was, whether weak or ſtrong. They continued drinking ſometimes twenty-four, and ſometimes forty-eight hours. It was reckoned a piece of manhood to drink until they were drunk, and there were two men with a barrow attending punctually on ſuch occaſions. They ſtood at the door until ſome became drunk, and they carried them upon the barrow to bed, and returned again to their poſt as long as any continued freſh; and ſo carried off the whole company one by one as they became drunk." Martin's Deſcription of the Weſtern Iſlands, p. 106.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. v.

dedicated

dedicated their leiſure hours to conſtant idleneſs, or diſſipation, as the Germans were wont to do, but attended to recreations of various ſorts. Of their ſurpriſing agility and alertneſs we have many proofs; they were ſwift of foot, and incomparable ſwimmers.*

Funerals of the Britons.

The Gauls and Britons burned the bodies of their dead; and their funerals, according to the quality of the perſon, were grand and magnificent: around the pile the friends and relations of the deceaſed were aſſembled, and threw into the flames whatever he thought valuable in his life-time; particularly his arms, and ſuch animals as were favourites. In ancient times it had been cuſtomary alſo to burn his ſlaves and ſervants with him, eſpecially if he were of high quality,† that he might not go unattended into the other world; and, for the ſame reaſon, frequently his deareſt friends would ruſh voluntarily into the fire, in order to accompany their departed companion to his ſtation in the future life.‡ When the aſhes were gathered up, with them was buried the bonds and contracts for money, that were made during the life-time of the deceaſed, that he might ſhew them in the other world, and exact the money of his debtors, which was due to him.§

Monuments of the ancient Britons.

The dead body being burned, and the aſhes collected together, the laſt ſad office of the friends of the deceaſed was to lay them in ſome place of reſt. The common ſort of people moſt likely had their aſhes laid in a hole dug in the earth, near where the funeral had been performed, and over the grave might be raiſed a little hillock of earth, or turfs. Thoſe of more conſequence were put into the ſtone cheſt, or kiſt vean, a rude monument, frequently found in various parts of Britain, and was uſually compoſed of five large flat ſtones; four of them made the ſides, the fifth ſerved by way of cover; ſometimes theſe were placed on the top of a high hillock, or barrow; at other times a hill was made over them: the barrows were uſually made of earth, though often ornamented with large ſtones ſet round about them, or with a little trench. Kings and nobles had more obvious monuments raiſed over their aſhes: theſe are called Cromlêh's ſtone tables, and are uſually formed by one large flat ſtone, laid on three or four other ſtones, which are ſet upright, or poſt-ways, to ſuſtain it.‖

* Thus Boudicea, in her famous ſpeech to the Britons, remonſtrates, "If we fly, "we are ſo ſwift of foot, that the Romans "cannot overtake us; if they fly, they "cannot eſcape our purſuit. We can "paſs rivers by ſwimming which they can "hardly paſs in boats." Xiphil. ex Dio. in Nerone.

† Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

‡ Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2.

§ Ibid.

‖ Some authors, inſtead of Cromlêh, write Cromlech. See two of theſe ancient monuments, plate III. For a further account of them, the reader is referred to the firſt volume of the Hoɲda Anȝel cynnan, or View of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants of England, page 61.

CHAP. XII.

Military Conduct and Fortifications of the Romans.

BEFORE we conclude this part of the Chronicle, it may not be amiſs to explain the manner and nature of the Roman fortifications, that we may be able, in the future volumes, to determine which of the various entrenchments remaining in Britain may, or ought to be aſcribed to that people. To ſet the whole in as clear a light as poſſible, the following extract from Polybius is given, which ſhews in what manner the armies of the Romans were conſtituted, and how encamped.*

Roman tribunes, how choſen.

" After the Romans have elected their conſuls, they create military tribunes; they chuſe fourteen out of thoſe who have been five years in the war, and ten more of thoſe that have carried their arms ten years: for all their citizens muſt bear arms till the forty-ſixth year of their age. The horſe muſt ſerve ten years, and the foot ſixteen; except thoſe who are worth above ſeventy livres, and thoſe they reſerve for the marine. But if the commonwealth have an extraordinary occaſion, the foot are bound to ſerve twenty years.

The manner of election.

" None can exerciſe the office of a magiſtrate that has not ſerved ten campaigns. When the conſuls have occaſion to raiſe ſoldiers, they cauſe proclamation to be made, that all that are able to bear arms ſhall aſſemble together at ſuch a time; and this they do once a year. When the day is come, and the Romans who are able to go to war are aſſembled at the capitol, the youngeſt of the military tribunes divide them into four bodies, according to the order of the people, or of the generals of the army, becauſe they firſt divide their troops into four legions, and the four tribunes who were firſt choſen are ordered into the firſt legion, the three next for the ſecond, the four next after for the third, and the laſt for the fourth. In the firſt legion are two of the oldeſt made tribunes, in the ſecond are the three next, in the third the two next after them, and in the fourth the three laſt.

Legions, how choſen.

" After the legions were thus choſen, and divided into ſuch ſort, that every legion has the ſame number of leaders, the tribunes of each legion being ſet at a diſtance, draw the tribus (wherein the names were contained) by lot. They are called as they are drawn, and afterward they chuſe four young men of the ſame age and ſtature. The tribunes of the firſt legion chuſe firſt, thoſe of the ſecond, the ſecond, and ſo of the reſt; except the number of the triarii, which never changes. The youngeſt are obliged to wear a ſword, and carry a ſmall javelin, with a target; the target is firm, being made for that purpoſe, and big enough to defend him that carries it, for it is round, and a foot and a

* Polybius, lib. vi.

half

half in diameter. Beſides this, the velites wear a light head-piece, on the top of which they commonly put a wolf's paw, or ſomething like it, which ſerves both for a covering, and a mark for the captains, to know them upon occaſion. The javelin of the velites is of wood, and commonly about two cubits long, and finger thick; it is armed with iron about half a foot, and at the point ſo fine, that it bends at the firſt blow, ſo that when they lance againſt their enemies they cannot uſe the ſame weapon again, otherwiſe it would ſerve both, and he that lanceth would find his enemies weapons to fight againſt himſelf.

The haſtati, how appointed, and their arms.

" The next to the velites are the haſtati, and they are appointed to carry the arms which they keep in their houſes, and chiefly the buckler. Its ſuperfices, bending outwards, are two feet and a half, and four feet long, or at fartheſt does not exceed half a foot more. It is made of two boards glewed together, covered with thick cloth glewed in like manner, and over all the reſt a calf's ſkin; round it there is a border of iron, to defend it againſt all cutting ſtrokes, and give it ſhape; in the midſt there is an iron ſhell, or boſs, to ſuſtain the blow of a ſtone, or the puſh of a lance, or any other arms whatſoever. The ſpearmen have, beſide the buckler, a Spaniſh ſword, which they wear on their right ſide, fit either for thruſting or cutting, with an edge on both ſides, made of a ſtrong well-tempered blade. Beſide all this, they carry two great javelins, a braſs helmet, and armour to cover their thighs and legs; ſome of theſe javelins are thicker, ſome more ſlender: of the largeſt ſort, the round ones were of four fingers diameter, and the others as much on the ſides; the leſſer ſort reſembles our common darts. Theſe every ſoldier carries with the arms above-mentioned. The ſhaft of theſe javelins is three yards long, with iron in form of a hook, and pointed at the end, of an equal length of the ſhaft. This iron, which reaches as far as the middle of the ſhaft, is firmly ſecured, and riveted with nails, to prevent its being looſened, or breaking by any accident where it is joined. On the top of their helmet is faſtened a ſmall coronet, or circle of iron, with three feathers, red or black, in the midſt, a foot and a half in length, which towering ſo far above the head, make thoſe who wear them appear big and terrible to their enemies. The ordinary ſoldiers wear on their breaſts a plate, twelve inches on all ſides; but thoſe who are worth more than one hundred and fifty pounds eſtate, wear a coat of mail inſtead of this breaſt-plate.

The principes and the triarii, their arms, and rank.

" The principes and the triarii bear the ſame arms, except that the triarii, inſtead of javelins, carry a ſort of half-pike. Out of theſe fighting-men, except the youngeſt, which were the velites, are choſen ten commanders, all experienced in the art of war; and after this, by a ſecond election, ten more. All theſe officers have the title of captains, with power to nominate ten ſerjeants in their diviſions. Next, according to their ſeveral ages, the whole body is divided into ten parts, excluſive of the velites, and each diviſion hath two commanders, and two ſerjeants out of

thoſe before choſen. The velites are equally diſtributed to each party, and each part have the name of a band, company or colours given to it, and the captains are called centurions. Theſe chuſe each in their reſpective companies two enſigns, the moſt robuſt and brave fellows they can find. Doubtleſs it is a very prudent method to place two commanders to each diviſion; for, conſidering all uncertainties, how either may behave themſelves, and the riſques of war, it may not be ſafe to ſuffer companies to hazard the want of a commander. The eldeſt of theſe captains, or he who is firſt choſen, leads the right, and the other on the left, and either in the abſence of his partner, leads the whole body. The qualities which the Romans deſire in a commander, are not ſo much adventurous boldneſs, as ſkill in military affairs, good conduct, and counſel: nor do they ever ſet ſo high a value on thoſe who are forward to engage and expoſe themſelves freely, as thoſe who reſiſt an enemy when he preſſes them, and rather die than quit their poſt.

Their cavalry, how divided.

"In the ſame manner they divide their cavalry, into ten parts, each of which has three captains, who chuſe three lieutenants of their troops. The eldeſt, or firſt elect, command the troops, and the others are but decurions, or commanders of ten. In the abſence of the eldeſt captain, the ſecond acts in his place. The armour of the horſe is the ſame with the Greeks; formerly they did not wear cuiraſſes, but a ſort of breeches; by this means they were lighter, and could diſmount more readily, but fighting thus unarmed, were more expoſed to danger. Their javelins were uſeleſs to them for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe ſlender, and bending with their weight, they were ſubject to be broken by the agitation of the horſe; the ſecond, becauſe being armed with iron at one end only, they were only proper for a ſingle blow, and being broken on one ſide, were rendered uſeleſs. They bore a buckler made of an ox's hide, which reſembled certain loaves ſtuck through, as is uſed in ſacrifices; and theſe being not firm enough to make any great oppoſition, were of little uſe at beſt; but if they happened to be thorough wet by a good ſhower of rain, became wholly unſerviceable. For this reaſon they laid all theſe things aſide, introducing the Greek arms, by which they were able to ſecure their blow, the javelin being firm, and capable of being uſed on either ſide. The Romans finding by experience how convenient theſe arms were, ſoon embraced them, no people being more docile, or apt to change, when in the ſtead of their ancient cuſtoms they can introduce better.

Other particular cuſtoms.

"When the tribunes of the army have finiſhed the diviſion, and diſpoſed their affairs as above, they diſmiſs the ſoldiers till the time arrives, upon which they are ſworn to meet at the place nominated by the conſul. It happens ordinarily, that each conſul aſſigns a different rendezvous, and orders a ſeparate meeting of their legions, each conſul having a moiety of the auxiliary forces of the allies, and two Roman legions at his diſpoſal. All who are liſted meet without fail at the time and place appointed;

pointed; nor are any who were ſworn admitted to offer any excuſe for their abſence, without ſome extraordinary accident or impoſſibility. At this meeting of the allies and Roman forces, twelve provoſts, commiſſioned by the conſuls, have the direction of all matters, and aſſign to each man his duty; but in the firſt place they proceed to chuſe out of the allies who are preſent, divers horſe and foot, who are to be near the perſon of the conſul on all occaſions which may require an approved courage, and theſe are called extraordinaries. In all other reſpects the infantry of the allies is equal in number to the Roman legions, but their cavalry is double; out of which are uſually employed for extraordinaries of horſe, the third, and of foot, the fifth part; the remainder is divided, and called, one the right, the other the left wing. In the next place, the tribunes take the legions with their auxiliaries, and encamp them, which they perpetually do in the ſame manner and form. Wherefore, I ſhall proceed in the next place to ſhew the manner of marching, encamping, and diſpoſing their troops in battle; and here I cannot doubt but all thoſe who have any curioſity for any commendable knowledge, will give juſt attention to a matter which is ſo memorable, and ſo well deſerves their notice.

Method of encamping.

"This, then, is their manner of encamping:—Having choſen out a proper ground, they erect the prætorium, or general's pavilion, in the moſt convenient place, to obſerve what paſſes, and give orders. After they have planted the ſtandard in the place of the pavilion, they proceed to ſet out a ſquare of two acres of land, each face being one hundred feet diſtant from the ſtandard; the Roman legions are poſted on that ſide which appears moſt proper for forage and water. There are ſix tribunes in each legion, as was before recited; and each conſul having two legions with him, it is evident there muſt be twelve tribunes in both armies. The tents of the tribunes are erected in a right line, all parts of which an equal diſtance of fifty feet from the ſide of the ſquare appointed for them; and this ſpace is large enough to receive their horſes, their other beaſts of burthen, and the reſt of their baggage: their tents extend all the back of the ſquare, looking outwards.

Different parts of the army, how lodged.

"And here the reader muſt obſerve, that this is the front of the whole figure, and that we ſhall hereafter call it ſo. The tents of tribunes are equally diſtant from each other, and make in their tract a ſpace equal in extent to that of the Roman legions in depth. After this, they meaſure out a ſpace in front, directly oppoſite to theſe tents, and draw a right line of equal length with that on which the tribunes' tents are erected, and parallel to it; here they begin to lodge the legions, which is done in the following manner: they divide the former line in the midſt, then draw a ſtrait line from the point of ſection, and lodge on both ſides of this line the cavalry of the two legions oppoſite to each other, leaving between an empty ſpace, or way, fifty feet broad, through the midſt of which the former line paſſes. The tents of the in-

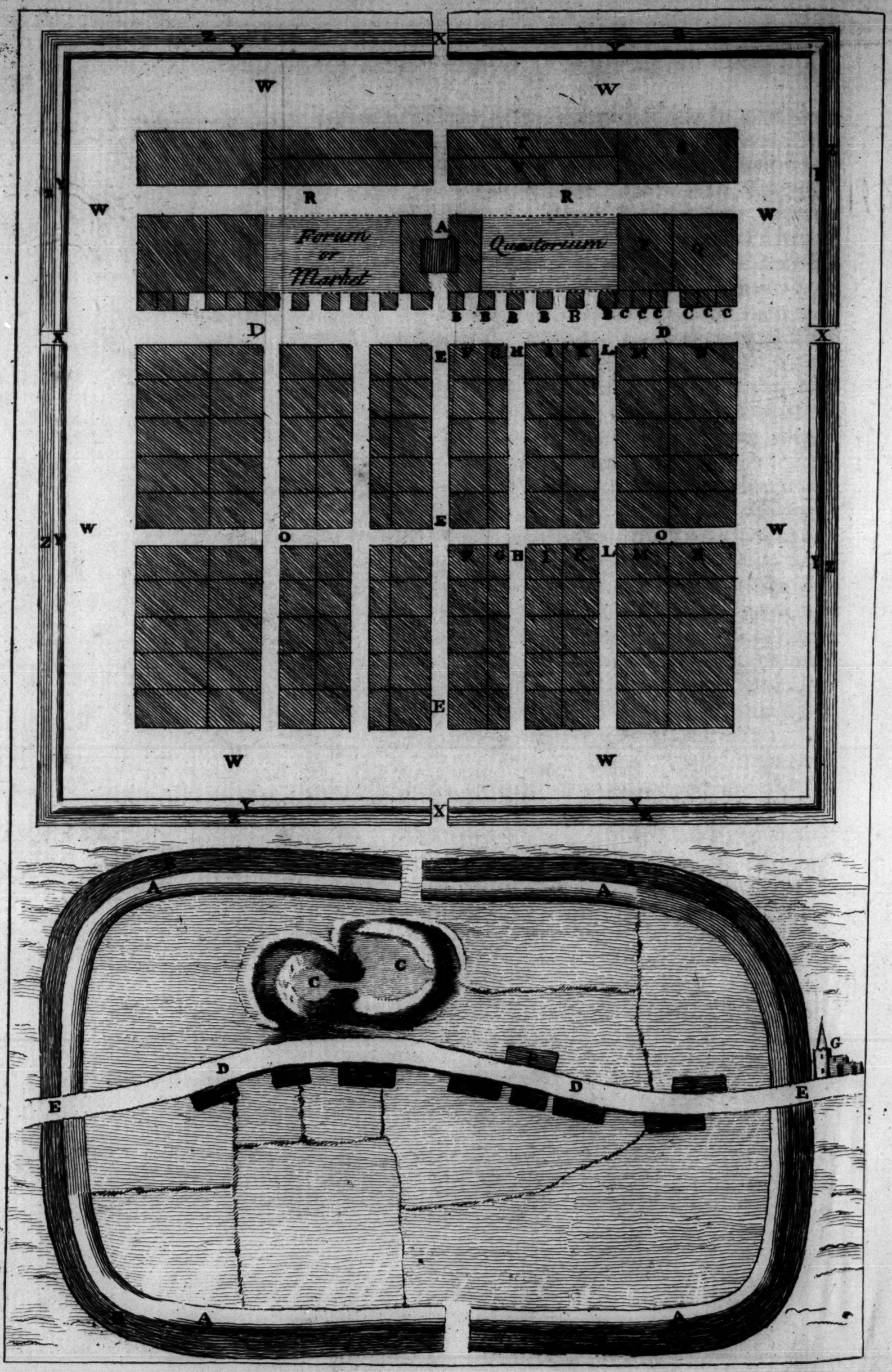
fantry and cavalry are diſpoſed in the ſame manner; the figure of the ground which both occupy making a ſquare. This looks towards the ways, or ſtreets, between both, and its length, which is a hundred feet, is the length of the way; and for the moſt it is ſo contrived, that the depth and wideneſs have the ſame meaſure, except the lodgment of the allies. But when that armies are greater, they increaſe the dimenſions. But the tents of the horſe terminating exactly in the midſt of the tents of the tribunes, there is a way which traverſes the right line before-mentioned, and the ſpace before the tribunes' tents. For the reſt, all paſſages are diſpoſed in ſuch manner they reſemble ſtreets, or rows, part foot, part horſe, being extended along each ſide.

The triarvi, how lodged in the camp.

"The triarvi of the two legions are poſted behind the cavalry, of which we have been ſpeaking, each company anſwering to the other in the ſame figure, in ſuch manner, that although they touch each other on the back, the triarvi face thoſe of the oppoſite ſide, and the breadth of the way where each band of the triarvi is poſted, does not exceed half its length, theſe being for the moſt part one half leſs than the other. For this reaſon, though the number of men be not always equal, and the ſpace in which they are poſted be different, yet the length is equal. The principes are poſted oppoſite to the triarvi, with a way of fifty paces between them; and in going from hence, to the ſpace which I before mentioned by the tribunes' tents, there are two other banks or rows, which begin at the ſame ſtraight line with the horſe, that is, at the ſpace of a hundred feet, before the tribunes' lodgment, and terminate at the other end of the camp, which we before called the front of the whole figure.

The haſtati, how lodged.

"The haſtati or ſpear-men, are poſted near the principes, but on their back, like the triarvi, facing the horſe on the oppoſite ſide. Now having obſerved, that each legion conſiſts of ten companies, according to the diviſion before made. All theſe alleys or ſtreets, are of the ſame length, and end in the front of the camp, and it is on that ſide all the laſt companies are poſted. In the back of the haſtati, at the diſtance of fifty feet, are planted the cavalry of the allies, beginning in the ſame line, and ending in the ſame ſtraight line with them. The infantry of the allies is equal in number to the Romans, but it is leſſened a third part by taking away the extraordinaries. And for this reaſon, in encamping they encreaſe the breadth, to equal them in length to the Roman legions. After the ſtreets or rows are marked out, which never exceed five, the lodgments of the foot of the allies is next ſet out, who are planted on the back of the horſe, but the depth is increaſed in proportion; for the reſt, this infantry looks towards the retrenchment of camp on both ſides; but the captains of each company take the principal lodgments on each ſide. But in diſpoſing the cavalry in this manner, the ſixth company is ſeparated from the fifth, by an interval of fifty feet; and the ſame thing is obſerved in the infantry. By this


Forum or Market
Quæstorium
A
B
C
D
E
G
O
R
W
X
Y
Z

this means a way is formed which croſſes all other rows, and makes a line parallel to the range of the tribunes' tents. The Romans give it the name of the fifth, becauſe it runs the whole length of each fifth range of lodgments. As for the void ſpace behind the tribunes' tents on each ſide the prætorium, the one ſide is allotted for the markets, and the other is occupied by the quæſtor and the ammunition. On each ſide the tribunes towards their utmoſt tent, a little falling back, are volunteers, who came into the army out of reſpect to the conſul. Theſe are planted the whole length of the camp, ſome on the quæſtor's ſide, others on the ſide of the market. In all other reſpects theſe are not poſted there, but when the army marched, or in any action, they guard the conſul and quæſtor, being ever near their perſons.

" With theſe they join the flower of the foot, on the ſide of the entrenchment, whoſe office is the ſame with the horſe before-mentioned: after them is left a ſpace of fifty feet broad, parallel to the tribunes' tents, which extending the length of the market, prætorium, and the quæſtor's apartment, is continued from the retrenchment on one ſide, and to that on the other. On the upper ſide of the way the extraordinary horſe of the allies are planted, oppoſite to the market, the prætorium, and the quæſtor's quarters; but in midſt of the tents a way of fifty feet broad is left, paſſing before the prætorium, which croſſing the other way in that place, traverſes the camp, making a ſtraight line from one entrenchment to the other. Behind theſe horſe, are lodged the extraordinary foot of the allies, which looks towards the entrenchments and the laſt ſide of the camp. The remaining void ſpace on each ſide, is allotted for the reception of foreigners, or allies, whoſe occaſions may bring them into the camp. All theſe things thus diſpoſed, the form of the camp is a ſquare of equal ſides, and the regular poſition of the ſtreets, tents, and all other things, make it very much reemble a town. On every ſide between the entrenchment and the tents, is a vacant ſpace of two hundred paces, very commodious for receiving a multitude of different things; here they kept their own cattle, and thoſe they have taken from the enemy, in the night-time; and this ſpace is very uſeful, the enemy not being able, in caſe they make an attack by night, to fling either darts, or fire, unleſs by a great chance, and then cannot do any conſiderable damage, by reaſon of the greatneſs of the diſtance, and the tents which are about it.*

Other diviſions of the camp.

Thus

* That the reader may the better underſtand the whole form of the Roman camp, according to the deſcription of Polybius, we have ſubjoined plate VI. where, at the top, a plan is accurately drawn out. The references may be made as follow: A, the prætorium, or ſquare, for the general's tent, two hundred feet every way: in this reference we have marked but one ſide all through, the other exactly correſponded with it. BBBBBB, ſix of the tribunes' tents, the other ſix are oppoſite on the other ſide of the prætorium; each of theſe ſquares are fifty feet every way. On one ſide of the prætorium is the market, two hundred feet broad, and three hundred and fifty feet

The form of the camp when two armies were joined.

"Thus it is eaſy to know how ſpacious the camp is, and what number it is able to receive, whether a legion conſiſting of four or five thouſand men, ſince I have ſhewn the dimenſion of every part, its ſtreets, and other particulars; but if the number of the allies be greater, whether they come firſt or after with their troops, as neceſſity or occaſion requires, they are lodged on one ſide of the prætorium, and the market is removed to the quæſtor's apartment, or, if the number of thoſe be great, who begin to march; when the army is too big, a row is added on each ſide of the Roman legions, towards the ſide of the camp. But if the two conſuls and the four legions join in one camp, you muſt fancy them after the manner of two armies, joined back to back, diſperſed as before deſcribed, and in the place where their extraordinaries are poſted. Thus the figure will be oblong, the ground twice as ſpacious, and the circuit once and a half greater. In ſhort, whenever the two conſuls are in the ſame camp, they order every thing in the ſame manner as when their camps are ſeparate, except that the quæſtor, the market, and the prætorium, are then in the middle between both armies.

The adminiſtration of the oath.

"After the encampment is made, all the tribunes meet, and adminiſter an oath to every man in the legion, as well freemen as ſlaves, who all one after another ſwear, That they will not rob in camp; and in caſe any one finds any thing by chance, he ſhall acquaint the tribunes with it. Next, two companies of the principes and haſtati of each legion are appointed

feet in length; oppoſite to this, on the other ſide of the prætorium, is the quæſtor's lodging, of equal length and breath with the forum. CCCCCC, ſquares fifty feet every way, the lodging of the præfecti. DD, the *via principalis*, or principal ſtreet, one hundred feet in width. EEEE, another ſtreet, dividing the lodgings in the midſt, and paſſing from each gate to the prætorium. F F, two long diviſions, each one hundred feet broad, and five hundred long, divided into ten ſquares; in theſe were lodged the ten companies of cavalry. G G, two other diviſions of equal length, only fifty feet wide; theſe are the lodgings for ten companies of the triarvi. HH, a ſtreet fifty feet broad. I I, two long diviſions, one hundred feet wide, and of equal length with the former, containing ten ſquares, for the lodging of the ten companies of the principes. K K, two other diviſions, equal in length and breadth with the former, the lodgings of the ten companies of the haſtati, or ſpear-men. L L, another ſtreet, fifty feet wide. M M, two other long diviſions, one hundred and fifty feet wide, but of equal length with the former; theſe are the lodgings for the auxiliary cavalry. N N, other diviſions, two hundred feet wide, but of equal length with the former, the lodgings of the auxiliary infantry. O O, a tranſverſe ſtreet. P, the lodging for the ſelect voluntary cavalry. Q, the ſelect voluntary foot; theſe, with the former, occupied a ſpace three hundred and fifty feet long, and two hundred broad. R R, another tranſverſe ſtreet, one hundred feet broad. S, the lodgings of the foreigners and allies, occupying a ſpace of three hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and fifty broad. T, the extraordinary infantry. V, the extraordinary cavalry; theſe together occupied a ſpace of four hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and fifty broad. W W W W, &c. a void ſpace all around the whole camp, two hundred feet broad. XXXX, the four principal entrances, each fifty feet wide. YYYY, &c. the vallum. ZZZZ, &c. the foſſe, or ditch. The reader will obſerve, that this camp is compoſed of two legions, and their auxiliaries, who are lodged exactly in the ſame manner, one legion on one ſide the ſtreet, E E E E, and the other on the other.

appointed to guard the tribunes' tents, the Romans ſometimes ſpending whole days in that ſpace, for which reaſon they are extremely curious in keeping it clean. As for the other eighteen companies, each tribune draws three by lot, for there is in each diviſion which are made of them the ſame number of haſtati, principes, and ſix military tribunes; out of each company of theſe, three ſerve the tribunes alternately in the following manner:—When the camp is marked out, theſe companies pitch their tents, erect them, and making the ground level, ſecuring the baggage; if occaſion requires, they keep two watches of four centinels, one of which is kept before the tents, the other behind, near the horſes. Now each tribune having three companies under his command, and each company conſiſting of a hundred men, excluſive of the triarvi and velites, who are not obliged to theſe offices; this charge is not very heavy, they only being in waiting once in four days: this proviſion is made for the eaſe of the tribunes, and for ſupporting their authority, credit, and conveniency. The companies of the triarvi are exempt from all the duties which the reſt perform to the tribunes, but each is obliged to ſend every day four ſoldiers to the troops of horſe, to watch near the companies behind them. They ſet a ſpecial guard on the horſe, to prevent them from embarraſſing each other, to ſee that they preſerve the ranks, or, by falling foul on one another, they do not cauſe any diſorder or alarm in the camp. To conclude, one company every day ſtand centry at the general's tent, to prevent any treachery and ambuſcade, as well as for the grandeur of his office.

"In the laſt place, the allies have orders given to ſecure by a trench and palliſado two ſides of the camp, and the two remaining are ſecured by the Romans, each legion having one committed to its care. Now all ſides thus diſtributed, the captains, who are preſent to overſee the work, take care that every thing be done by their companies, and two tribunes inſpect each ſide in general. The camp, how ſecured,

"As to what relates to the Roman way of decamping and marching, it is after this manner:—At the firſt ſounding of the trumpet the tents are taken down, and the baggage packed up; but here it muſt be underſtood the general's and tribunes' are always ſent firſt. At the ſecond ſounding they load the horſes, and on the third they muſt begin their march. For the moſt part the volunteers are in the front; then follow the right wing of the auxiliaries, with their baggage; after which marches, the firſt Roman legion with its baggage likewiſe; and laſtly, the left wing of the auxiliaries, with its baggage, brings up the rear. As for the horſe, they ſometimes march in the rear of all, and ſometimes flank the baggage, for better ſecurity of it. Whenever they have any apprehenſion of the enemies attacking them in their rear, they do not change their order, but only cauſe the volunteers to march thither forthwith; the legions and auxiliaries march thin, that they may all equally have a ſhare in the forage and water. The method of decamping, as practiſed by the Romans.

"The Romans have another kind of march, when they are in any fear of the enemy, and are in an open country: they cauſe the haſtati, prin- Order of the Roman march.

cipii, and triarii, to be divided into three battalions, and to march at equal diſtance one from another. Firſt, they place the enſigns and colours in the front with their baggage, then the haſtati with their baggage, next the principii and their baggage, and laſtly, the triarii with theirs, in a manner that, the army being thus diſpoſed, whatever happens, either on the right or left, by a half-turn they may be upon their guard; the firſt thing they do is to remove the ſtandards from that ſide where the enemy appears, ſo that in an inſtant, and with one motion, the army can be in a poſture of defence. By theſe means the baggage, and all thoſe who follow the army, will be found in the rear, and conſequently ſecured from danger.

Who are ſent to mark out the ground for an encampment.

"When the army is near the place where they are to encamp, the tribunes and captains, whom it is cuſtomary to chuſe upon ſuch an occaſion, go before and mark out the ground for the prætorium, as likewiſe conſider where it is moſt proper for the legions to pitch their tents. After this, they meaſure out the circumference of the prætorium, and then draw from thence one ſtrait line, where are raiſed the tents of the tribunes, and on the other hand, where are pitched the tents of the legions. The ſame lines are drawn out on the other ſide of the prætorium, according to the deſcription we have already given. This being done, for the laying out of the ground is no way difficult, the diſtances being eaſily known, they plant a ſtandard, firſt where the prætorium is to ſtand, and next in the other places marked out. Here it muſt be obſerved, that the conſul's ſtandard is always white, and all the others red. Afterwards they proceed to meaſure out the ſtreets, in every one of which they plant a javelin. By theſe means, as ſoon as ever the army arrives, they know immediately where to place themſelves, and every one can go directly to his quarters by the ſtandard of the general.

Difference between the Roman and Greek methods of fortification.

"In their encampments the Romans act quite contrary to the Greeks; for whenever the latter deſign to pitch their camp, they always chuſe places well fortified by nature, and this becauſe they would avoid the trouble of entrenching themſelves; and moreover, they never truſted ſo much to ſuch fortifications, as to thoſe preſented by nature. Hence it happens, that as they are obliged to have their camp conformable to the ground they have pitched upon, ſo alſo their quarters muſt differ according to the nature of the place, and conſequently their lodging be always uncertain; but, on the other hand, the Romans chearfully underwent all manner of fatigue and labour, that they might encamp more commodiouſly."

General obſervations on the various fortifications in Britain.

Thus far Polybius;* and from this excellent deſcription we not only learn the outward form of the earth-work of the camp, but we ſee the diſpoſition of the army itſelf; which was all done in ſuch juſt order, that we cannot but admire the prudence and ſkill of the Romans. Yet we

* This extract from Polybius is according to the tranſlation of that author, publiſhed by Sheer.

are

are not to imagine that this people conſtantly made their camps exactly ſquare: the inequality of the ground which they might ſometimes be obliged to pitch upon, might frequently cauſe various alterations; but we may depend upon it that thoſe were as trifling as poſſible, and that the form of their camps were conſtantly as near to the ſquare, or in caſe of additional force, to the long ſquare, as it was convenient to make them. But ſome time after Polybius they made a ſlight alteration in the figure of their camp, by juſt rounding off the corners; and of this form are the greater part of the Roman camps diſcovered in England.* Having thus ſeen the ſize and faſhion of a Roman camp, we ſhall preſently exclude all thoſe circular entrenchments upon the tops of hills, and places of natural ſtrength, ſo frequently diſcovered in this kingdom, from any ſhare in the performances of the Romans. Can any idea be more natural, than that the Britons, a people who were too volatile to attend to the making regular fortifications, and places of proper defence, and flying before a ſtrong band of veteran troops, who well underſtood the manœuvres of military diſcipline, ſhould have recourſe to places by nature ſtrong, and difficult to be forced? And this, we find, was the conſtant cuſtom with them. After the Britons, the Saxons alſo may claim a great ſhare in theſe circular hill-entrenchments; and beſides theſe, the Danes themſelves alſo made choice of hills, and places by nature ſtrong, for their temporary ſtations. It muſt be our buſineſs, in the ſucceeding parts, to point out, if poſſible, what is Saxon, and what Daniſh; and when this is done, we may conclude, that what does not belong to either of theſe people, nor to the Romans, muſt be Britiſh.

Walled towns of the Romans.

All this diſcourſe has hitherto been concerning the temporary camps of the Romans; we now come to their more conſequential ſtations, and the which we can with more certainty inſiſt upon, namely, their walled cities. One of the moſt perfect of theſe is upon the very utmoſt borders of Hampſhire, towards Berkſhire; it was the ancient Vindomis of that people, but in the preſent day it is called Silcheſter: this venerable antiquity has the walls now ſtanding all around it, and its circuit, by an actual meaſurement, is found to be near an Engliſh mile and a half; it contains within the walls corn fields to the amount of one hundred acres; the wall on the ſouth ſide, where it is moſt perfect, is in ſome

* See a camp of this form, plate VI, which is at Pluſhey, in Eſſex; it is a full Engliſh mile in circumference; the valum, or bank, which ſurrounds it, where it is moſt perfect is fourteen feet high from the bottom of the ditch, which is in general about ten yards over. The figure of the camp is not far wide of the long ſquare, with the corners gently rounded off; it ſtands upon the Roman road, which probably went from thence to Cæſaromagus, ſituated either at Chelmsford, or Writtle. This, perhaps, was the *Villam Fauſtini*, which better anſwers to the given diſtances in the Itinerary of Antoninus, than Dunmow, where there is not the leaſt veſtige of a Roman ſtation. The explanation of the figures upon the plate are as follow:—A A A A, is the bank, or valum. B B B B, the foſſe, or ditch. C C, the remains of a Norman caſtle. D D, the ſtreet through the village. E E E E, the four entrances into the entrenchment. F F F F, &c. houſes that form the village. G, the pariſh church.

places near twenty feet high, but its height in general runs from ſixteen to eighteen feet.*

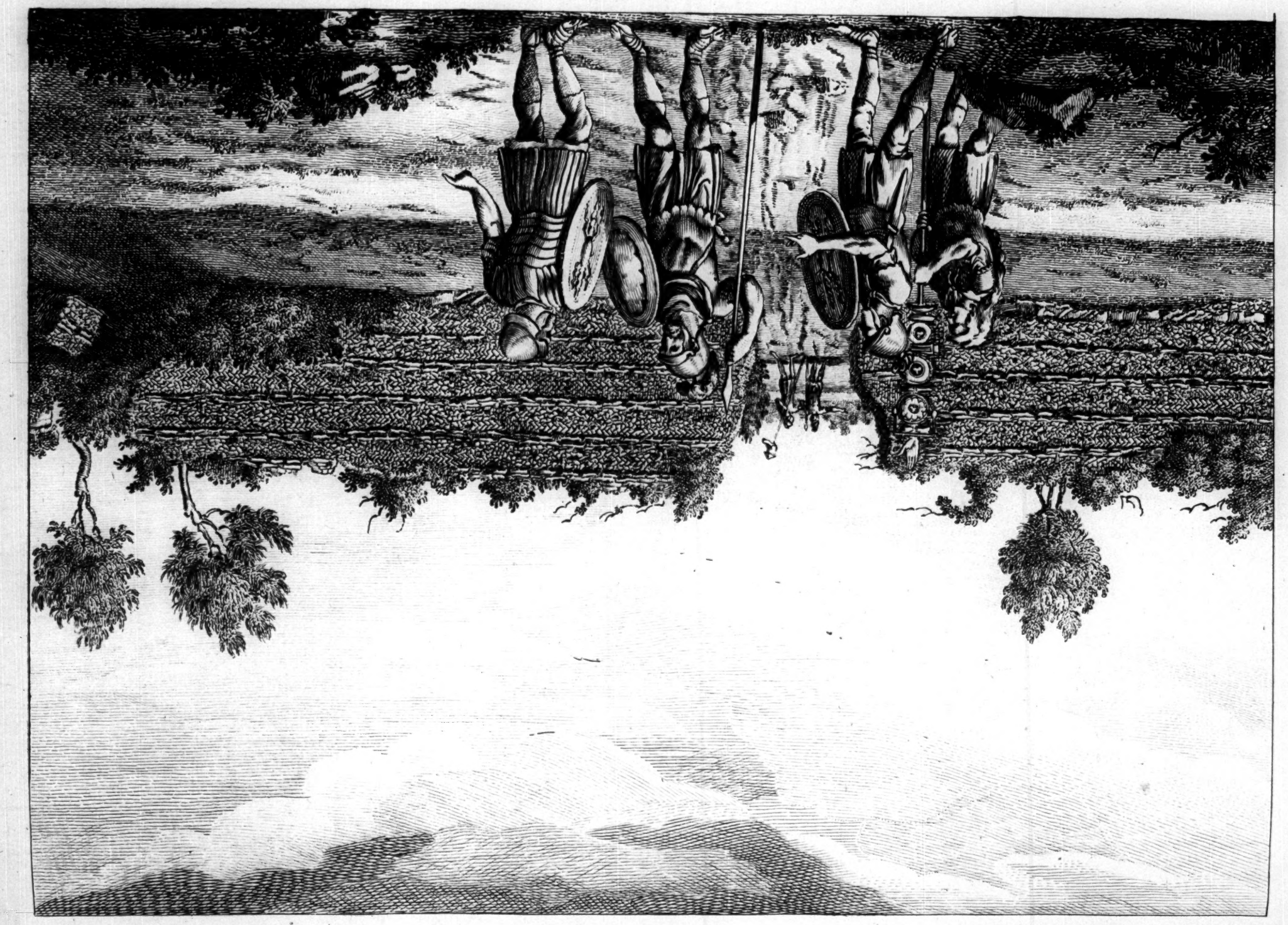
Silcheſter deſcribed.

The firſt foundation of the wall, which is here and there to be diſcovered on the north and north-eaſt ſides of the city, appears to have been made with large flag ſtones, from two to four feet, and four feet and a half in length, and of unequal thickneſs, as ſometimes ſix, ſeven, eight, and nine inches; their depth could not be aſcertained, becauſe they yet remain firmly fixed in the wall. Upon theſe ſtones was laid a ſtratum of rubble ſtone, or large cragged flints, large pebbles, and the like, filled up, and held together with a ſtrong cement; this was continued to the height of about two feet and a half, and then ſucceeded another layer of large flat ſtones, though not ſo big as the former; for the largeſt of theſe ſeldom exceeded three feet in length, and oftener were not ſo long; they ran in general from four to ſix inches in thickneſs;† many of theſe ſtones, which were broken out of the wall, were carefully meaſured, and few exceeded eighteen and twenty inches in width. This courſe, or layer of flat ſtones, runs round the whole city, and may eaſily be diſcovered in any part of the wall, and its bottom is almoſt always level with the ground. Upon this layer again was another ſtratum of the rubble ſtone, which, according to the meaſurements on the ſouth ſide, was in height three feet; then ſucceeded another layer of ſmaller flat ſtones, made as near as poſſible to the ſhape of the Roman brick, but larger and thicker, ſo that the thickneſs of the ſtone, interſperſed with the cement, amounted to four inches. On this layer of flat ſtones was raiſed another ſtratum of rubble ſtones, compoſed of ſmaller flints, and laid in more order than the former; this ſtratum was about two feet and a half in height: then followed a double row of flat ſtones, in ſhape and thickneſs exactly the ſame with thoſe before-deſcribed; this double row took up the ſpace of eight inches. On theſe again was raiſed another ſtratum of rubble ſtone, of the finer ſort, like the former, and exactly of the ſame height, namely, two feet and a half; on the top of this was a repetition of the double row of flat ſtones, ſomething larger and thicker than the former; for theſe two rows, with the mortar, made the thickneſs of nine inches. The ſtratum of rubble which was raiſed upon theſe, was three feet high; and on the top ſucceeded by another double row of flat ſtones, ſtill increaſing in ſize; for they took up, with the mortar, the ſpace of ten inches; and then the rubble continues on to the top, higher or lower, as the walls have been more or leſs damaged:

* See a view of the ſouth wall of this city, with the preſent appearance of the ſouth gate, or entrance, plate VII.

† This ſecond layer of large flat ſtones (for the firſt, as deſcribed before, which forms the foundation, is very ſeldom to be diſcovered, therefore we have in the delineation begun with the ſecond) is repreſented at the bottom of the piece of the wall, plate VIII. fig. 1. where all the other ſtratums of rubble ſtone, and layers of flat ſtones, are regularly drawn upon a larger ſcale than in the former plate.

yet



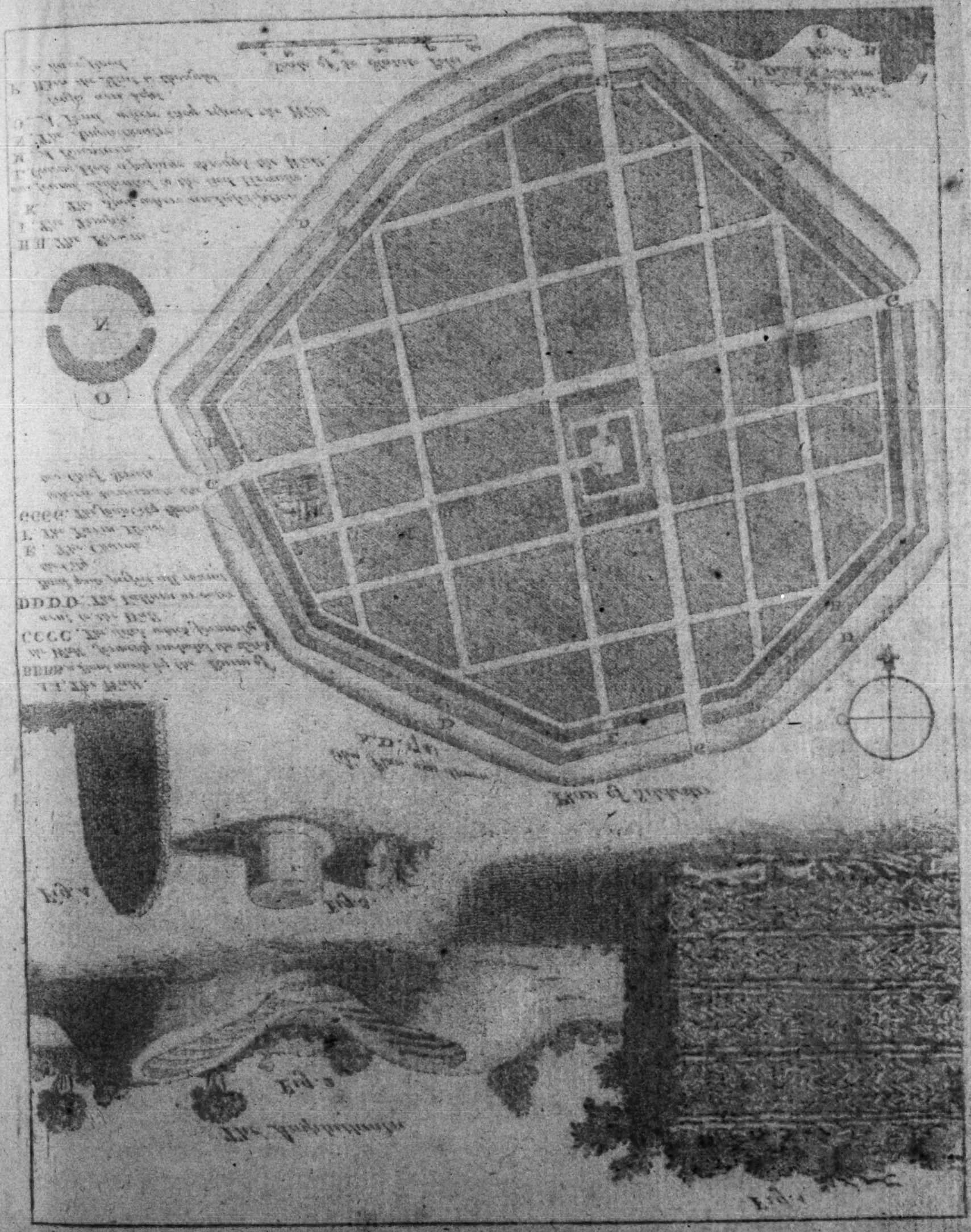


Fig. 1

The Amphitheatre

Fig. 2

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4

Plan of Silchester

This Plan was drawn A.D. 1741.

A A. *The Wall.*
B B B B. *a Bank made by the Ruins of the Wall formerly included the ditch.*
C C C C. *The ditch which formerly went to the Wall.*
D D D D. *The Vallum or outer Bank quite perfect all round the City.*
E. *The Church.*
F. *The Farm House.*
G G G G. *The four City Gates which terminate the two Chief Streets.*

H H. *The Forum.*
I. *The Temple.*
K. *The Spot where an Inscription was found dedicated to the God Hercules.*
L. *Orions Hole a passage through the Wall.*
M. *A Fountain.*
N. *The Amphitheatre.*
O. *A Pond where they report the Wild beasts were kept.*
P. *Where the Mint is thought to have stood.*

Scale of 50 Statute Poles
5 10 20 30 40 50

Section of the Wall Ditch & Vallum
Fig. 5.

yet in many places a ſucceeding layer of flat ſtones is to be ſeen, followed alſo by another ſtratum of rubble, of ſtill finer caſt. One thing was obſervable, as well in the foundation as in the ſecond row of large ſtones, deſcribed as above; theſe great ſtones were not conſtantly continued, but there appeared frequent breaks, filled up with ſmaller flat ſtones, ſet ſhelving one upon the other; alſo, in the ſecond, third, and fourth ſtratums of rubble, (from the ground) great pains appeared to have been taken with the flints, to place them in exact order, ſo that for a conſiderable diſtance one often obſerves them to form a kind of zig-zag, or herring-bone work laid in rows, ſome one way, and ſome another.

Further parts of the city deſcribed.

The wall at the ſouth gate being meaſured, was found to be full four and twenty feet thick; the whole of this city was ſurrounded by a large deep ditch, great part of which is now filled up with the ruins of the wall, ſo as to form a bank, on which one may eaſily walk round about, having the wall itſelf on one ſide, and the ditch below on the other; but this was not its original ſtate, for formerly the ditch came up cloſe to the wall, and this bank was not then in being. Beyond the ditch again is the external valum, very perfect, and eaſy to be traced out all round the whole city; its higheſt parts (even in the preſent ſtate) are at leaſt fifteen feet perpendicular from the bottom of the ditch, but if it is meaſured on the ſlope, conſiderably more: a ſtraight line drawn from the top of this bank to the wall on the north-eaſt ſide, meaſured four and thirty yards, its full breadth.* The two main ſtreets, which lead from gate to gate, are broader than any of the reſt, and meaſured better than ten yards acroſs.† Near the middle of the city, within a ſpacious ſquare,

* See the plan of Silcheſter, plate VIII. and the references at the ſide; alſo figure 5, on the ſame plate, which is the ſection of the wall, the bank, the ditch, and the external valum; A, is the wall, coming perpendicularly down to B, which repreſents the bank made by the ruin of the wall; C, is the ditch, and D, is the external valum.

† It would be an injuſtice done to a very ſenſible and induſtrious man, if I were not to own, that I owe the plan of this ancient city to a Mr. Stair, of Aldermaſton, in Berkſhire, about four miles from Silcheſter; a man who has ſpent all his leiſure time in the preſerving as much as he could of this venerable antiquity, and making every diſcovery which lies in his power. He was at the pains to meaſure every part of it exactly; for when I ſurveyed it myſelf in the ſummer, in order to make the delineations which are here engraved, and to examine carefully into the nature of the work, I found every part of the plan as correct as poſſible. From his plan the engraving is given, but reduced by a ſcale to bring it to the ſize of my own book. And as I was unwilling that Mr. Stair, who has taken ſuch indefatigable pains to inveſtigate a number of curious particulars relative to this place, ſhould not in ſome meaſure be rewarded for it, I perſuaded him to draw up an account of it, and give it to the world, together with a full account of the coins which he found in digging there, amongſt which was a curious gold Allectus. Another thing I ſhall obſerve concerning the above plan, which is this: the ſtreets which are repreſented were all taken by him the very ſummer after the hard winter in the year 1741, which proved very dry; and in the corn, the whole appearance of the ſtreets, juſt as here laid down; for he was at incredible pains to trace them out exactly, becauſe neither before nor ſince have they been ſeen ſo perfect; though

ſquare, formed partly by the interſection of the two main ſtreets, was diſcovered the foundation of a large ſtructure, conſiſting of free-ſtone, three feet thick, which is reported to have been the temple, becauſe near it, and on the inſide, was found the remains of a little elevated building, an altar, as it was thought, from the quantity of aſhes, wood, and coals burnt, that lay round about; it was three feet in heighth, four in length, and three in breadth, and built entirely of Roman bricks; the dimenſions of which were as follow: ſeventeen inches and a half long, twelve and a half broad, and near two in thickneſs.* Not far from the ſame place was alſo ploughed up, the baſe and other parts of a large column of free-ſtone, in diameter one foot eight inches, and a piece of a wall of rubble ſtone ſtrongly and elegantly cemented.† The city was ſupplied with water from a fine plentiful ſpring, which ariſes in the ſouth-eaſt diviſion, and running to the wall, diſcharges itſelf underneath into the ditch.

The amphitheatre at Silchester.

Cloſe at the north-eaſt corner of this venerable ruin ſtands the amphitheatre; the diameter of its area is fifty yards by forty; it has two entrances, one oppoſite the city, due weſt, and the other directly contrary, facing the eaſt. The elevation of the amphitheatre conſiſts of a mixture of clay and gravel, and the ſeats are in five rows, one above another. The whole wall, or bank, of the amphitheatre is about twenty yards thick at the bottom, and ſo decreaſes gradually to the breadth of about four yards at the top; and is in height on the north and ſouth ſides full thirty feet.‡ Cloſe on the ſouth ſide of the amphitheatre is a pond, where, they inform you, a cavern formerly was, in which the wild beaſts were kept until the time that they were to be brought out before the ſpectators.§

Onion's hole, why made.

On the ſouth ſide of the city there is a paſſage underneath the wall, which is called by the country people who inhabit there, Onion's hole;‖ which, they ſay, had its name from a giant ſo called, who made his dwelling formerly in the city; and ſo ſtrongly is the tradition of this

though every year the main ſtreets may be eaſily diſcovered by the colour of the corn. Afterwards, to prove the truth of his plan, he dug down into the ground on each ſide of the ſtreets, and conſtantly found the foundations of houſes, &c. very obvious; whilſt in the ſtreets the ſoil ſeemed gravelly and uniform.

* All theſe things were diſcovered by the Mr. Stair, above-mentioned, from whoſe mouth I received this account; and nearly the ſame was printed from a letter of Dr. Ward, to the Royal Society. See Philoſ. Tranſ. vol. XLV. fol. 603.

† See theſe pieces of the columns, fig. 3. and the bit of the wall, fig. 4, plate VIII. The bit of the wall is perfectly flat, four feet high, two feet and a quarter wide, and near four inches thick; its compoſition was very fine pebbles, held together by a ſtrong cement of a blackiſh hue. It was probably part of the wall of ſome temple, or ſuperb houſe.

‡ See a perſpective view of the amphitheatre from the north, plate VIII. fig. 2. the bottom is now a horſe-pond, and is about three feet deep of water.

§ See the plan of the amphitheatre, plate VIII. marked N, and the pond marked O.

‖ See the plan of the city, and the reference to the letter L.

ſtamped

8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2

57 56 55 54 53 52 51 50 49

Vall. Anton. Pii.

Bletum Bulgium
Castra Exploratorum
Bremeniacum
Galavam
Alonem
Vindomorum
Voredam
Brocavum
Galacum
Brovonacim
Verterim
Vinovium
Lavatrim
Cataractonem
Bremetonacim
Isurium
Eboracum
Derventionem
Delgovitia
Loccium
Calcariam
Camboduunum
Legeolium
Manucium
Praetorium
Danum
Condate
Segelocim
Lindum
Crococalanum
Causennis
Margidunum
Verometum
Ratum
Durobrivas
Venta Icenorum
Camboricum
Sitomagus
Cambretonium
Colonia
Olbona
Londinium
Caesaromagus
Durolevum
Durolitum
Rutupiae
Dubris
Portus Lemanis
Portus Adurnus
Regnum
Clausentum
Ventam Belgarum
Callevam
Vindonum
Spinas
Pontes
Sulloniacis
Durocornovium
Verulamium
Magiovinium
Villam Faustini
Durocobrivis
Lactodorum
Bernavennam
Bryontium
Venonium
Penno crucium
Viroconium
Uxacona
Etocetum
Mandubratium
Branonium
Magnis
Ariconium
Gobannium
Blestium
Clevum
Burrium
Iscam
Ventam
Situram
Abonam
Trajectum
Aquas Solis
Verlucionem
Cunetionem
Bomium
Vidum
Brige
Sorinodunum
Leucarum
Vindocladiam
Iuca Dumnoniorum
Voriduum
Durnovarium
Wight I.
Iciano
Alaunum
Branodunum
Caturactonium
Venta Icenorum

ſtamped upon their minds, that all the Roman pennies, which are found in great abundance, bear the name of Onion's pennies amongſt them. In all probability, this hole was neither more nor leſs than ſome private paſſage; for, independent of the four gates, it might be made uſe of upon particular occaſions.

This large account we have given of Silcheſter; and thoſe who ſhall have leiſure enough to examine other remaining buildings of the Romans, will find them conſtantly upon the ſame plan, only where flat ſtones could not conveniently be got, their place was ſupplied with Roman brick, as was the caſe in the old Roman walls at Verulam, at Cheſterford,* and may alſo be ſeen at Richborough,† or more evident ſtill at Burg-caſtle, in Suffolk.‡ One may obſerve that the forms of theſe cities were various; that at Cheſterford was ſomething of an oval, Burg-caſtle and Richborough are more inclining to the long ſquare, not unlike the Roman caſtra.

And now, by way of concluſion, we will ſet down all the Roman towns that were in Britain, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, and their diſtance from each other as therein deſcribed.

ITER I.

A limite, id eſt a vallo Prætorium uſque.

M. P. clvi.

A Bremenio Corſtopilum	M. P.	xx
Vindomoram -	M. P.	ix
Vinoviam -	M. P.	xix
Cataractonem -	M. P.	xxii
Iſurium - - -	M. P.	xxiv
Eboracum leg. vi. victrix - -	M. P.	xiv
Derventionem -	M. P.	vii
Delgovitia -	M. P.	xvi
Prætorium -	M. P.	xxv

ROUT I.

From the limit of the wall to Hebberſtow-fields, or Broughton.§

156 Miles.

		MILES.
REICHESTER Corbridge		20
Ebcheſter —	—	9
Bincheſter —	—	19
Cataract —	—	22
Aldborough	—	24
York —	—	14
On Derwent river	—	7
Wighton —	—	16
Hubberſtow fields, or Broughton		25

* The account of Cheſterford, and the old wall of London, ſee the firſt volume of the Hoɲda Anzel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants of England, page 15.

† Vide Stukeley's Itin. Curioſ.

‡ See Ives's Remarks upon the Gariannonum of the Romans.

§ The reader is deſired to notice, that all theſe places, as given in the Engliſh explanation, are from the moſt approved antiquaries, as Camden, Horſley, Gale, &c. and from them the map, plate IX. which is given in this volume, is made.

ITER

ITER II.
A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas.

M. P. ccccIxxxi.

ROUT 2.
From beyond the Wall to Richborough in Kent.

481 Miles.

					MILES.
A Blatobulgio			From *Middleby*		
Caſtra exploratorum	M. P.	xii	To *Netherby*	—	12
Luguvallum	M. P.	xii	*Carliſle*	—	12
Voredam -	M. P.	xiv	*Old Penrith*	—	14
Brouonacim	M. P.	xiii	*Kirbyſhure*	—	13
Verterim -	M. P.	xiii	*Brugh under Stanmore*		13
Lavatrim -	M. P.	xiv	*Bowes*	— —	14
Cataractonem	M. P.	xiii	*Cataract*	— —	13
Iſurium -	M. P.	xxiv	*Aldborough*	—	24
Eboracum -	M. P.	xvii	*York*	—	17
Calcariam -	M. P.	ix	*Tadcaſter*	—	9
Cambodunum	M. P.	xx	*Near Gretland*	—	20
Mancunium	M. P.	xviii	*Manchester*	—	18
Condate -	M. P.	xviii	*Near Northwich*	—	18
Devam leg. xx victrix	M. P.	xx	*Cheſter*	—	20
Bovium -	M. P.	x	*Near Stretton*	—	10
Mediolanum	M. P.	xx	*Near Draiton*	—	20
Rutunium -	M. P.	xii	*Near Wem*	—	12
Viroconium	M. P.	xi	*Wroxeter*	—	11
Uxaconam -	M. P.	xi	*Near Sheriff Hales*	—	11
Pennocrucium	M. P.	xii	*Near the river Pink*	—	12
Etocetum -	M. P.	xii	*Wall near Litchfield*		12
Manduessedum	M. P.	vi	*Mancaſter*	—	6
Venonium -	M. P.	xii	*Cleyceſter*	—	12
Bennavenam	M. P.	xvii	*Ruther at Weedon, near Daventry*		17
Lacodorum	M. P.	xii	*Towceſter*	—	12
Magiovinum	M. P.	xvii	*Fenny Stratford*	—	17
Durocobrivim	M. P.	xii	*Dunſtable*	—	12
Verolamium	M. P.	xii	*St. Albans*	—	12
Sulloniacim	M. P.	ix	*Brockly Hills*	—	9
Londinium -	M. P.	xii	*London*	—	12
Noviomagum	M. P.	x	*Woodcote near Croydon*		10
Vagniacim -	M. P.	xviii	*North Fleet*	—	18
Durobrivim	M. P.	ix	*Rocheſter*	—	9
Durolevum	M. P.	xiii	*Milton*	—	13
Durovernum	M. P.	xii	*Canterbury*	—	12
Ad Portum Ritupas	M. P.	xii	To *Richborough*	—	12

ITER

ITER III.

A Londinio ad Portum Dubris.

M. P. lxvi.

Durobrivim	M. P.	xxvii
Durovernum	M. P.	xxv
Ad Portum Dubris	M. P.	xiv

ROUT 3.

From London to the Haven at Dover.

66 Miles.

		MILES.
Rocheſter	—	27
Canterbury	—	25
Dover	— —	14

ITER IV.

A Londinio ad Portum Limanis.

M. P. lxviii.

Durobrivim	M. P.	xxvii
Durovernum	M. P.	xxv
Ad Portum Lemanis	M. P.	xvi

ROUT 4.

From London to the Haven at Lime.

68 Miles.

Rocheſter	—	27
Canterbury	—	25
Lime near Weſthyth		16

ITER V.

A Londinio Luguvallum ad Vallum.

M. P. ccccxliii.

Cæſaromagum	M. P.	xxviii
Coloniam	M. P.	xxiv
Villam Fauſtini	M. P.	xxxv
Icianos	M. P.	xviii
Camboricum	M. P.	xxxv
Duroli Pontem	M. P.	xxv
Durobrivas	M. P.	xxxv
Cauſennim	M. P.	xxx
Lindum	M. P.	xxvi
Segelocim	M. P.	xiv
Danum	M. P.	xxi
Legeolium	M. P.	xvi
Eboracum	M. P.	xxi
Iſubrigantum	M. P.	xvii
Cataractonem	M. P.	xxiv
Lavatrim	M. P.	xvii
Verterim	M. P.	xiii
Brocavum	M. P.	xx
Luguvallum	M. P.	xxii

ROUT 5.

From London to Carliſle near the Wall. 443 Miles.

Near Writtle	—	28
Colcheſter	—	24
Dunmow, or rather Pluſhey		35
Cheſterford	—	18
Icklingham	—	35
Cambridge	—	25
Caſtor	— —	35
Ancaſter	—	30
Lincoln	— —	26
Littleborough	—	14
Doncaſter	—	21
Caſterford	—	16
York	— —	21
Aldborough	—	17
Cataract	—	24
Bowes	— —	17
Brugh	— —	13
Brougham Caſtle	—	20
Carliſle	—	22

ITER VI.

A Londinio Lindum.

M. P clvi.

Verolamum	M. P.	xxi
Durocobrium	M. P.	xii
Magiovinum	M. P.	xii
Lactodorum	M. P.	xvi
Iſſannavatia	M. P.	xii

ROUT 6.

From London to Lincoln.

156 Miles.

St. Albans	—	21
Dunſtable	—	12
Fenny Stratford	—	12
Towceſter	—	16
Near Daventry	—	12

				MILES.
Tripontium	M. P.	xii	*Rugby* —	12
Vennonim	M. P.	ix	*Cleyceſter* —	9
Ratis -	M. P.	xii	*Leiceſter* —	12
Verometum	M. P.	xiii	*Near Willoughby* —	13
Margidunum	M. P.	xiii	*Near Eaſt Bridgeford*	13
Ad Pontem	M. P.	vii	*Near Southwell* —	7
Crococalanum	M. P.	vii	*Brugh near Colingham*	7
Lindum -	M. P.	xii	*Lincoln* —	12

ITER VII.
A Regno Londinium.
M. P. xcvi.

ROUT 7.
From Chicheſter to London.
96 Miles.

Clauſentum	M. P.	xx	*Old Southampton* —	20
Ventam Belgarum	M. P.	x	*Wincheſter* —	10
Callevam Atrebatum	M. P.	xxii	*Farnham* — —	22
Pontes -	M. P.	xxii	*Near Old Windſor* —	22
Londinium	M. P.	xxii	*London* — —	22

ITER VIII.
Ab Eboraco Londinium.
M. P. ccxxvii.

ROUT 8.
From York to London.
227 Miles.

Lagecium -	M. P.	xxi	*Caſtle Ford* —	21
Danum -	M. P.	xvi	*Doncaſter* —	16
Angelocum -	M. P.	xxi	*Littleborough* —	21
Lindum -	M. P.	xiv	*Lincoln* —	14
Crococalanum	M. P.	xiv	*Brugh near Colingham*	14
Margidunum	M. P.	xiv	*Near Eaſt Bridgeford*	14
Vernemetum	M. P.	xii	*Near Willoughby* —	12
Ratis -	M. P.	xii	*Leiceſter* — —	12
Venno			*Cleyceſter* —	
Banavanto			*Near Daventry* —	
Magiovinium	M. P.	xxviii	*Fenny Stratford* —	28
Durocobrivim	M. P.	xii	*Dunſtable* —	12
Verolamum	M. P.	xx	*St. Albans* —	20
Londinium	M. P.	xxi	*London* — —	21

ITER IX.
A Venta Icenorum Londinum.
M. P. cxxxviii

ROUT 9.
Caiſter near Norwich to London.
138 Miles.

Sitomagum	M. P.	xxxii	*Wulpit* —	32
Cambretonium	M. P.	xxii	*Stretford* —	22
Adanſam -	M. P.	xv	*Witham, or Coggeſhall*	15
Camulodunum	M. P.	vi	*Maldon* —	6
Canonium	M. P.	ix	*Farmbridge* —	9
Cæſaromagum	M. P.	xii	*Writtle* — —	12

Duro-

				MILES.
Durolitum	M. P. xvi	*Lecton*	—	16
Londinium	M. P. xv	*London*	—	15

ITER X.

A Clano venta Mediolanum.

M. P. cl.

ROUT 10.

From Lancheſter in the County of Durham, to the Station near Draiton, upon the borders of Shropſhire.

150 Miles.

Galavam -	M. P. xviii	*Old Town*	—	18
Alonem -	M. P. xii	*Whitley Caſtle*	—	12
Galacum -	M. P. xix	*Appleby*	—	19
Bremetonacim	M. P. xxvii	*Overborough*	—	27
Coccium -	M. P. xx	*Ribcheſter*	—	20
Mancunium	M. P. xvii	*Manchester*	—	17
Condate -	M. P. xviii	*Near Northwich*	—	18
Mediolanum	M. P. xviii	*Near Drayton*	—	18

ITER XI.

A Segoncio Devam.

M. P. lxxiv.

ROUT 11.

From Caernarvon to Cheſter.

74 Miles.

Cononium -	M. P. xxiv	*Caer Rhyn*	—	24
Varim -	M. P. xix	*Bodvary*	—	19
Devam -	M. P. xxxii	*Cheſter*	—	32

ITER XII.

A Calleva Iſcadum Nuniorum.

M. P. cxxxvi.

ROUT 12.

From Farnham to Chiſelborough.

136 Miles.

Vindomim -	M. P. xv	*Silcheſter*	—	15
Ventam Belgarum	M. P. xxi	*Wincheſter*	—	21
Brige -	M. P. xi	*Broughton*	—	11
Sorinodunim	M. P. viii	*Old Sarum*	—	8
Vindocladiam	M. P. xii	*Near Cranburn*	—	12
Duronovarium	M. P. viii	*Dorcheſter*	—	8
Moridunum	M. P. xxxvi	*Near Eggerton*	—	36
Iſcadum -	M. P. xv	*At or near Chiſelborough*		15

ITER XIII.

A Muridono Viroconium.

M. P. clxxxvi.

ROUT 13.

From Eggerton to Wroxeter.

186 Miles.

Leucarum -	M. P. xv	*Near Glaſtenbury*		15
Bomium -	M. P. xv	*Near Axbidge*	—	15
Nidum -	M. P. xv	*Near Portbury*	—	15
Iſcam. Leg. 18 Aug.	M. P. xxvii	*Caer Leon*	—	27
Burrium -	M. P. ix	*Uſk* —	—	9
Gobannium	M. P. xii	*Abergaveny*	—	12

					MILES.
Magnim -	M. P. xxii	*Kencheſter*	—		22
Branonium	M. P. xxiv	*Ludlow*	—		24
Viroconium	M. P. xxvii	*Wroxeter*	—		27

ITER XIV.
Ab Iſca Callevam.
M. P. cix.

ROUT 14.
From Caer Leon to Farnham.
109 Miles.

Burrium -	M. P. ix	*Uſk*	—	—	9
Bleſtium -	M. P. xi	*Monmouth*		—	11
Ariconium	M. P. x	*Near Roſs*		—	11
Clevum -	M. P. xv	*Glouceſter*		—	15
Durocornovium	M. P. xiv	*Cirenceſter*		—	14
Spinas -	M. P. xv	*Speen*	—	—	15
Callevam -	M. P. xv	*Farnham*		—	15

ITER XV.
Alio Itinere ab Iſca Callevam.
M P. ciii.

ROUT 15.
From Caer Leon to Farnham another way. 103 Miles.

Ventam Silurum	M. P. ix	*Caergwent*		—	9
Abonem -	M. P. ix	*Aunſbury*		—	9
Trajectum	M. P. ix	*Henham*	—	—	9
Aquas Solis -	M. P. vi	*Bath*	—	—	6
Verlucionem	M. P. xv	*Near Leckham*		—	15
Cunetionem	M. P. xx	*Marlborough*		—	20
Spinas -	M. P. xv	*Speen*	—	—	15
Callevam -	M. P. xv	*Farnham*	—	—	15

The reader is wiſhed to obſerve, that the Roman mile is ſhorter than the Engliſh mile, being nearly as 11 to 12.

END OF THE FOURTH PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

CHRO-

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.

PART V.

A DISSERTATION ON THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, ARTS, MANNERS, HABITS, ETC. OF THE SAXONS, FROM THEIR ANCIENT STATE TO THE ACCESSION OF EGBERT, A. D. 804.

CHAP. I.

The Government, Conſtitution, and Laws of the ancient Germans.

The Engliſh deſcended from the Germans.

WE are now beginning the hiſtory of a very different people from the Britons, of whom we have ſo largely ſpoken; a people, to whom the Engliſh may, in the juſteſt ſenſe, be ſaid to owe their origin: for this cauſe, it is highly neceſſary for us to view them in their moſt ancient ſtate, and ſo follow them, ſtep by ſtep, through all their various improvements.

Germany, how divided anciently.

Germany anciently was divided into many diſtinct and ſeparate ſtates, or nations, which were entirely independent of each other, all equally free, and ſubject to no laws but their own; theſe nations again were ſubdivided into a certain number of provinces, or pagi.*

Diviſion of provinces.

Every one of theſe provinces, or diſtricts, formed a ſort of civil community within itſelf, having its own court of judicature, and its own prince, preſident, or judge; and as many of theſe provinces as formed a whole ſtate, or nation, (though in a manner independent of each other)

* "Suevi centum pagos habere dicunt." Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. iv. cap. 1. "Helvetia in quatuor pagos diviſa eſt." Ibid. lib. i. cap. 12.

were

were all of them ſubordinate to the ſupreme legiſlative power, veſted in the general aſſembly, or congregation of the whole ſtate.*

Patriarchial government which every man poſſeſſed.

Every freeman exerciſed a patriarchial authority in his own houſe, and all his family was ſubject to him, and dependent on him alone; his authority was abſolute over his ſlaves and vaſſals, ſo that if he ſhould kill them in his anger, it was a matter that concerned not the community in general, neither was there any law to call him to an account for his raſh proceedings. Again, if his wife diſhonoured his bed, he might inflict a puniſhment upon her of his own accord, without waiting for any previous trial, or formal condemnation: and to the honour of our ancient anceſtors, it may be affirmed, they ſeldom abuſed this extenſive power, but, on the contrary, behaved with much lenity towards their dependants.†

The prince, why elected, and how.

This was the domeſtic government of the Germans; but ſomething further was ſtill neceſſary to be concluded upon for the preſervation of the general peace; for when any of the heads of clans, or families, might raiſe diſputes amongſt themſelves, it was but equitable that there ſhould be ſome judge conſtituted, to decide the quarrel; for if there were none to determine ſuch matters, they would be productive of continual feuds, and the foundation of laſting and dangerous animoſities. They were ſoon aware of this evil, and to prevent it, by common conſent of the people, a prince, or preſident, was elected in every pagus, or province, to whom was given full power to go round the diſtrict committed to his charge, and to hear and determine all cauſes, or matters of controverſies, ariſing within his juriſdiction.‡

The extent of the prince's power.

The prince was choſen for the nobleneſs of his birth, and the power conferred upon him by the conſent of the people, which, however, was limited by certain reſtrictions; nor could he do any thing contrary to the conſtitution of the country, but was controuled by the general councils, in which he was firſt elected, and where he received his authority. His office continued for life, and his children ſucceeded him, though very young, if the diſtinguiſhed merit of their father entitled them to that dignity.§

Attendants upon the prince.

To ſupport the dignity of the prince, and to aſſiſt him in the execution of his legiſlative power, a ſelect band, to the amount of one hundred, were choſen from amongſt the people, who were always ſuch as had the reputation of being the wiſeſt and moſt judicious in the pro-

* Vide Squire's Engliſh Conſtitution, page 16.

† Tacit. de Morib. German.

‡ Ibid. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. This prince, or judge, was probably called by the Germans, Fopyte, or firſt; that is chief, or head; but by the Roman authors, ſometimes king, general, but moſt often prince: "Eliguntur in iiſdem concilis "*principes*, qui jura per pagos vicoſque "reddunt." Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

§ Ibid.

vince;

vince; beſides theſe, he was conſtantly followed by a numerous train of the braveſt freemen of the country; theſe were an honorary ſet of ſervitors, or companions,* who not only added to his ſtate and dignity, but in the time of battle were his ſafeguard; for they were all of them by oath obliged to be faithful to him, and to defend his life at the hazard of their own: and ſo far would they frequently carry their enthuſiaſtic love for their prince, as to impute to him the glory of their own actions, however great and meritorious; and all the return that the prince made them for theſe ſervices, was, the entertaining them plentifully at his expence, and ſometimes rewarding them, according to their deſerts, with a war horſe, or a lance, a weapon they moſt affected; and theſe companions, or followers, were of different ranks, which kept up a conſtant ſpirit of emulation amongſt them, every one ſtriving to obtain as high a place as he could in his prince's favour. The number of theſe followers was not limited, they ſeem to have ſerved of their own accord, ſo that by the number of them that attended upon the perſon of a prince, you might know how much he was beloved by the people; and the prince was not a little deſirous of having a numerous and valiant train of attendants; for his dignity was thereby increaſed, and by the ſame means he not only acquired great fame in his own nation, but became reſpectable to the neighbouring ſtates; ſo that his friendſhip was ſought after by embaſſies, and cultivated by preſents.†

The authority of the prince to divide lands.

Beſides the adminiſtration of juſtice, an authority was veſted in the prince, to divide, or portion out land amongſt the ſeveral families within his territories, and place them wherever he might think proper. The freemen remained but a year in one place, for when that time was completed, the princes obliged them to go to another part, where a new habitation was aſſigned to them; and this was done leſt they ſhould give their minds to agriculture, and ſo neglect the uſe of their arms, and alſo to prevent any one clan from growing richer than their neighbours, leſt they ſhould aſſume too great an authority in the ſtate, where all freemen were eſteemed equal.‡ When the prince went to war againſt the enemies of the province, it was a matter of the higheſt diſgrace for any freeman, through fear, or any other cauſe, to neglect attending upon him.§

Princes allowed two wives, and why.

Another prerogative, which the prince had above the commons, was, his being allowed two wives; but this was not for the gratification of his luſts, but for the obtaining of iſſue: for, of all the barbarous nations whoſe hiſtories are handed down to the preſent time, there is no people who were more famous for their exemplary chaſtity than the Germans.‖

* They are ſtiled *Comites* by Tacitus:
† Tacit. de Morib. German.
‡ Cæſ. Comment. Bel. Gal. l. vi. c. 20.
§ Ibid.
‖ Tacit. de Morib. German.

The

The revenue of the prince.

The expences of the prince were ſupported by ſeveral means; firſt, a larger portion of land was allotted to him in the general diviſion of the province, than to any of the other freemen; next, a certain portion of the cattle, or grain, the produce of the land of every freeman, was preſented to him; again, every offender whoſe crime was fineable, whatever the payment might be, a part of it belonged to him; ſo that his annual revenue muſt have been very conſiderable, yet he was never rich, for the more bountiful his ſupporters were, the more liberal he was in his rewards to his followers.*

The great council of the ſtate.

We now come to the greateſt part of the conſtitution of the ſtate, their general aſſemblies; theſe were a full meeting of all the pagi, or provinces, which formed a diſtinct nation, or ſtate; not only all the princes in ſuch a nation had a right to be there, but every freeman who was arrived at a proper age, and had not forfeited his title by any miſdemeanor, was alſo bound to be preſent, to give his aſſent, or declare his diſlike, to the buſineſs there tranſacted. In theſe councils all the material affairs of the whole community was diſpatched; here complaints might be lodged againſt the princes of the provinces, and every man was ſure to have his cauſe righted; here alſo public edicts were made, princes choſen to preſide over provinces, generals elected, and war declared againſt any other ſtate; nay, even a young man was not permitted to bear arms until he had been firſt approved of in theſe councils, where he was ſolemnly preſented with a ſhield and a lance, and theſe were the firſt badges of honour conferred upon him before he became a member of the ſtate, and was permitted to fight for his country. Small trifling matters the princes themſelves concluded upon; but all weighty affairs were firſt debated in council amongſt the princes, and after declared to the people, in whom was inveſted the ſole power of confirming, or abrogating the decrees of the council, and the cauſing them to be obeyed: but when the people had given their conſent, ſuch determinations were held ſacred, and might not be diſannulled, unleſs in another general council, and by a freſh conſent of the people.†

Rules obſerved in the councils.

They all of them came armed to their councils, and being ſeated each in his proper place, the prieſt, who had the authority to puniſh ſuch as offended, commanded ſilence, and the princes ſpeak firſt, and after

* Tacit. Morib. de Germ.

† Ibid. Who ſees not in theſe grand national councils the moſt perfect groundwork of the preſent parliament? It may ſeem unaccountable, yet true it is, many of the moderns have ſtrangely perplexed themſelves about the antiquity and origin of the praliament: ſome have attributed the honour of this noble inſtitution to Edward the Confeſſor; others again to Henry the Firſt. Ought they not to have gone ſtill higher, and they would have found them not only the grand and moſt material part of the Saxon conſtitution, but even of the German themſelves, and that in their moſt wild and uncultivated ſtate? And this matter will appear more obvious and ſtriking, as in the ſucceeding parts of this work we ſhall regularly point out the nature and improvements of theſe councils amongſt the Saxons and the Normans.

them every man according to his age, nobility, renown in war, or power of eloquence; at the ſame time declaring their ſentiments in a ſoft perſuaſive manner, and not haughtily, as if commanding the auditors. If the opinion which was delivered to the freemen was not pleaſing to them, they expreſſed their diſlike by a murmuring ſound of diſcontent; if, on the contrary, it was well received, they claſhed their lances; for it was eſteemed amongſt them the moſt honourable way of ſhewing their aſſent, or of conferring praiſe, when it was done by their arms.*

Generals, when elected, and why.

When any war or danger threatened the ſtate, they elected a general in this aſſembly, who was to preſide over all the different provinces that compoſed the whole nation; and this general was always a man who, for his approved valour and conduct, had rendered himſelf moſt famous; for it was not ſo much his office to command the army, as by his own perſonal bravery and courage to ſet them a worthy example. After the war was concluded, the power which had been veſted in the general ceaſed, and he deſcended again to the rank from whence he aroſe.†

The Saxons on their arrival made no ſudden alterations in their ancient conſtitution.

There can be no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Saxons altered the form of government and conſtitution of their anceſtors upon their firſt gaining poſſeſſions in Britain, or, indeed, for a long time after. The followers of Hengiſt, and the other Saxon chiefs, were all of them equal with their leaders, and volunteers, owing only a temporary obedience to them as their generals, and not like mercenary troops, to be paid or rewarded as their chiefs might chuſe; ſo that no one perſon could lay claim to the whole of the conquered land, but every free ſoldier had an equal right to expect his ſhare: the land, therefore, was divided by their generals, and their aſſiſtants, into as many ſhares as each general had corps of different diſtricts in his army; and every one of theſe ſhares were ſubdivided, and every individual had his proper portion allotted to him. Thus the firſt diviſion naturally conſtitutes ſo many pagi, or counties, whilſt the ſubdiviſion makes trythings, hundreds, and tythings, as portioned amongſt one thouſand, one hundred, or ten men in a troop, all of them under their proper elder-men.‡

Civil and military government the ſame.

At this period, little difference could be made between their civil and military government; the ſame prince that led them to the field of battle, took care to preſerve peace and good order amongſt them; nor was this ſo very difficult, for every ſeparate clan was compoſed of friends and near relations, and held ſo ſtrongly by the deareſt ties of conſanguinity, that harmony and good fellowſhip was naturally preſerved amongſt them.

How the land was divided for cultivation.

The Saxons, for a long time after their firſt arrival in Britain, found too much employment in the war to attend to the cultivation of the land, admitting they had been ever ſo deſirous of doing it;§ they were obliged to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport their conqueſts, and preſerve

* Tacit. de Morib. German.
† Ibid.
‡ Vide Squire's Eſſay on the Engliſh Conſtitution.
§ See the ſecond part of the Chronicle.

their property; therefore, every freeman amongſt them parcelled out his ſhare of the land, which had been allotted to him by the general, amongſt his ſlaves and dependants for a certain time, according to his pleaſure, which was to be improved and cultivated by theſe ſlaves, the lord reſerving to himſelf ſuch a ſhare of the produce of their labours as he thought proper to demand; and this gave occaſion to the well-known diviſion of lands, called afterwards Bocland and Folcland.*

The thread of the diſcourſe broke off, and why.

But to proceed further in the diſſertation upon this head, we ſhall be naturally led on by a clue of circumſtances, not only through the hiſtory of the heptarchy, but even through the whole Anglo-Saxon æra; or elſe we muſt break off the diſcourſe abruptly at the end of the heptarchy, where we ſhall find the whole conſtitution, both before and after, ſo cloſely connected, that in the next volume we ſhall not be able to re-aſſume the ſubject without tedious repetitions; to avoid which, it is propoſed for the preſent to let it reſt here, and in the ſucceeding diſſertation to continue it regularly down, from the firſt arrival of the Saxons to the Norman invaſion, in a clear and connected diſcourſe, without any interruptions.

Laws of the ancient Germans.

With regard to the laws of the ancient Germans, we are to conſider them as made both by and for a free people, who were all of them equals; or at leaſt no one could aſſume any more authority over the reſt than what they themſelves thought proper to inveſt him with, for their own mutual preſervation and ſafety. For this cauſe, none could beat or impriſon a freeman, except the prieſts, becauſe it was not to be done as a thing inſiſted upon by the prince, or for an offence to his peers, but as the command of the gods, whoſe orders the offender had diſobeyed. This mode of puniſhment, it ſeems, was chiefly confined to thoſe who were refractory in the army; and for this purpoſe, as well as to ſacrifice, the prieſts attended upon the camp, ſo that when one had broken any ſtated rule, he fell under diſgrace; and every one ſo offending ſubmitted voluntarily to the chaſtiſement, and ſtood ſtill to receive the repeated ſtrokes of the laſh from the hands of the prieſts, when, at the ſame time, he would have reſiſted even to death a blow from any other perſon, however exalted in their condition.†

Puniſhments, what they were.

No man could be puniſhed by the ſecular power until he had forfeited his right and title to a freeman, by ſome baſe and ignominious action, and then he was ſentenced ſeverely, according to his fault. Traitors and fugitives they hanged. Cowards, and ſuch as were unnaturally lewd, they drowned in mud, or in the marſhes, and covered them with hurdles, becauſe they would hide them from the face of men, that their crimes might be no more remembered amongſt them.‡

* Squire, ut ſup.
† Tacit. de Morib. German.
‡ Ibid.

Whoever

Whoever loſt his ſhield in battle, which was given him as the inſignia, or honourable badge of his profeſſion, and proof of his worthineſs to bear arms, fell into a laſting diſgrace; as alſo did all ſuch as eſcaped from the field of battle wherein their prince was ſlain; theſe were turned from ſociety, and debarred being preſent at the public ſacrifices, which was ſo ſhameful and black a ſtain upon their characters, that they ſeldom long out-lived it, but in ſome deſperate manner put an end to their wretched beings.* Matters of diſgrace.

Other faults of leſs magnitude were puniſhed by a fine, part of which went towards the maintenance of the prince, and part, by way of reparation, was paid to the injured party. When diſputes aroſe amongſt the freemen, and their friends could not terminate the difference, the prince interpoſed his authority, and obliged the offended perſon to accept of ſome gift from the offender, and ſo the quarrel was ended; for the gift was held as a compenſation for the injury, and was, as it were, a mark of ſubmiſſion in the aggreſſor, and gratified the pride of him who had been injured; by this prudent method, the foundation for laſting animoſities was fairly removed. Amongſt the ſeparate clans, or families, ſeldom happened diſputes attended by any fatal conſequences; their natural love to each other held them together, as well as the ſtrongeſt ties of conſanguinity; for they were all relations under the government of their own elder-man, or chief, and it was eſteemed a moſt atrocious crime for any one to injure, or ſlay his relation, and was, without doubt, moſt grievouſly puniſhed.† Quarrels, how compromiſed.

The matrimonial law amongſt them was ſtrictly kept; by it one woman was confined to one huſband, nor might ſhe upon his deceaſe marry a ſecond time; on the other hand, the huſband might not have more than one wife at once, (unleſs he were a prince, to whom it was allowed to have two, for the ſake of iſſue:‡) yet it does not appear that, upon the death of the firſt wife, a man was forbid to marry a ſecond, but the contrary may moſt reaſonably be ſuppoſed, eſpecially in default of iſſue. Matrimonial law ſtrictly kept.

Their laws againſt the violators of chaſtity were very ſevere, and ſuch were uſually hanged; but it lay in the breaſt of the huſband to puniſh his wife if ſhe was guilty of incontinence, which was uſually done by cutting off her hair, and then turning her naked from his houſe, in the preſence of all her friends and relations, at the ſame time ſcourging her ſharply through the town: nor was her wealth, her beauty, or her rank, in the leaſt regarded; for after ſuch an offence a laſting diſgrace was fixed upon her, and none would ſpeak to her, or condole with her; neither was it poſſible for her to get another huſband, but in general wandering from place to place, ſhe died with want, ſhame, and grief.§ Laws againſt the violators of chaſtity and againſt adultery.

* Tacit. de Morib. German.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.

Laws of the Saxons why not continued here.

Such is the ſketch of the legiſlature of the anceſtors of the Anglo Saxons; it now remains to give a view of their laws, on their eſtabliſhent in Britain, to the end of the Heptarchy; but the reaſon which has above been given, for referring the account of the government and conſtitution of the Anglo Saxons to the next volume, may with equal juſtice be applied to the laws, which are hung together as it were in a chain; and the circumſtances during the Heptarchy, ſo connected with thoſe that follow, that to divide the account, would not only be a difficult taſk, but would take off greatly from the regularity of the method, in which it is beſt to purſue it; therefore, both theſe heads will be fully and regularly treated on in the ſucceeding volume.

CHAP. II.

The State of Architecture amongſt the ancient Germans, and the Saxons.

The ancient Germans underſtood not the art of building.

AMONGST a people ſo barbarous, as we find the ancient Germans, in their original ſtate, and who attended ſo little to the luxuries of life, we ſhall not be amazed to find their dwellings homely, and uncomfortable: the pinching cold of winter, ſoon obliged them to ſeek for ſome ſhelter, where they might live ſecured from the ſtorms and inclemency of the weather. Their habitations were ſoon found, conſiſting only of holes and caverns made in the earth, and covered over with dung to keep them warmer, and in theſe wretched dwellings they uſually ſpent the winter. Theſe caverns ſerved beſides for granaries, where they laid up their corn, and to them they uſually made their retreat when purſued by the enemy.*

The ſummer habitation of the Germans how conſtructed

In the ſummer, they were not confined in theſe diſmal ſituations, but iſſuing from them, they ſet about the building of little huts, which were eſteemed more convenient and more pleaſant; theſe they erected in a rude manner, with timber unhewn, and framed without the leaſt attention paid to its beauty or regularity: the walls were compoſed of a clear ſhining earth, of various colours; and all the ambition of the builder was, to diſpoſe his colours into certain forms, ſo as to give the barbarous tracings of pictures.† Theſe houſes, like thoſe of the Britons, are thought to have been of a circular form, thatched over at top with reeds and ſtraw, and the roof left riſing up in the middle.‡ One great reaſon why they did not beſtow more pains or labour upon

* Tacit. Vit. Agric.
† Ibid.
‡ Culver's Hiſt. Anc. Germ.

their

their dwellings, was, that every year they were removed from the ſpot of ground where they had laſt inhabited, and conſequently left their houſes behind; ſo that they were obliged to provide themſelves with others in the places whither they went. This conſideration, added to their diſlike of menial labour, very naturally accounts for the rudeneſs of their habitations.*

Towns how built by the Germans.

Without doubt, near to the place where the prince made his reſidence, houſes muſt have been erected for him, and for his train; this would naturally conſtitute a town; but they had no idea of making the houſes cloſe to each other, ſo as to form regular ſtreets and paſſages, but every man's houſe ſtood ſeparate, and detached from that of his neighbour; all of them following their own wills, and ſettling themſelves in whatever part of their land they moſt approved of.†

Architecture improved before the arrival of the Saxons in Briton.

Temples to their gods the Germans built not at this early period, but inſtead thereof, they conſecrated woods and groves, where they performed their religious offices. Nor can we ſuppoſe that the habitation of their prince, was more ſplendid than their own; the only difference was, its being larger, that he might the better entertain his friends and followers. This was the ſtate of architecture amongſt them towards the latter end of the firſt century; but many changes may be ſuppoſed to have taken place, and many improvements introduced before the arrival of our Saxon anceſtors in Britain, which happened not until full three hundred and fifty years after; and this we may very naturally be led to conclude, becauſe ſoon after, we find them erecting ſtrong and permanent buildings of ſtone, as well as large caſtles for their ſecurity and defence

Tong caſtle in Kent deſcribed.

The firſt buildings that we find mentioned of the Saxons, are their caſtles; one of which Hengiſt is ſaid to have erected ſoon after his arrival in Britain; this caſtle was built at Tong in Kent, and the earth-works yet remain near Tong-Mill, about half a mile from Bapchild in that county.‡ It conſiſts of a round flat hill, ſurrounded by a broad ditch, and an external vallum or bank; the hill which antiently was level, has, from time to time, been removed, and thrown into the ditch, on the eaſtern ſide, where the external vallum is entirely worn away, and the rivulet, which formerly filled the ditch, has now altered its courſe, and running lower down by the ſide, it ſupplies a little mill, hard by, with water. The foundation of the hill, was originally made of very permanent materials, which are diſcovered on the ſouth ſide, where part of it has been ſuddenly ſtubbed down; theſe are large flints, pebbles, and rough ſtones, thrown together, and a ſtrong cement poured over them; and to this ſolid foundation we doubtleſs owe its preſent

* Tacit. ut ſup.

† Tacitus aſſigns two reaſons for this ſingularity amongſt the Germans; the firſt, their ignorance in the arts of building, and ſecondly, their fear of fire. Tac. ut ſup.

‡ See Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, in Tong.

exiſtence: the height of the hill, from the bottom of the ditch, in the moſt perfect part, is at the preſent time, near thirty feet; and on the loweſt ſide, where it has been ſtubbed away, about twenty: its preſent diameter, is not more than one hundred yards at the top, from whence it does not go ſuddenly perpendicular to the bottom of the ditch, but gradually with a ſlope. The ditch, if meaſured by a ſtraight line drawn from the top of the vallum, to the ſame height on the ſide ſlope of the hill, would be at leaſt fifty yards; the external vallum, on the weſt, where it is moſt perfect, it is in ſome places full ſixteen feet high.*

Antiquity of Tong Caſtle.

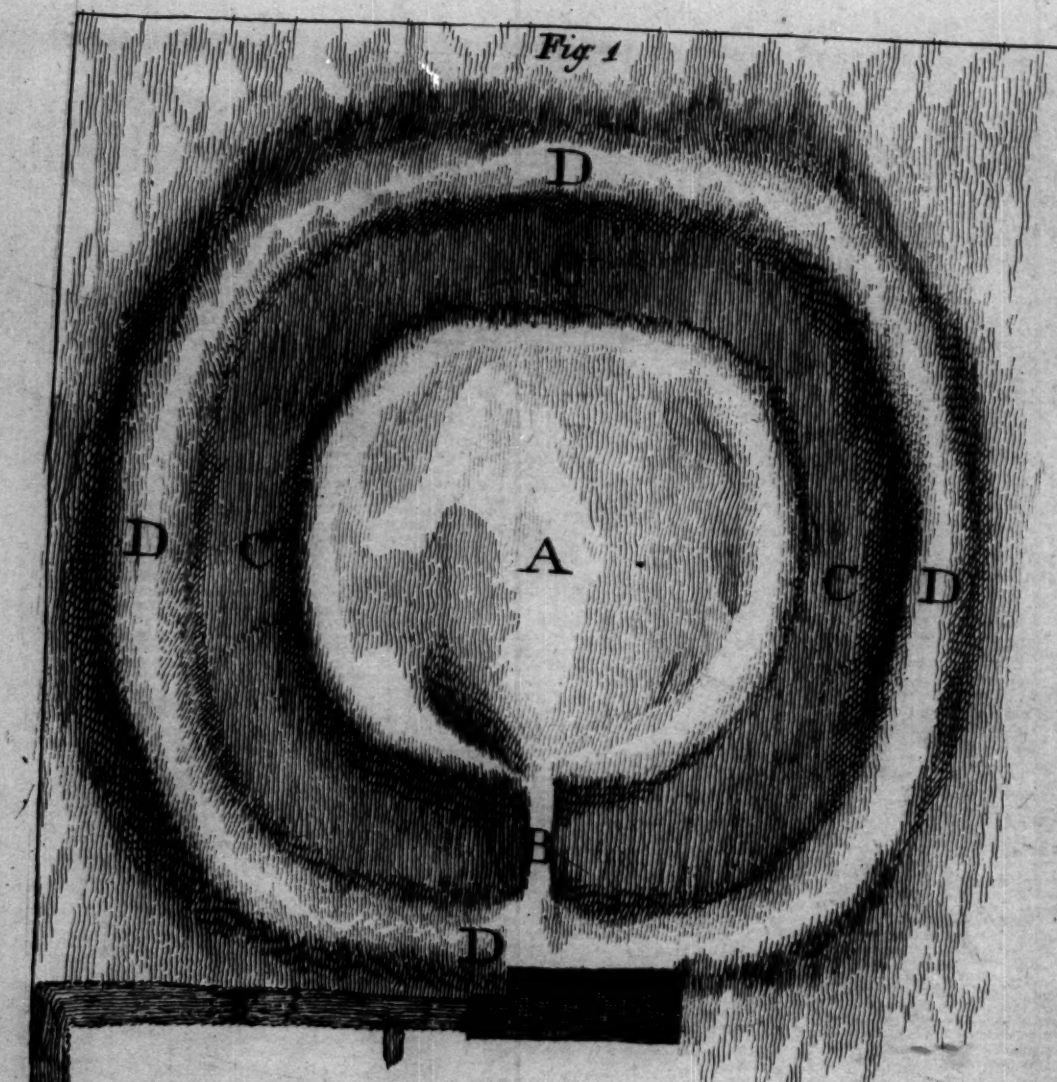
This (where ever they learned it) was the conſtant form in which the Saxons made the firſt foundation of their caſtles; and they were uſually erected upon the brow of a hill, or upon a place which was, in ſome meaſure, fortified by nature; not that they ſpared any trouble or expence to make their works as ſtrong as poſſible, as is clearly proved in the fortification now before us; for if ſuch extraordinary pains were taken in the foundation itſelf, we may moſt reaſonably ſuppoſe that the walls and ſuperſtructure were not neglected: and that we may with the greater degree of certainty, judge what really were the works of this people only, we have choſen the moſt ancient piece of work attributed to them; for if it was not really built by Hengiſt himſelf, there can be little doubt, but that it was the work of his ſon Æſc, who was a peaceable prince, and rather anxious to preſerve the conqueſts already obtained, than to extend them further: during the wars which afterwards enſued, it ſeems to have ſuffered, becauſe Octa, the ſon of Æſc, upon his advancement to the throne of Kent, repaired the walls, and placed a ſtrong garriſon of ſoldiers within it, to guard the adjacent country.

Conſiderations deduced from the view of Tong Caſtle.

Now, on a thorough conſideration of what has been advanced, we ſhall eaſily be lead to conclude, that the Germans had made great improvements in architecture, before the period in which they firſt ſent troops to Britain; for when we recollect how little leiſure the Saxons had, for a conſiderable time after their arrival, to invent and perfect ſuch buildings as we find from record erected by them, we muſt apprehend their neceſſity of having ſome models to form their plan upon; if ſo, where did they meet with them? Not from the Romans, for they had no ideas of any fortifications like theſe; nor from the Britons, who

* Two plates of this extraordinary fortification are ſubjoined, one repreſenting the ſouth view, in perſpective, of the earth-works, removing only ſome few trees which grow upon the top of the hill. Vide plate XII. The other, plate XIII. is the plan or ground plot of the ſame, with a given ſcale to aſcertain its exact ſize: A, is the caſtle hill, ſurrounded by a broad ditch; B B B, which has been ſtubbed down, and all the external vallum removed at C C, and runs ſloping down into the water; D D D, repreſents a ſmall road through part of the entrenchment to the mill, and leads to Sittenbourne; E E E, repreſents the external vallum, very perfect on the north and weſt ſides; F, is the rivulet, which formerly ſupplied the ditch with water, but now runs much lower to the mill. At the bottom of the plate, is the ſection of the earth-work with the meaſurements.

Fig. 1



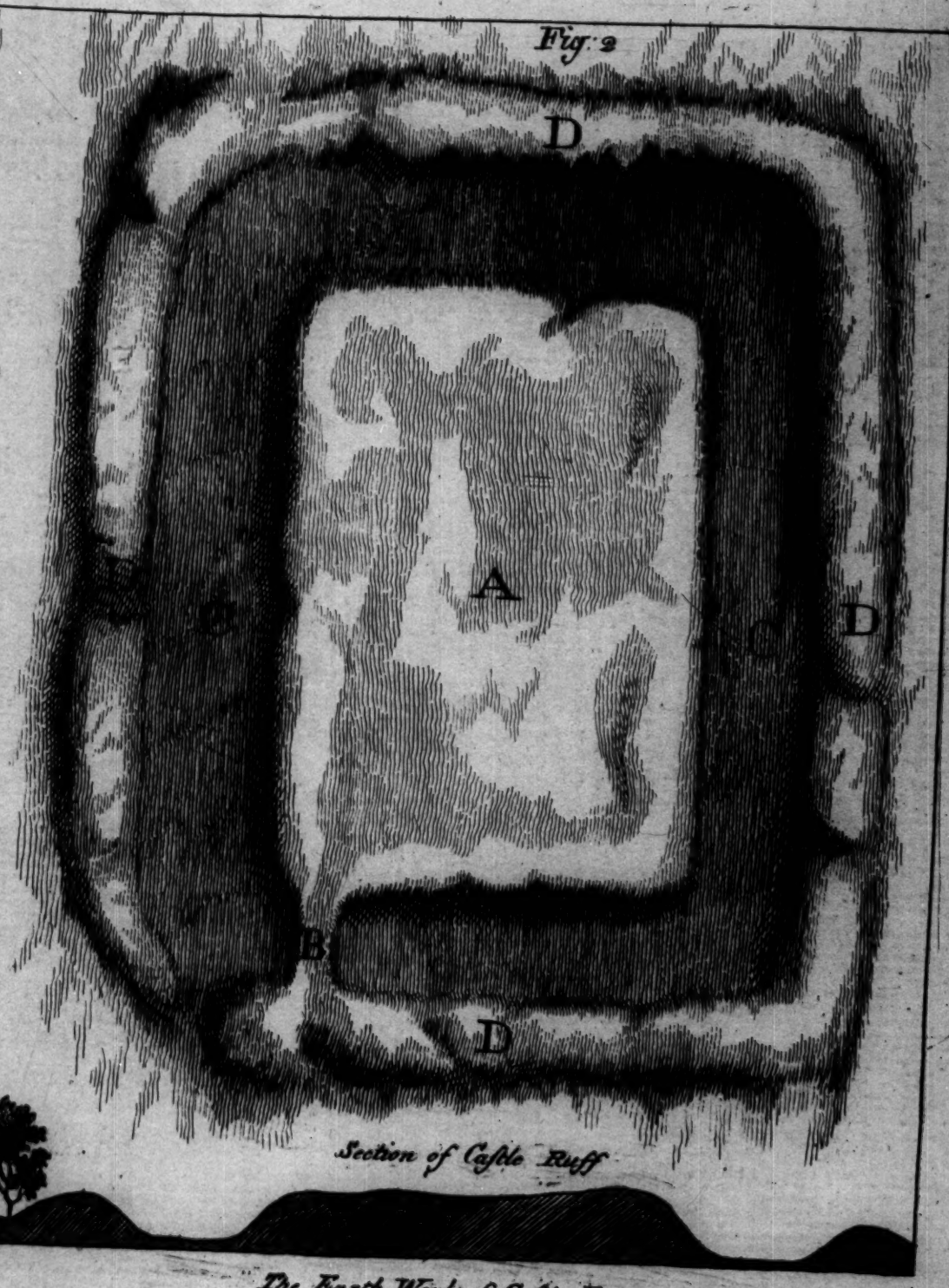
Scale of 40 Yards

Both plans Answer to this Scale

Section of Castle Bayard

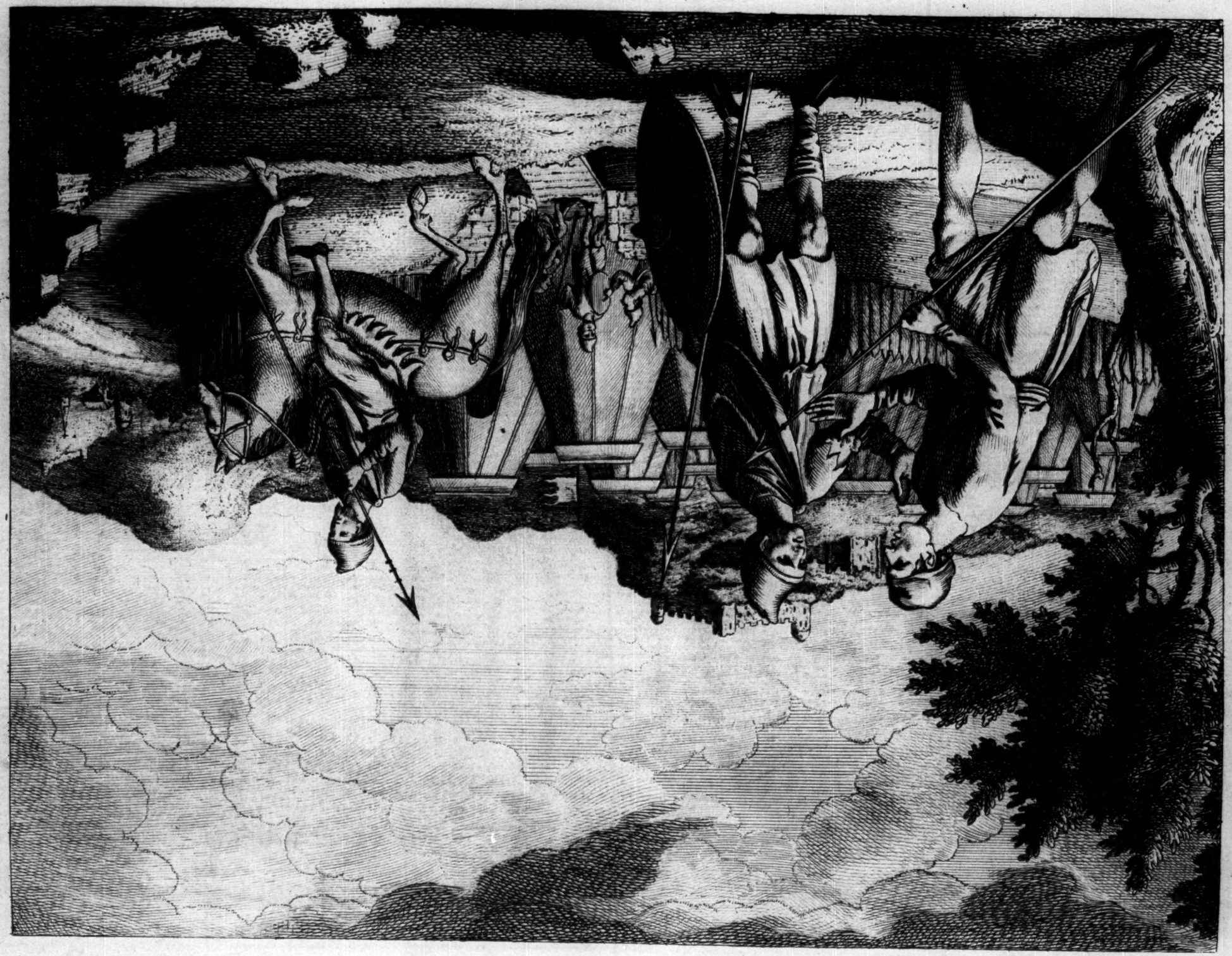
The Earth Works of Castle Bayard

Fig. 2

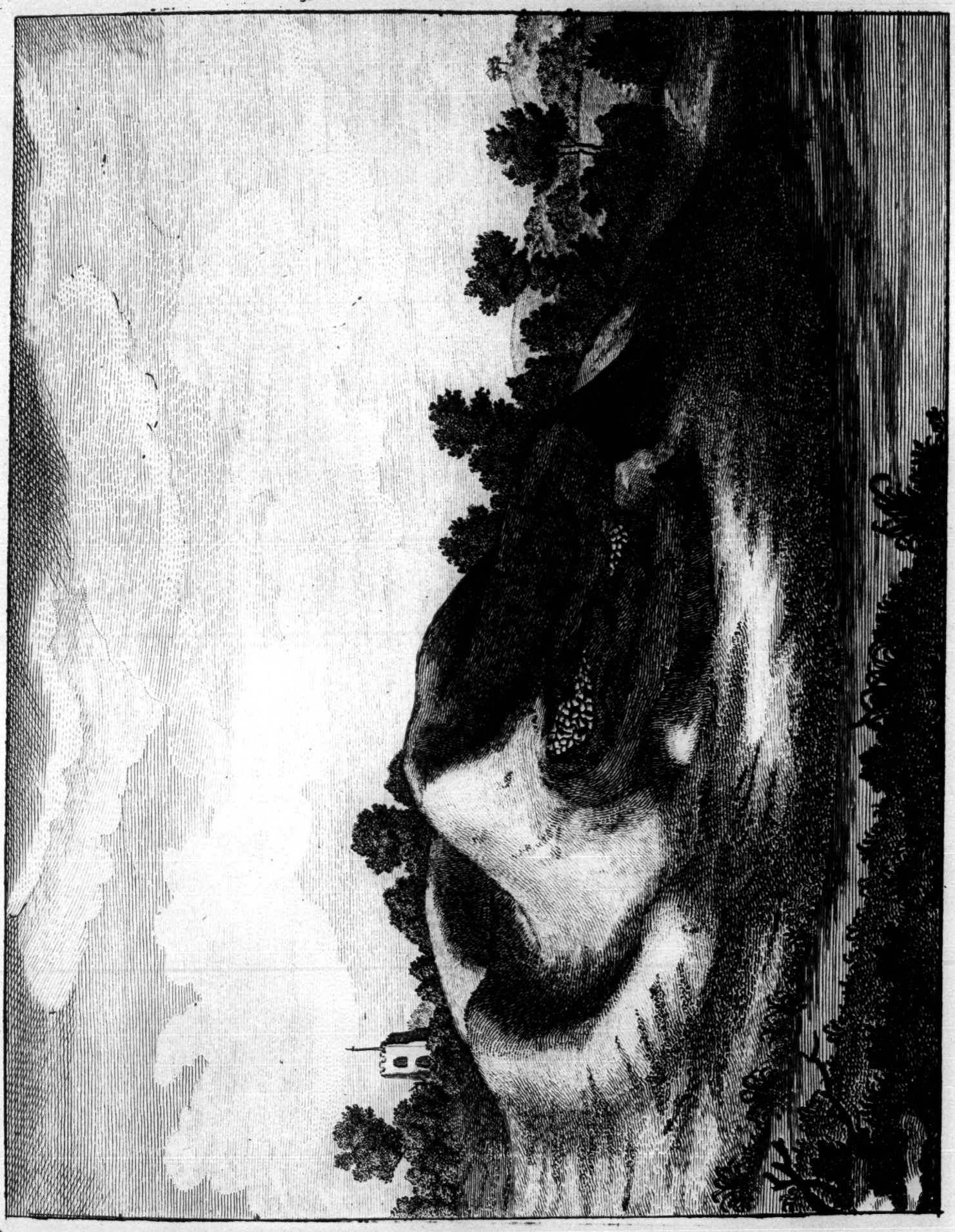


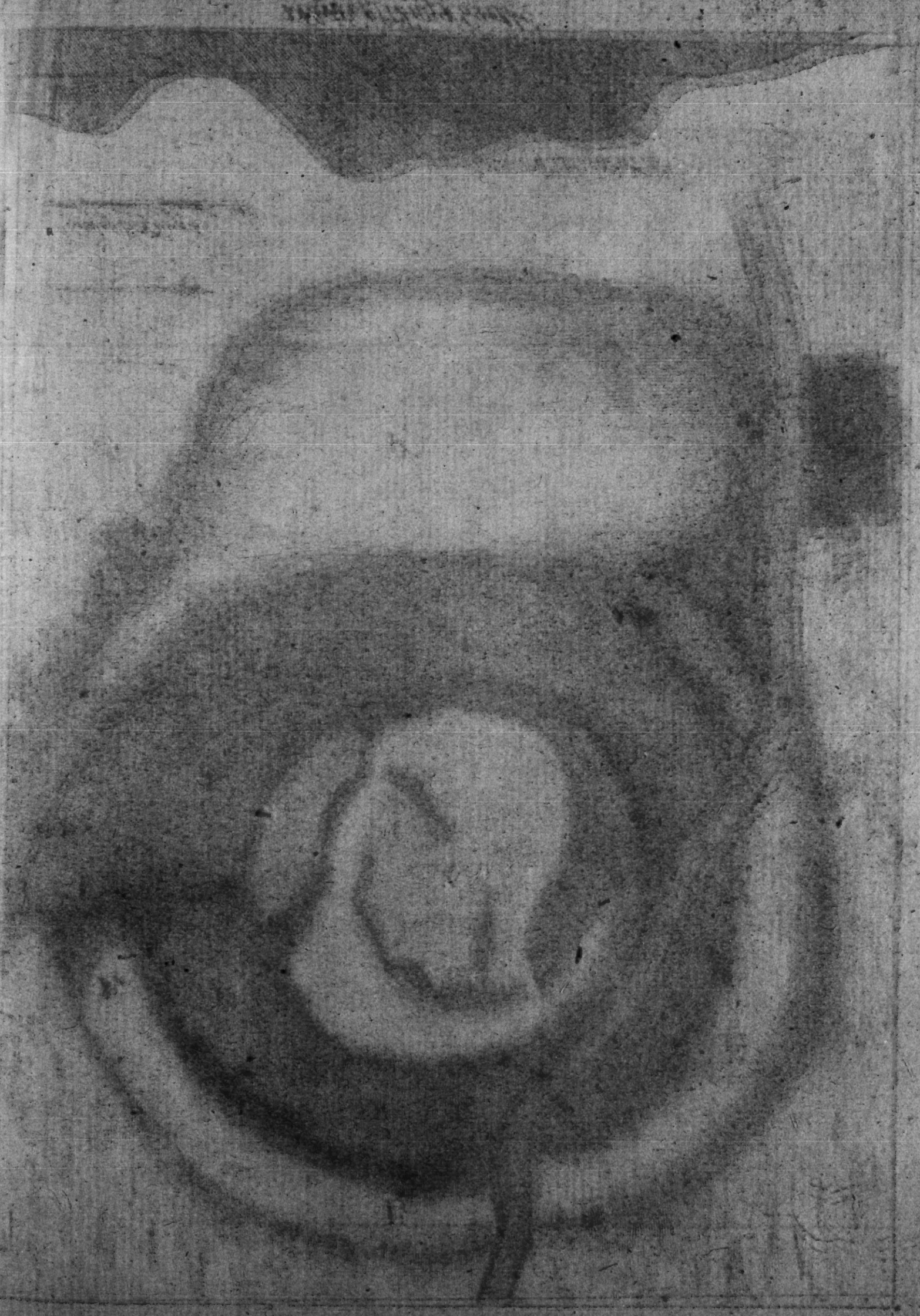
Section of Castle Ruff

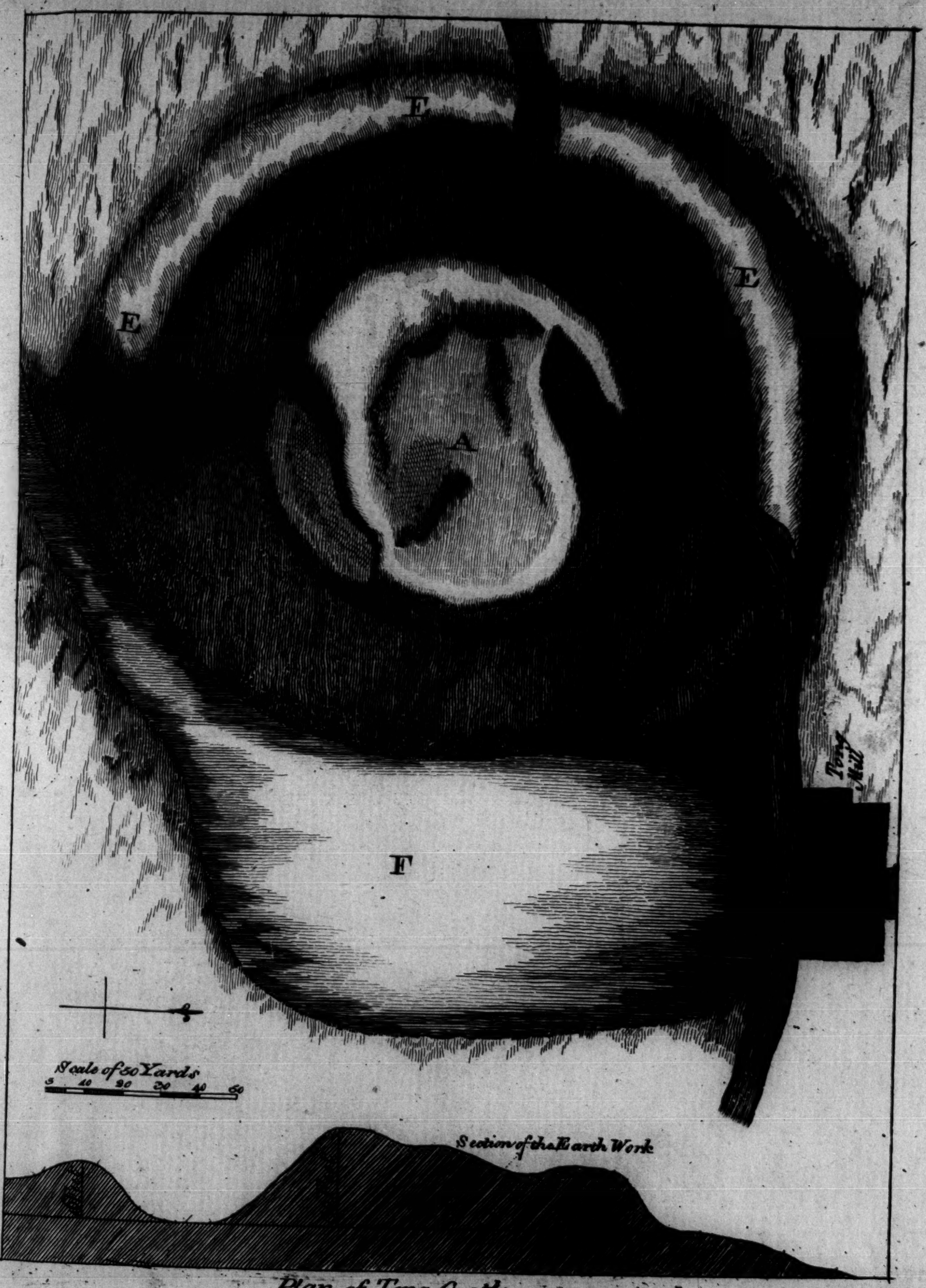
The Earth Works of Castle Ruff











Plan of Tong Castle.

had but lately been taught by the Romans, and followed their cuſtoms: but is it not moſt probable, that they brought the plan from their own country, upon which they afterwards proceeded?

Now we come to the examination of the earth-works, which yet remain, of the temporary camps of the Saxons; and we find they differed eſſentially from thoſe of the Romans, in form and in magnitude. The moſt ancient Saxon camp which we can trace out by certain record, is that made by Elfred the Great, about the year 892, where he and his army lay, in order to prevent the diſturbance of Haſting the Dane, who had made a ſtrong entrenchment, near the town of Milton, in Kent; from whence he and his forces, ſorely annoyed the country round about them. The camp of Elfred is very ſmall, conſiſting of a hill, a little elevated, in the form of an irregular oval; its largeſt diameter is but little more than eighty yards, and its ſhorteſt about ſeventy; this hill is ſurrounded by a broad ditch, now moſtly filled up, about twenty yards over, and on the outſide, is the evident appearance of the vallum.* The camp of Haſting differs in the form and ſize from this of Elfred; the hill is a long ſquare, with the corners a little rounded off; its length is full one hundred yards, and its breadth about eighty; this is alſo ſurrounded with a ditch, about three and twenty yards over, and defended like the former by an external vallum. The camp of Elfred cannot be ſaid to bear the leaſt reſemblance to the entrenchments of the Romans, even if it was as large, for theſe two plain reaſons: firſt, the inſide of the camp itſelf is raiſed above the common level of the adjoining country; and ſecondly, the ditch is of ſuch a diſproportionate width: theſe circumſtances alone, would be poſitive enough againſt ſuch an aſſertion, even though the ſize, another very material objection, was not to be conſidered: the ſame reaſon may be applied to the Daniſh camp, though in other matters, the ſhape agreeth well with thoſe before deſcribed of the Romans. The criterion between the Saxon and Daniſh fortifications, if any poſitive diſtinction can be made, ſhall be fully conſidered in a future diſcourſe.

The camps of Elfred and Haſting deſcribed.

* This camp is called Caſtle Bavord, and at preſent is an orchard to a farm-houſe, about a quarter of a mile from Sittenbourne, and is repreſented plate X, figure 1. A, is the hill or ſpace occupied by the tents, ſurrounded by a broad ditch C C C, and an external vallum D D D D; at B, is a communication from the houſe to the orchard; E, is the farm-houſe, and F, a path leading to Sittenbourne. On the ſame plate, figure 2, is Caſtle Ruff, or the camp of Haſting the Dane, within half a mile of the former. A, is the riſing ground where the camp was made; C C C, the ditch; D D D D, the external vallum, yet perfect; B, the preſent entrance. At the bottom is the ſection of both the caſtles; and to the plate a ſcale is added, to determine the exact ſize of each entrenchment, both of which anſwer to the ſame ſcale.

Now

Saxon camp now fortified.

Now we have ſeen the earth-work of the Saxon camp, we will conſider by what means it was made ſecure; upon the verge of the hill, whereon the tents were erected, there is uſually found the remains of an internal vallum, which appears to have run all round the ſame; on this, it is highly probable, they might ſet up a ſtrong row of thick paliſadoes, ſo as to encloſe their tents on every ſide; then the enemy muſt firſt mount the external vallum, paſs the ditch, and laſtly, ſcale this inner vallum, before they could come at the people within, to do them any material damage. Of what kind of cloth their tents were made, cannot now be diſcovered; their form and appearance we have luckily preſerved in ancient delineations, but they appear ſo very ſmall, that one of them could not contain above four or five men with the leaſt degree of convenience:* their method of diſpoſing of their men within their camp, when thus conſtructed, cannot be diſcovered; yet we may conceive, that they were lodged very cloſe to each other, becauſe in general their camps are not extenſive.

Temples of the Saxons.

The Saxons, ſoon after their arrival in Britain, began to erect temples to their gods; though they frequently made uſe of the deſerted churches of the Britons, and dedicated them to their deities. What ideas they had of ſymmetry and elegance at this early period cannot be determined; the only models left for them to copy from, were the mutilated cities of the Britons, † which were the laſt remains of Roman workmanſhip, and without doubt retained ſomething of the genuine taſte of that people; yet, hindered as the Saxons were by war and diſturbance, we may juſtly conclude, that improvements in architecture advanced but ſlowly; churches and other places of worſhip were built of wood.‡

* See plate XI. where a Saxon camp with the tents. &c. is repreſented according to the ideas of the author: there is the palliſado upon the inner bank, and a bridge over the entrance in front, which might probably be drawn up in caſe of danger. The diſpoſition of the view with the diſtance is ideal (though the particular objects are from good authority) and meant only to expreſs a ſomething like the face of the country and manner of buildings at that time: the caſtle at a diſtance, is in form, like thoſe found in ancient Saxons MSS. The tents are exact repreſentations of ſuch as are found in a very curious and ancient MS. in the Cotton library, marked Claudius B. IV. for an account of which, ſee the firſt volume of the Hoɲda Anzel cynnan; or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh: or the Cotton catalogue. The figures alſo are from undoubted authority, as will be ſhewn hereafter in a little explanation of the plates, at the end of this volume.

† Gildas informs us, that the Saxons, on their firſt arrival, were great enemies to taſte, and beat down and deſtroyed almoſt all the Britiſh cities.

‡ There was a time, ſays Bede, that there were no churches built of ſtone in all Britain, but the cuſtom was to build them all of wood. Finnan, ſecond biſhop of Lindisfarne, built a church in that iſland, about the year 652, for a cathederal, not of ſtone but of wood, and covered it over with reeds; and ſo it continued until Eadbert, the ſucceſſor of St. Cuthbert, and ſeventh biſhop of Lindisfarne, took away the reeds, and covered it all over, walls and all, with ſheets of lead. Bede's Ecc. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 25.

Architecture

Architecture may be ſaid to have been reſtored, by the joint labours of Wilfrid, biſhop of York, and Benedict Biſcop, his companion; the latter made no leſs than ſix journies to Rome, in order to collect books, pictures, ſtatues, and other ornaments; and alſo to form a proper taſte and judgment in this uſeful ſcience; nor did he ſtop here, but by his earneſt endeavours, perſuaded a certain number of artizans, to come from Italy into Britain, and aſſiſt him in his deſigns.*

Architecture reſtored in Britain and by whom.

The firſt appearance of an elegant ſtructure, was the church which Wilfrid built at Haugulſtad (now Hexam) on a ſpot of ground he had obtained of Etheldrida, the virgin-wife of Egfrid, king of Northumberland: this church he dedicated to St. Andrew, and ſpared no pains to render it perfectly magnificent; and in the deſcription of it, which is left us, it really appears to have been conſiderably more ſo, than we could poſſibly expect to find in theſe dark ages. Firſt we are told of large and ſtrong ſubterraneous buildings, conſtructed of the fineſt poliſhed ſtone, over which aroſe the wonderful ſuperſtructure, terminating with a lofty roof, ſupported by many elegant pillars, encloſed with long high walls, handſome towers, and with winding ſtairs to aſcend the upper apartments: this was built by the artiſts who came with him from Rome.†

Some account of a church built by Wilfrid.

Soon after this, his companion, Benedict, laid the foundation of an abbey, upon the mouth of the river Were, about the year 674, and then went over into France, and brought with him a great number of maſons from thence, to build the church with ſtone, after the manner of the Romans, which he admired. The church was dedicated to St. Peter, and he urged the workmen to labour ſo diligently, that in a year after maſs was ſaid in it: when the work was far advanced, he ſent agents into France, to procure, if poſſible, ſome glaſs makers; a kind of workmen altogether unknown to the Saxons at this period. His agents ſucceeded, and ſeveral of theſe artizans came over into Britain, and not only glazed the windows in the church and monaſtry which Benedict had built, but alſo inſtructed the Saxons in the art of making glaſs for windows, lamps, drinking veſſels, and other uſes.‡

Improvements in architecture occaſioned by the induſtry of Benedict Biſcop.

The ſecret of making glaſs windows, was a great addition to the beauty of large buildings, which before this time had been only made of lattices, or even in their beſt ſtate, filled out with fine linen cloths,

Glaſs windows a great ornament to large buildings.

* Malmſb. de geſt. pontif. lib. iii.

† Edii Vita Wilfridi. After all this elaborate deſcription the author proceeds in the following manner: "Non eſt mea parvitatis hoc ſermone explicare quod ſanctus ipſe præſul animarum à ſpiritu Dei doctus opere facere excogitavit; ne quæ ullam domum aliam citra alpes montes talem ædificatum audivimus." Theſe encomiums, however, may appear a little extravagant, but we muſt recollect that ſuch buildings were very extraordinary in Britain.

‡ Bede Hiſt. Abbot Weremuthen.

ſtretched upon frames of wood;* either of which muſt have been very inconvenient in winter, eſpecially in cold wet weather. From this time, it is evident, we may date the æra of elegance amongſt the Saxons; and it ſeems from ſubſequent accounts, that they purſued the plan laid down by the above mentioned ingenious men, with conſiderable attention; and great improvements were made in every one of the arts requiſite to produce good and ſubſtantial edifices.

The chapel of Ina.

Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons (if the monkiſh writers have not exaggerated) built a famous chapel at Glaſtonbury, which was ſo highly enriched with gold and ſilver, and ſuch a variety of curious ornaments, that nothing can be conceived more rich and beautiful.† After this period, as the people became more zealous, the wooden churches were frequently deſtroyed, and large ſtone ſtructures erected in their ſtead.

Palaces of the Saxon kings.

The palaces of the Saxon monarchs, without doubt, partook of the grandeur and elegance of their churches. In the earlier time, as is moſt probable, the kings and chief nobles lived in caſtles and fortified places; becauſe as they had not yet ſecured their conqueſts, it behoved them to be conſtantly upon their guard; but in after ages, and more particularly when the above mentioned improvements took place, they began to wall and fortify whole cities; wherein they cauſed ſtately palaces to be erected for the reception of themſelves and their families.

Monaſteries their elegance.

The next places of conſequence were the monaſteries and religious houſes; ſome of which muſt have been very capacious, to contain a great multitude of devotees; and as theſe places in general, were built by bigotted zealots, we can make but little doubt of their being grand and magnificent, according to the taſte that prevailed at thoſe times. It is true indeed, St. Cuthbert, the ſaint of Durham, conſtructed a monaſtery upon a much more ſimple plan; wherein the monks were ſhut up by high walls, from the ſight of all improper objects. The building within, conſiſted of two houſes, containing the different lodgings of the monks; a chapel and a room for common uſes: the roof he made of unhewn timber, and thatched it over with ſtraw; the wall which ſurrounded the whole of theſe edifices, was built of rough unpoliſhed ſtone, without any cement or mortar, but rudely caſt up, and banked on both ſides with turfs and earth; without the

* Malmſbury making mention of the repairs done by Wilfrid to the cathederal of York, goes on thus: "the biſhop "grieving to ſee the ruinous ſtate of the "cathederal church, which had been "built by king Edwine, at the deſire of "Paulinus, immediately began to repair it: "he reſtored the roof, and covered it with "ſheets of lead; he alſo white-waſhed the "walls with lime, and put glaſs into the "windows, ſome of which, had admitted "the light through fine linen cloths, and "others through lattices." W. Malmſb. de geſt. pont. lib. iii.

† Malmſb. Antiq. Glaſton.

wall

wall he made a larger houſe, to receive thoſe who ſhould come to viſit him; the whole was cloſe by a fair ſpring, which ſerved them continually with water.*

Domeſtic buildings of the Saxons.

We now come to their domeſtic buildings, and theſe we have the greateſt reaſon to conclude, were in a very rude and unpoliſhed ſtate; they were moſt likely only one ſtory high; framed with timber, and the walls made of plaiſter or clay: like thoſe of the Britons, they might be of a circular form, with an aperture left in the roof for the ſmoke to go out, and the other part thatched over with reeds and ſtraw; but now we are treating of the houſes of the commoner ſort of people: the habitations of the nobility, according to their rank and wealth, were much more elegant and convenient, and from their appearance in the ancient delineation, ſeem to have conſiſted of ſeveral apartments, and the roofs are covered over either with ſhingles, tiles, ſlates, or lead; but of theſe we ſhall ſee more hereafter.

Materials uſed in building by the ancient Germans.

This is, it is true, but an imperfect view of the ſtate of architecture amongſt the Saxons, but our conceptions on this head, will be much more clear and obvious, when we enter into the account of thoſe ages immediately ſucceeding this; for then we may eaſily figure to ourſelves the gradual improvements, made from time to time. At preſent it remains for us to conſider, what materials were made uſe of by the Saxons and their anceſtors, at the time we are now treating of. Amongſt the Germans, the chief materials were wood for the frames of the houſes, clay to daub over by way of walls, and dung, reeds, or ſtraw, to thatch or cover the roofs: they ſeem to have known nothing of the art of maſonry; bricks they neither knew how to form, or even the uſe of. The art of carpentry was but ill underſtood, or at leaſt but little attended to; for their timber they uſed unſquared, and put it together without conſulting the beauty or neatneſs of the workmanſhip: their greateſt ſkill in carpentry muſt have been manifeſted in their ploughs and other implements of huſbandry; but theſe belonged to their ſlaves, and were moſt likely alſo made by them; for the freemen looked upon ſuch employment with an eye of ſovereign contempt.†

Materials uſed by the Saxons.

Where the Anglo Saxons learned their firſt rudiments of architecture, cannot ſo eaſily be determined, unleſs they brought them with them from Germany; for if Tong Caſtle was actually built by Hengiſt and his followers ſoon after his arrival, it proves, that they muſt have been well ſkilled in one of the moſt neceſſary requiſites of architecture, namely maſonry, this ſtrong foundation of ſolid and permanent materials may clearly prove; and ſince we find ſo much ſkill in the groundwork, may we not eaſily conceive that the ſuperſtructure might have been anſwerable. This foundation, as we have before obſerved, conſiſts of large rough flints, and other craggy ſtones, laid cloſely toge-

* Bede, vita Cuthberti.

† Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

ther, and united by a ſtrong cement, which being now grown harder by time, would require immenſe labour to ſtub it up. We ſoon after find the Saxons making builings of ſtone, ſhaped and ſquared; yet we muſt not ſuppoſe they ceaſed then to make uſe of the rubble, for that was a ſtandard material, uſed in large edifices for many ages afterwards: with ſquare ſtones they frequently ornamented the corners, or faced the whole ſtructure, for buildings entirely of large ſtones without the rubble were very rare. Bricks, if uſed at all, were not general; whether from their ignorance in the ready way of making and burning them, or from their preferring other materials, cannot be diſcovered. By the appearance of houſes in the rude delineations of the Saxons, we may be led to think, that beſides thatch and ſhingles, they alſo uſed lead coverings and ſlates, or ſomething much reſembling them: it is abundantly evident that lead was uſed in magnificient edifices, as we have ſeen before.*

An attempt to diſcover the authors of buildings, &c. by ornaments in MSS.

It is impoſſible to aſcertain the exact date of many very curious and valuable antiquities which are often found amongſt the ruins of ſplendid edifices. As much at a loſs are we frequently in regard to the remaining edifices themſelves, to determine with certainty, what are ſtrictly Saxon, and what are not ſo; therefore every attempt to reſcue ſuch venerable antiquities from the obſcurity in which they are unhappily involved, will perhaps be thought laudable: for this purpoſe, the ſort of ornaments made uſe of by any particular ſet of people, ſhould be diligently attended to: therefore to this diſcourſe, we have ſubjoined a title page, exhibiting a great variety of ſcroll work, and animals, by way of ornaments interwoven with each other;† theſe drawn by a Saxon anchorite, named Billfrith, as early as the beginning of the eight century, may prove more than mere matter of curioſity; for if upon examination of ancient buildings, or any other antiquities, ornaments of like nature may be pointed out; we may by this means be able, in ſome meaſure, to aſcertain, not only to what people we owe thoſe performances, but alſo to give ſome gueſs at the æra in which they were made: and this opinion, it is hoped, will not be too haſtily condemned, eſpecially when hereafter we ſhall make it our buſineſs, not only to ſhow the alteration of taſte in ſuch ornaments at different periods as found in illuminated manuſcripts, but alſo prove, in a great variety of particulars, how much they conformed with the ornaments upon buildings, altars, ſhrines, tombs, and the like, evidently of the ſame age with ſuch manuſcripts.

Carpenters art.

From what we have ſeen concerning the architecture of the Anglo Saxons, we may ſafely conclude, that the art of carpentry was well underſtood amongſt them; and that more eſpecially, when we recollect that moſt of their houſes were framed with wood, and the roofs frequently

* See the foregoing pages. † Vide plate XX of this volume.

covered

covered with ſhingles, ſo that they muſt have hewn their timber, ſawed it into planks, and plained it ſmooth; it was neceſſary alſo for them to joint it together with mortices and tenons, after which they might beautify their work with variety of mouldings, and other ornaments.*

Maſonry was greatly improved by foreign aſſiſtance; ſo that we may neceſſarily ſuppoſe they could not be ignorant of machines for raiſing weights, and a great variety of other engines, abſolutely neceſſary for the completion of great works; and this is abundantly evident, when we hear that the foundation of the church at Mediſhamſtede, (built by Peada, the firſt Chriſtian king of Mercia) was made with ſuch large ſtones, that eight yoke of oxen could ſcarcely move one of them.† In the middle of the eighth century, Ethelbald, the tenth king of Mercia, being deſirous of building a church of ſtone at Croyland, where St. Guthlac had erected a ſmall oratory with wood, he found the ſoil ſo ſpungy and hollow, as to render it entirely unfit for the ſupport of a ſtone edifice; to remedy this inconvenience, he firſt cauſed large piles of oak to be made, and driven down into the ground, and a great quantity of loam, and ſtiff clay was rammed round about them; by which means he obtained a ſolid and permanent foundation.‡ Many of the other dependent arts we have ſeen already, and when they were firſt introduced. Maſonry, &c.

CHAP. III.

Art of War, and military Diſcipline of the ancient Germans and their Deſcendants.

THE ſtrong characteriſtic of the ancient Germans, was, their enthuſiaſtic love of glory, and paſſion for arms. Their youth, from their very infancy, were bred up in the ſelf-ſame notions, and thoſe alone eſteemed, who, upon all occaſions ſeemed eager for the battle; for this cauſe, proviſions and plunders won by the ſword, were eſteemed far more honourable than thoſe attained by labour, and the careful cultivation of the ground: therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that hopes of ſpoil ſhould frequently call them to the field.§ The love of war amongſt the Germans.

When war was to be formally declared againſt any nation, it was done in their ſolemn councils, and by the common conſent of all the princes War, how declared, and general choſen.

* Vide the Hoɲba Anzel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. I.

† Robert de Swapham, in Gunſton's Hiſtory of the Church of Peterborough.

‡ Ingulphus Hiſt. fol. 1.

§ Tacit. de Morib. Germ. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

and freemen there aſſembled; they then proceeded to elect their chief, which was alſo done by general conſent; and their choice conſtantly fell upon him who had moſt ſignalized himſelf by his courage and perſonal bravery, ſo that by his example his followers might be animated with freſh courage, and reſiſt with the greater bravery the attacks of their enemies; for as in battle it was eſteemed a great diſgrace for the general to be overcome, ſo was it a perpetual ſhame and ignominy in his followers not to ſhare with him in the labour and danger of the fight, or to return alive from that field where he had been ſlain.*

Form of electing the general.

When their general was choſen, it was cuſtomary with them to ſet him upon a ſhield, and ſo he was borne upon men's ſhoulders through the croud, who with repeated ſhouts and acclamations confirmed their choice.† At other times, and in matters of leſs moment, their prince would lay before his followers the reaſons which he had for declaring war in ſuch a place, and that if they would approve his conduct, he himſelf would become their leader, and deſired thoſe who were willing to accompany him to come forth, and join with him in his expedition; all who approved of the propoſals of the prince roſe up preſently, and promiſed their aſſiſtance, and were praiſed by the multitude, but ſuch as refuſed to accompany him were numbered with the deſerters and traitors, and their honour and credit was loſt for ever afterwards.‡

Conſulting the gods in times of war.

Before they would proceed to battle, or ſet out on any great expedition, they would conſult the gods by caſting lots; they alſo noted the flight of birds, their ſinging, and noiſes; but more particularly they attended to the neighing of horſes.§ Before a great battle they would procure, if they could, a priſoner from the army of their enemy, and then they choſe out one of their own ſoldiers, and both being armed according to the cuſtom of their country, were brought into the field, where they fought with each other, and the preſages were made of the ſucceſs of either army, according to the iſſue of the combat.‖

Forces of the Germans.

In raiſing troops for the proſecution of any conſiderable war, every pagus, or diſtrict, furniſhed a certain number, divided into ſeparate corps, one hundred in a band, under the leading of their own proper officers, called by the name of Centeni, or the leader of a hundred, and all theſe were under the conduct of their prince. Their principal force conſiſted in their infantry; their horſes were not very ſwift of foot, but were

* Tacit. ut ſup.

† Tacit. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 6.

‡ Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 21.

§ See more of theſe matters in the ninth chapter of this part.

‖ Tacit. de Morib. German-Saxo. The grammarian adds, that the ancient Germans would not go to war without firſt conſulting their wives: again, ſays he, when they declared war againſt their enemies, they ſet their ſpears before the temple of the gods, and a ſacred horſe was led out, when, if he put his right foot forward, the omen was holden good, but if, on the contrary, his left foot was firſt put forward, it was eſteemed an unlucky ſign, and they deſiſted from purſuing their intended enterprize.

managed

managed by their riders in ſuch a manner, that they would turn from ſide to ſide with the utmoſt dexterity. The arms both of the horſe and foot ſoldiers were the ſame, namely the framea, a ſort of javelin, handſomely made, and headed with a ſhort narrow piece of iron, extremely ſharp, and a ſhield.

The arms of the ancient Germans.

There were but few of them who could purchaſe ſwords; and as to any kind of defenſive armour, either for their heads, or for the ſecurity of their bodies, it was ſcarcely known amongſt them.* Their ſhields they took great delight in, and uſually ornamented them with a variety of colours.†

Their armies, how arranged.

When they arranged their troops for the battle, they placed their infantry (in which their chief ſtrength conſiſted) in the form of a wedge, pointing towards the enemy,‡ and the front of it was compoſed of certain choſen youth; on each wing were placed the cavalry, and when the attack was begun, the main body of infantry and the cavalry advanced with equal pace, obſerving diligently each others motions, ſo that the one was neither too haſty in bearing down upon the enemy, nor the other too far behind. In the encounter it was uſual for the infantry to mingle with the horſe, and ſo fight jointly together. In forming this pointed battle of the infantry, men were not mixed promiſcuouſly together as they might come, but placed in ſeparate bodies, each body compoſed of the deareſt friends and neareſt relations; by which means, beſides the love of glory, and ſelf-defence, their valour was excited to the higheſt degree in being anxious for the preſervation of thoſe, united to them by the irreſiſtible ties of the neareſt conſanguinity. When they had thus arranged their army, in the rear was placed their

* Tacit. de Morib. German. See the ſoldier thus armed, repreſented plate XVIII. the middle figure on the plate.

† "The ſhield was moſt commonly "made of wood, bark, or leather. The "ſhields belonging to warriors of diſtinction "were of iron or braſs, ornamented with "painting and ſculpture, often finely gilt, "and ſometimes plated over with gold." "The Scandinavians had them of a long "oval form, juſt the height of the bearer, "in order to protect him from arrows, "darts, and ſtones. They beſide made "uſe of them to carry the dead to the "grave, to terrify the enemy by claſhing "their arms againſt them, to form upon "occaſion a kind of ſhelter, or tent, when "they were obliged to encamp in the open "field, or when the weather was bad. "Nor was the ſhield leſs uſeful in naval "encounters; for, if the fear of falling "into the enemies' hands obliged any of "thoſe warriors to caſt himſelf into the "ſea, he could eaſily eſcape by ſwimming "upon his buckler. Laſtly, they made a "rampart with their ſhields, in the form "of a circle; and at the end of a campaign they ſuſpended them againſt the "walls of their houſes, as the fineſt decoration with which they could adorn "them. When a young warrior was firſt "enliſted, they gave him a white ſmooth "buckler, which was called 'The ſhield "'of expectation;' this he carried, till "by ſome ſignal exploit he had obtained "leave to have proofs of his valour engraven upon it; for this reaſon, none "but ſuch perſons as had diſtinguiſhed "themſelves by their ſervices preſumed to "carry ſhields adorned with any ſymbol, "&c." Northern Antiq. vol. I. pages 240, 241, & 242.

‡ The outward form of which was not unlike the Greek letter Δ.

wag-

waggons, their baggage, arms, and proviſions, as alſo their wives and children, and ſuch as were ſick and wounded, under a proper guard; by which means they made a kind of rampart, to ſecure them from any attacks from that quarter.*

War ſongs, and manner of fighting.

They advanced to the battle ſinging certain verſes,† by which they encouraged each other, and worked up their paſſions to a prodigious pitch; they began with a low voice, which they increaſed gradually, according to the tune of the battle, until they made a prodigious loud and reſounding noiſe, in which they affected a certain roughneſs of voice, and added to its terror by putting their mouths before their targets, which by reverberation occaſioned the ſound to appear ſtronger and fuller. Inſpired with this enthuſiaſtic fury, they ruſhed upon the foe, and with continual noiſe heightened the horror of the ſcene, and frequently ſtruck a terror into the ſouls of their enemies; eſpecially when it was accompanied with the repeated cries and howlings of their wives and children, who were placed in the rear as witneſſes of their valour, and who were continually attendant upon them, bringing them food during the battle, and encouraging them to fight bravely. If the women ſaw any of their party give ground, it was uſual for them to enter the battle, and expoſe themſelves to danger; by which means they reminded their relations of the conſequence of the victory, who, to preſerve them from captivity, would frequently rally again, and ſometimes obtained a conqueſt where the battle had been almoſt loſt. As faſt as any were wounded, they retired, or were carried from the fight, to the women in the rear, who dreſſed their wounds with the greateſt care and tenderneſs; and when any one was ſlain, his companions conveyed the body to a place of ſafety; for even in doubtful battles they were careful to preſerve the dead bodies of their friends from the hands of their enemies.‡

Stratagems of war.

They would frequently ſeem to retire from their enemies, to draw them from their poſt, when ſuddenly turning about, and taking the advantage of the diſorder their ſtratagem might occaſion, they renewed the battle with freſh alacrity, and frequently obtained the victory by their policy. But of all others, the Catti, a nation of the Germans, inhabiting the Hercynian foreſt, were the moſt ſkilful in the art of war; they preferred choice men for their leaders, to whom they hearkened with great attention, and obeyed their orders with the utmoſt reſolution: they kept cloſely in their ranks, and bridled their heat to engage by prudence and diſcretion, carefully taking every advantage of the foe; they repoſed their whole confidence in the ſkill and prudence of their general, and the battle was conducted with the greateſt regularity. When they entrenched their camp, they did it carefully in the night ſeaſon.§

* Tacit. ut ſupra.

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Obligations to be valiant.

This view which we have taken of the Germans, is of their moſt ancient ſtate; and from this time to their arrival in Britain, a ſpace of full three hundred years, we may naturally ſuppoſe a variety of alterations might take place relative to their warlike habits, weapons, and military diſcipline: and this we may be led to believe, becauſe we find the chief arms of the Saxons, in their firſt battle againſt the Scots, under their conductor, Hengiſt, to have been large long ſwords.§

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‡ Tacit. de Morib. German.

§ H. Hunt. lib. ii.

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They would frequently ſeem to retire from their enemies, to draw them from their poſt, when ſuddenly turning about, and taking the advantage of the diſorder their ſtratagem might occaſion, they renewed the battle with freſh alacrity, and frequently obtained the victory by their policy. But of all others, the Catti, a nation of the Germans, inhabiting the Hercynian foreſt, were the moſt ſkilful in the art of war; they preferred choice men for their leaders, to whom they hearkened with great attention, and obeyed their orders with the utmoſt reſolution: they kept cloſely in their ranks, and bridled their heat to engage by prudence and diſcretion, carefully taking every advantage of the foe; they repoſed their whole confidence in the ſkill and prudence of their general, and the battle was conducted with the greateſt regularity. When they entrenched their camp, they did it carefully in the night ſeaſon.§

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§ H. Hunt. lib. ii.

no material alteration took place from the laſt three hundred years before the eſtabliſhment of the Danes in England: however, all that can be traced out will be regularly ſhewn, and the authority for ſuch aſſertions fully explained.

The claſſes of the Saxon ſoldiers, and their habits.

The foot ſoldiers of the Saxons ſeem to be divided into three claſſes; firſt, thoſe who fought with long ſpears; ſecondly, thoſe who chiefly fought with ſwords, without ſpears; and laſtly, thoſe who fought both with ſwords and ſpears. The general habit of the firſt claſs, is a tunic with ſleeves, which reaches down to the knees, and bound round the waiſt: in the moſt ancient delineations they ſeldom appear to have cloaks, which are very commonly added to their dreſs, as they come lower down to the end of the Saxon æra. They ſometimes are repreſented with oval ſhields, big enough to cover all their body, though they are frequently ſeen without them. Perhaps there were two ſorts of theſe ſpearmen, one of them ſlightly armed, having only their ſpear for ſkirmiſhes, and the other bearing ſhields for their defence in cloſer actions. The ſecond claſs are the ſwordſmen, who, beſide a large, long, two-edged ſword, are uſually ſeen with ſhields; the more ancient the delineations are, the ſmaller the ſhield is generally made; on the contrary, thoſe at the end of the Saxon æra are very large. The habit of the ſwordſman, like the ſpear-man, is a ſhort tunic, with ſleeves to the wriſt; like them too, they have ſometimes cloaks, buckled on the right ſhoulder, though they are often drawn without. The laſt claſs do not ſo frequently occur; but the ſwords and ſpears that they bear differ nothing from the former: theſe men ſeem never to have had either ſhields or cloaks; their tunic exactly reſembles thoſe before-deſcribed. The greater part of theſe ſoldiers appear to have their legs naked; but they wear ſhoes, which ſeem to be black, made, without doubt, of ſtrong leather, and bound round the inſtep: but in the drawings of later date, beſides theſe ſhoes, we ſee evidently a ſort of ſtockings, which are drawn to the middle of the leg. The helmets that they wear (though many are figured without any) appear to be nothing more than the ſkin of ſome animal ſowed together, and the hairy ſide turned outwards.*

The habit of the horſe ſoldier.

The horſe ſoldier differed nothing in habit from the foot, having the ſame ſort of tunic, cloak, ſhoes, and helmet. In the ancient drawings he has a ſpur with a ſingle point; he rides upon a ſaddle, but has no ſtirrups; the bridle, and other trappings of the horſe, have nothing further particular in them. His weapon anciently was a lance, which he bore in his right hand, whilſt he guided his horſe with his left, without a ſhield, or the appearance of any defenſive armour, except his helmet.†

* All theſe ſoldiers are repreſented on plate XIV. of this volume; and ſee alſo the two figures in the fore-ground, plate XI.

† The horſe ſoldier is repreſented plate XI. of this volume.

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The habit of the king, when he went to war, ſeems to have been equally ſimple with thoſe of his officers. Like them he wore a tunic, with ſleeves reaching down to his wriſts, and bound round the waiſt, from whence it hung as low as the knees; he alſo wore a cloak, which was buckled upon his right ſhoulder: his legs appear to have been naked, and his ſhoes exactly the ſame with thoſe before-deſcribed. His chief diſtinction is the crown, which he conſtantly wears upon his head, and which anſwered the purpoſe of a helmet.* His arms, when he fought on foot, were a ſword and a ſhield; but when he was on horſeback, he had only the lance.

The habit of a king when he went to war.

As to the methods in which the Saxons arranged their armies, and their military diſcipline, from the time of their arrival to the end of the heptarchy, cannot eaſily be aſcertained. It is true, the monks of the middle ages have given ſeveral long and particular accounts of the order in which the armies were drawn up, in ſome of the moſt noted battles during this period; but we muſt recollect, that theſe monks lived at a time very remote from the actions they deſcribe, and therefore could not poſſibly be acquainted with the particulars of them: and this we may be well aſſured of, ſince it is no uncommon thing to find the ſame battle differently deſcribed by different authors. From theſe accounts it will be impoſſible to trace out the truth; for this reaſon we muſt paſs the ſubject over, for the preſent, and ſee hereafter what light can be thrown upon it, in a review of the military order and diſcipline, after the heptarchy was ended.

The methods uſed by the ancient Saxons in the arrangement of their armies unknown.

CHAP. IV.

State of Agriculture, and the dependent Arts, amongſt the ancient Germans, and their Deſcendants, the Saxons.

IT will be in vain to ſeek for any very great improvements in agriculture amongſt a people who deſpiſed every kind of labour, ſave that of war. The cultivation of land amongſt the Germans was committed to the wretched ſlaves, and the moſt ſervile of their dependants;† what time they could ſpare from war, was ſpent in amuſements or toils of a different caſt; amongſt which, hunting was one of the chief: for this they followed, not as a ſport only, but frequently to provide themſelves with food.‡

Agriculture diſregarded by the Germans.

* See the figure of a king in his warlike habit, plate XIX. No. 1. of this volume: & vide various figures of kings in the firſt volume of the Hoɲda Anȝel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

† Tacit. de Morib. German. Cæſar's Comment. &c.

‡ Culver. Antiq. German.

The Saxons fond of paſturage.

Their deſcendants, the Saxons, on their arrival in Britain, paid a much greater regard to paſturage than any other rural purſuit: it is evident that this was the chief means of their ſubſiſtence, by the many laws for regulating the prices of tame cattle, directing how they ſhould be fed, and alſo for the preſerving them from thieves; ſo little had the South Saxons attended to any thing elſe, that in the year 681, when Wilfrid, biſhop of York, (who had been driven from his ſee) took refuge amongſt them, they were totally ignorant of the art of catching fiſh, though they had ſuch abundance amongſt them.*

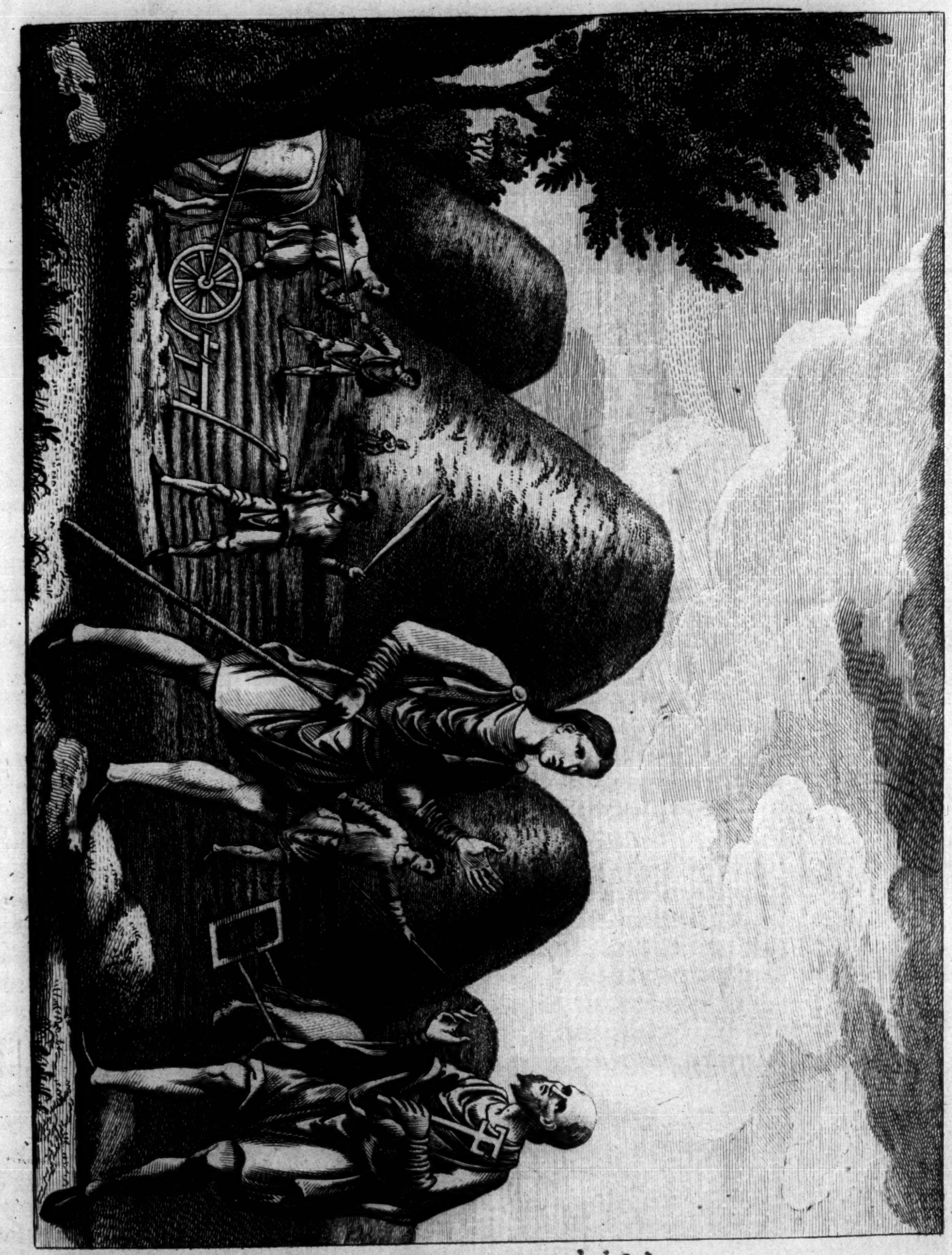
The beginning of huſbandry amongſt the Saxons.

From what has been ſaid, we may gather, that the Saxons, on their arrival in Britain, were much better ſwordſmen than huſbandmen; but ſoon after their eſtabliſhment in the iſland, finding none to plunder, (for the Britons, by repeated misfortunes driven from their cultivated poſſeſſions, had fled to their ſecret retreats amongſt the woods and mountains, and the tillage of land was entirely neglected, ſo that ruin aud deſolation appeared in every part of the iſland) they were obliged to have recourſe to agriculture; therefore, every one who was poſſeſſed of ground, portioned it out amongſt his ſlaves and dependants; and theſe portions were diſtinguiſhed by the names of inlands and outlands: the former was that part of their eſtate which lay contiguous to, and moſt convenient for the ſervice of the dwelling-houſe, or manſion, of the proprietor himſelf, and was for this reaſon commonly reſerved in his own hands, and managed by his own bondmen and ſlaves, for the more immediate uſe and ſuſtenance of his family and houſhold; the latter outland, or utland, was that which lay at a greater diſtance from the manſion-houſe, and was commonly divided into two parts; one of which they diſpoſed of amongſt their free ſervitors, or companions, as a reward of their fidelity, to be freely enjoyed by them, for one or more years, for life or lives, and ſometimes in perpetuity, whilſt the other was let or granted out to other perſons, to be by them likewiſe occupied for a longer or ſhorter ſpace, according to the will of the proprietor. This latter ſort are thought to have been the conditional tenants, or land-holders, diſtinguiſhed in the Anglo-Saxon records by the name of ceorls, or churls; and, as an acknowledgment, beſides ſome other perſonal marks of dependance, were annually obliged to pay their lord a certain portion of victuals, or of ſuch other things as were deemed neceſſary for the ſupport of hoſpitality.† Yet the owners of land were not left at liberty to exact what rent they pleaſed of their tenants; but it was ſettled by law, and aſcertained according to the number of hides, or ploughed lands there were in a farm, or portion of land; which rent the land-holder paid in various articles, as cat-

* Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 13. Fiſhing was practiſed by the ſlaves. By the laws of Ina, ſome part of the rent of farms that lay upon the banks of rivers were paid in fiſh, ſo that it is probable the ceorls, or huſbandmen, who kept thoſe farms, employed their ſlaves in this manner.

† Vide Squire on the Engliſh Conſtitution, pages 105 & 106.

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tle, poultry, fiſh, ale, cheeſe, butter, or grain, according to the nature of his farm, its produce, or the cuſtom of the country.*

Crown lands, how farmed out.

In the ſame manner were the greater part of the crown lands farmed out to the ceorls, or huſbandmen, who paid their annual rent by furniſhing the king's houſhold with a given quantity of proviſions, according to the extent and value of the lands which they poſſeſſed; but the lowneſs of the rent of farms in general at this period ſeems to be a ſufficient proof of the poor ſtate of agriculture.

Huſbandry, how conducted by the Saxons.

Every ceorl, who was the free huſbandman, had ſlaves and dependants under him, to perform the offices neceſſary for the cultivation of the lands that he poſſeſſed, all of which was done immediately under his direction. In the firſt commencement of their labours, there can be little doubt made, but that all theſe requiſites were performed in a very ſlovenly manner, and of courſe their labours could be but ſlenderly repaid; but we find them in the eighth century making greater advances in this neceſſary art; the plough, it is true, had but one handle, but in other reſpects it was provided with a coulter, and a ploughſhare, little, if at all, inferior to thoſe made uſe of in the preſent day. To remedy the inconvenience of its having but one handle, it had two wheels, which run before it, to prevent the ſhare from entring too deep into the earth.† Two people conſtantly attended the plough, one to drive the oxen forward, and regulate their pace; (this attendant, who ſeems in general to be a lad, or young man, carried in his hand a long ſtaff, with a goad, or ſharp point, at the end, with which he kept the oxen to their labour, by pricking them when they grew lazy:) the perſon who guided the plough, which doubtleſs required great ſkill, was an elderly man; he held the plough ſtilt with his right hand, whilſt in his left he bore a large cudgel, or ſometimes a kind of hatchet, to break the large clods of dirt, or whatſoever elſe might impede the courſe of the

* In the laws made by Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, who governed that kingdom from A. D. 689, to A. D. 728, a farm of ten hides was to pay the following rent: twelve caſks of honey, three hundred loaves of bread, twelve caſks of ſtrong ale, thirty caſks of ſmall ale, two grown oxen, or ten wethers, ten geeſe, twenty hens, ten cheeſes, one caſk of butter, five ſalmon, twenty pounds of forage, and one hundred eels. Leg. Inæ, apud Lamb. cap. 69. Aut. Wilk. Leg. Sax.

† A repreſentation of the plough here deſcribed, accompanies this chapter, ſee plate XV. which is taken from the ancient manuſcript of Cœdman, at Oxford. The authenticity of the delineation may be confirmed by Bede, who expreſsly tells us the plough had but one handle at his time; for, in the Life of Eſterwin, abbot of Weremouth, he ſays, "This abbot, being a ſtrong man, and of humble diſpoſition, would frequently aſſiſt the monks in their rural labour, ſometimes guiding *the plough by its ſtilt, or handle*, ſometimes winnowing the corn, ſometimes forging the inſtruments of huſbandry upon an anvil." Bedæ Hiſt. Weremuthen. We may here obſerve, that at this time of day the monks, or ſecular canons, cultivated their own lands, and performed every other requiſite neceſſary for the providing food for their brotherhood, all of them being obliged to labour in their turn at ſome uſeful art or other.

plough.* In general, there are but two oxen joined to the plough, which go abreaſt, though ſometimes there are four joined two and two.†

Mills, when firſt uſed in Britain, not well known.

It will be unneceſſary to enter into any long diſcourſe concerning their method of ſowing the grain, or harrowing the ground; all theſe ſeem to have been done in a manner little differing from the uſages of the preſent time. The harrow was compoſed of a long ſquare frame of timber, ſet full of iron teeth. In what manner they manured their ground, or their rules for letting it lie fallow, with a great variety of other particulars relative to the art of cultivating lands, cannot eaſily be inveſtigated; only we ſhall remark, that every ceorl who was provided with ploughs, and other inſtruments of huſbandry, had his own ſmith, whom he kept in his houſe, to fabricate, and keep them in order.‡ At what time mills were firſt uſed in Britain, cannot be determined; hand-mills, which, without doubt, were the moſt ancient of any, we may conceive were known in the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent, who ruled that nation from the year 560, to the year 616; for, in his laws, a particular fine of twelve ſhillings is impoſed upon any man who ſhould corrupt the king's grinding maid;§ hence it is alſo evident, that they were turned and tended by women; but it is probable that before the end of the heptarchy water-mills were erected, becauſe in ancient deeds and grants of lands, we find mention made of mills, which are generally ſaid to be ſituated near the water; but of this ſubject we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully hereafter.

Secondary arts relative to huſbandry.

Gardening, planting, and other ſecondary arts of like nature, might perhaps be known to the Saxons before the end of the heptarchy; but to what degree of perfection they were carried, cannot be determined: however, we may believe that their ſkill in theſe arts was not very great, and at beſt they might only attend to the cultivation of ſome few uſeful herbs on the one part, and the planting of fruit-trees for uſe, rather than beauty or pleaſure, on the other; and this much they might naturally fall into, becauſe the Britons underſtood theſe arts very well, and, without doubt, many of their gardens and orchards might be yet undeſtroyed when the Saxons took poſſeſſion of the land, which would be ſufficient hints to thoſe conquerors to follow ſuch provident examples.

* See plate XXVI. vol. I. of the Hoꝑda Anȝel cynnan, or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

† Ibid. plate X.

‡ By the laws of Ina, when a ceorl left his dwelling, or the lands which he held, he was permitted to take with him his overſeer, his ſmith, and a nurſe. Leg. Inæ, cap. 64.

§ Leges Ethelberti, apud Wilkins.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Navigation and Commerce of the Saxons.

LONG before the Saxons left their ancient ſeat in Germany, and paſſed over into Britain, they had rendered their name famous for their piracies, particularly infeſting the Britiſh ſeas, and frequently making deſcents upon the ſouthern and eaſtern coaſts of Britain, and plundering the inhabitants. This obliged the Romans, who were then in poſſeſſion of all the ſouthern diviſions of the iſland, not only to keep a ſtrong fleet to ſcour the ſeas, but to erect forts upon the ſhores which were moſt expoſed to the ravages of theſe lawleſs plunderers, and from them obtained the name of the Saxon ſhore; theſe forts, as we have ſeen before, were put under the command of an officer, called the Count of the Saxon ſhore, in Britain.*

The Saxons anciently great pirates.

After the departure of the Romans, the wretched Britons were driven to the utmoſt extremities. In the north, their reſtleſs foes, the Scots and Picts, deſtroyed their country, and ſpoiled them of all their valuable poſſeſſions, whilſt their ſouthern coaſts lay open to an enemy full as formidable, and equally deſtructive. Horrid alternative! either to fall by the ſwords of their foes, or ſeeking to avoid them, be drowned in the ſea, to whoſe brink they were purſued. In this diſtreſsful ſituation we find them making application to their foreign enemy for protection, opening their arms to receive a foe whoſe only fortune depended on their ſwords, and whoſe only wealth was plunder and the ſpoils of war: this ſtep completed the ruin of the Britons, and gave the Saxons firm poſſeſſion in the land, which they never quitted, but continued increaſing their power, and extending their conqueſts.†

The miſeries of the Britons.

The veſſels which the Saxons generally uſed upon theſe piratical expeditions were very light, and ſo built as to weather out a ſtorm, in which a larger and ſtronger ſhip would be in danger of periſhing; they were generally ſwift ſailers, ſo that the pirates could ſuddenly aſſail the foe, and as eaſily eſcape if they were overpowered: by this means they became a formidable and dangerous enemy; for, on the one hand, the enemy could not be aware of their attack, ſo on the other it was in vain to purſue them when they fled. They would alſo frequently venture to ſea in little ſkiffs, like thoſe before-deſcribed of the Britons, conſiſting only of a light frame of timber, and covered over with ſkins prepared for that purpoſe.‡

The veſſels of the Saxons.

Yet, for particular occaſions, it ſeems, the Saxons had larger and ſtronger ſhips; for the firſt troop of this people who came over into Britain,

Large ſhips of the Saxons.

* Vide page 268 of this volume.

† See the latter end of the firſt part of the Chronicle.

‡ Apoll. Sidonii lib. viii. Epiſt. 6. & Ibid. Author. Carmen. VII.

tain, under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa, arrived in three long ſhips ;* and though the exact number of ſoldiers cannot be aſcertained, yet we may conceive it was conſiderable; ſome thought their army conſiſted of nine thouſand men,† and if this is true, each ſhip muſt have carried three thouſand, which is a prodigious number.

The Saxons put a ſtop to commerce.

The Saxons on their firſt arrival in Britain, put a ſtop to all the trade which had exiſted to that period: the making themſelves rich by any other means than the edge of their ſwords, ſeems never to have entered the ideas of that people. After their armies were landed in the iſland, we hear no more of their ſhips; and it appears certain, that for full two centuries from their firſt arrival, they had but few veſſels, and thoſe, moſt likely, but ill conſtructed.

The low ſtate of trade at this period.

The ſtate of trade amongſt them, during this period, was at a low ebb, for there was no commercial intercourſe between them and the Britons; and it ſeems that London, the capital of the little kingdom of Eſſex, was their only center of all foreign commerce. This place we find reſorted to by merchants of ſeveral nations, who came thither both by ſea and land, on the account of trade ;‡ thoſe that came by land were the native Saxons, who brought their goods with them, in order to exchange with the foreign merchants, who for that purpoſe croſſed the ſea from Gaul, and other parts of the continent.

Offa improves the ſhipping of the Saxons.

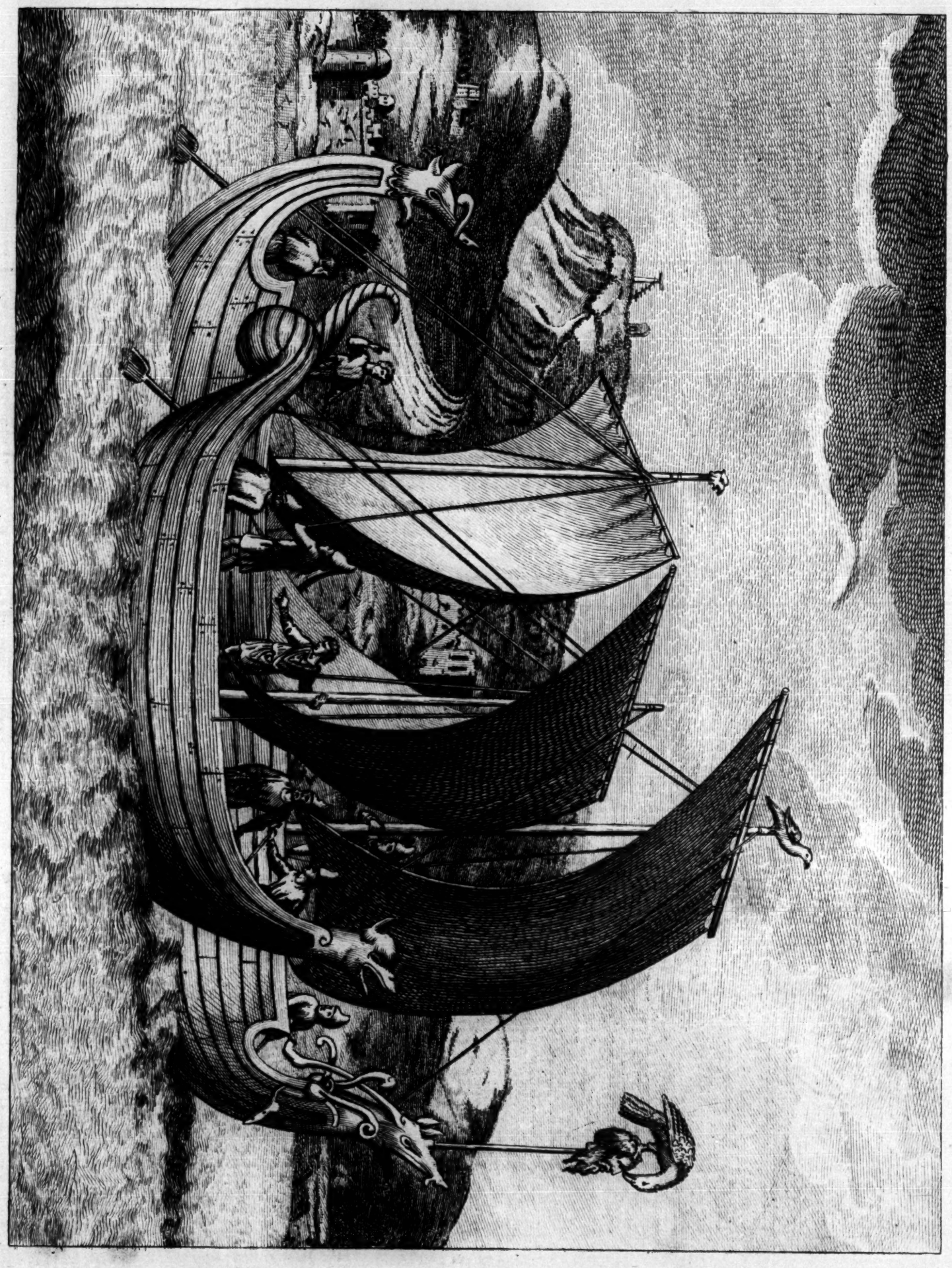
In this manner it is likely that commerce was carried on, until the middle of the eight century, about which time, Offa mounted the the throne of Mercia; this great prince encouraged his ſubjects to fit out ſhips, and carry goods in their own bottoms to the continent; and this he did with a view of raiſing a naval power to defend his dominions. This dawn of commerce was however ſoon over-clouded by the wars which followed in the Heptarchy, occaſioned by the ambitious attempts of Offa, upon the territories of his neighbours. The other princes juſtly fearing his growing power, made application to Charlemagne, beſeeching him to interpoſe his authority, and to command Offa to deſiſt: accordingly the emperor wrote to him; but his letters not being regarded, a final ſtop was put to the trade which was carried on upon the continent, between the foreign merchants and the Saxons, until ſuch time as a good underſtanding was reſtored between the emperor and Offa.§ After the death of this warlike Mercian prince, the encreaſe of ſhips was not attended to, and of courſe the trade fell back into

* Tribus longis navibus. Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. 15. "Tribus (ut lingua "ejus exprimitur) Cyulis, noſtra lingua "longis navibus." Gildæ Hiſt. cap. 23.

† Thus Verſtegan ſays, quoting his authority from John Pomarius, for all ancient authors are ſilent upon this head; yet from the words of Gildas, we may conceive, that their number was very conſiderable, though they did not think themſelves ſtrong enough to conquer the land without freſh ſupplies.

‡ Bede Hiſt. Ecc.

§ Wm. Malmſb. de geſt. reg. Ang. lib. I. cap. 4.



into its wonted channel, until it was reſtored with greater glory by Ælfred the Great.

Another hindrance to trade in general, was the reſtraint laid on barterings and exchanges; by the laws of the Saxon kings, no bargain was permitted to be made without ſome principal perſon or chief magiſtrate being preſent, and a witneſs to it.* The deſign of theſe laws was to regulate the terms of bartering, and to prevent all impoſitions and frauds; beſides, as few perſons at that time could write, ſuch evidences might be produced, if any diſpute ſhould afterwards ariſe between the two parties. Though theſe laws were very good in themſelves, and prevented any unfair dealing, they doubtleſs were a prodigious hindrance to commerce, which ought to be carried on in a quick and uninterrupted manner. Obſtructions to trade.

The form of the Saxon ſhips, at the end of the eighth century, or the beginning of the ninth, is happily preſerved in ſome of the ancient manuſcripts of that date: they were ſcarcely more than a very large boat, and ſeem to be built of ſtout planks, laid one over the other, in the manner as is done in the preſent time; their heads and ſterns are very erect, and riſe high out of the water, ornamented at top with ſome uncouth head of an animal, rudely cut; they have but one maſt, the top of which is alſo decorated with a bird, the head of a bird, or ſome ſuch device; to this maſt is made faſt a large ſail, which from its nature and conſtruction, could only be uſeful when the veſſel went before the wind; the ſhip was ſteered by a large oar, with a flat end, very broad, paſſing by the ſide of the ſtern; and this was managed by the pilot, who ſat in the ſtern, and from thence iſſued his orders to the mariners.† The form of the Saxon Ships.

* In the laws of Lothair, king of Kent, it is enacted, That if any Kentiſh Saxon, ſhould buy any thing at London, and bring it into Kent, he ſhould have two or three honeſt men, or the king's *port-reeve* (the chief magiſtrate of the city) preſent at the bargain. Wilkin. Leg. Sax. By the ſame laws, no man was allowed to buy any thing above the value of twenty-pence, except in a town, and in the preſence of the chief magiſtrate, or other witneſs: the ſame reſtraint was on bartering one commodity for another; which none were permitted to do, except ſuch bargains were made before the ſheriff, the maſs prieſt, the lord of the manor, or ſome other perſon of undoubted veracity; upon pain of paying a fine of thirty ſhillings, beſides the forfeiture of the goods ſo exchanged to the lord of the manor. Wilkin. ut ſup.

† See theſe ſhips taken from ancient delineations, plate XVI. of this volume.

CHAP. VI.

Working of Metals, &c. and the Coins of the Saxon Kings.

The art of working iron known to the Germans.

THE art of working mines and refining of metals, we may be well aſſured, was but little thought on by a people ſo rude and unpoliſhed as the ancient Germans; yet it is plain they had ſome knowledge of iron, and alſo could work it into form; their chief care was beſtowed upon the manufacturing of their arms; the heads of their javelins eſpecially, were made extremely handſome, and ſharpened with great art; but they were ſmall and ſlender, becauſe iron was not plentiful amongſt them; beſides their arms, we may be certain, that they manufactured other tools, which were abſolutely neceſſary for the compleating their domeſtic works, as axes, implements of huſbandry, and the like; but theſe perhaps were made by the ſlaves and dependants, to whom the tillage of land was committed, and by whom all ſervile offices were performed.

This art how ſuppoſed to be improved.

What ſkill the Germans had in the art of working metals, was without doubt, underſtood by the Saxons, who, on their ſettling in Britain, where plenty of ore was to be found, could not but improve upon the knowledge of their anceſtors. Alſo, from ſome of the fugitive Britons, they might learn the readier way of refining metals, and making them fit for uſe; but this art was brought to the greateſt perfection, by the inſtructions of thoſe artiſts, who came from Rome with Benedict Biſcop, in the latter end of the ſeventh century.

The plumber's and ſmith's art.

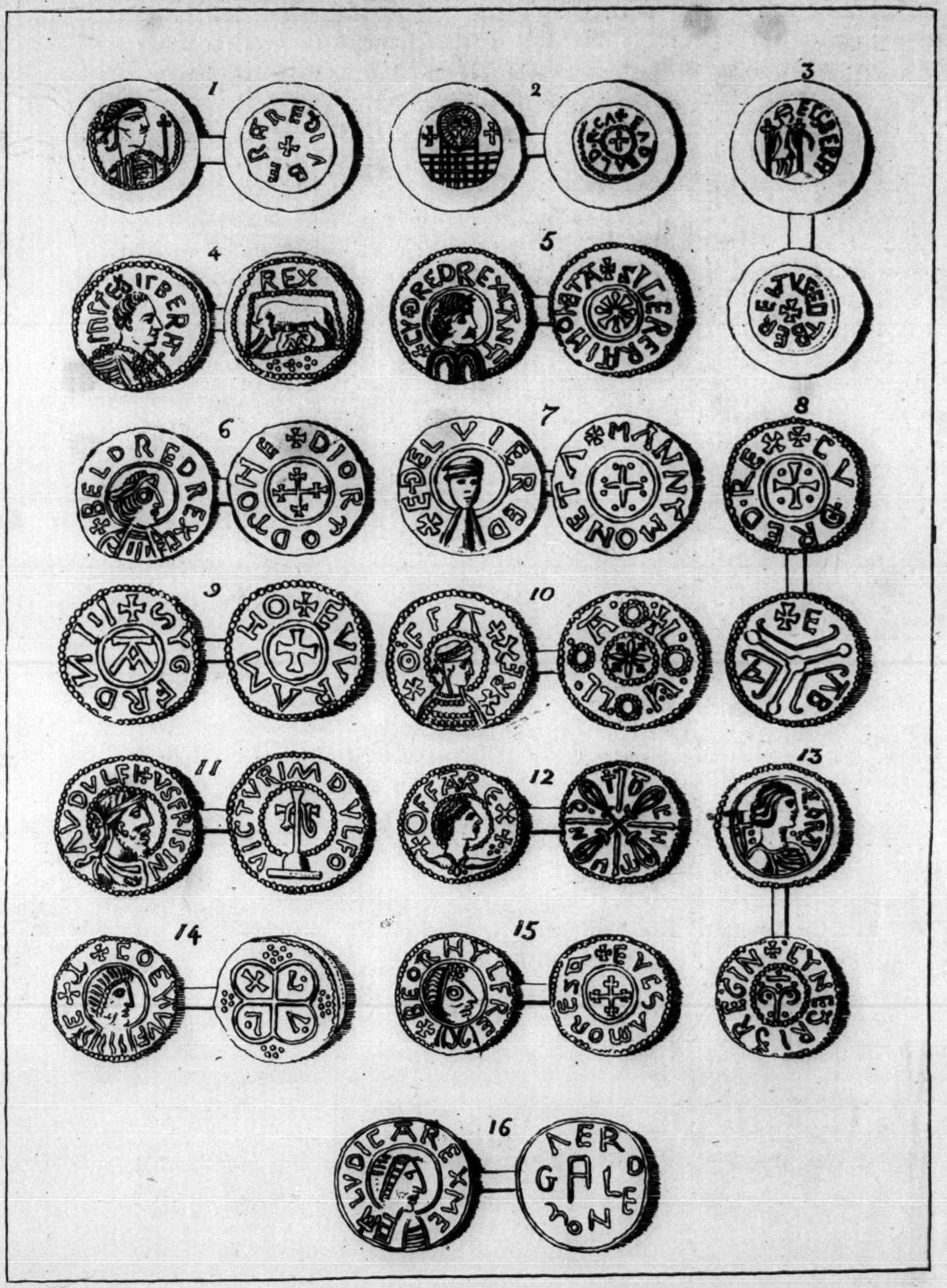
The plumbers art was well underſtood by the Saxons, ſoon after their converſion to Chriſtianity; as is abundantly evident, from the churches and other public edifices being covered with lead, as we have repeated aſſurances they were. The artificers in iron were much eſteemed; every nobleman had his ſmith, conſtantly attendant on his perſon, to fabricate his arms and keep them in proper order.* The chief ſmith was an office of great importance in the houſhold liſt of the Saxon kings. Neither was any capital land-holder without a ſmith amongſt his ſervitors, to take care of the implements of huſbandry.†

The goldſmith's art.

At the latter end of this æra, that is before the diſſolution of the Heptarchy, it ſeems that other arts leſs neceſſary, were cultivated and improved, particularly works in gold and ſilver; the goldſmiths were firſt employed in making ornaments for the altars of churches, ſhrines for ſaints, and coffers for the preſervation of ſacred relicks; but ſoon after, the pride and luxury of kings and nobles procured them other buſineſs,

* Wilkin. Leg. Sax. page 25. † See a preceding note, page 320.

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and cups for drinking, plates and diſhes, with many other things for ſetting out their tables, as well as variety of ornaments for their perſons, were made of gold and ſilver; the clergy alſo were apt to run into the ſame extravagance, for the great quantity of gold and ſilver plate which Wilfrid biſhop of York poſſeſſed, excited the envy of others, and was perhaps the leading ſtep to his diſgrace.*

The lapidary's art was not entirely unknown at this period; for we find frequent mention of ſhrines and other ſumptuous pieces of workmanſhip, ornamented with precious ſtones: from ſome curious antiquities that have been diſcovered, it does not appear that they underſtood the methods of cutting them into any form, to render them more beautiful; nor do they ſeem to have been poliſhed ſo highly, or ſet with that exactneſs as at preſent; but this will be more largely conſidered hereafter, and ſome remaining ſpecimens produced. The lapidary's art.

The coinage of the Saxons is a ſubject which will require a very particular diſſertation; and indeed the whole, from their firſt beginning to coin money, to the end of the Saxon æra, is ſo connected, and circumſtances depend ſo much upon each other, that to divide the ſhort ſketch, which is neceſſary to be drawn up on this head, would cauſe a manifeſt confuſion; becauſe the certain periods in which many alterations took place cannot be aſcertained: therefore hereafter, when we compleat the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, a regular account of their coinage, its weight, its value, its ſize, and whatever more is neceſſary for the full explanation of the ſubject will be given.† The art of coinage referred to the ſecond volume and why.

CHAP. VII.

Cloathing Arts, and Habits of the ancient Germans and the Saxons.

IT may appear extraordinary, that a people ſo barbarous, and little inclined to labour, as the ancient Germans were, ſhould attend in the leaſt to the manufacturing of cloth, when they might ſo eaſily ſupply themſelves with garments from the ſkins of their cattle; but there ſeems to have been no people, however barbarous, but what were proud of decorating their perſons; and though they affected to deſpiſe the uſages of civiler nations, they would frequently give into luxuries, every way equal, only ſet forth in a different, and perhaps a more unpleaſing ſtile; ſo that the vice itſelf is not altered in its tendency, but in its outward appearance; for the ſame paſſion for finery, cauſed the un- Barbarous nations in general fond of finery.

* Eddii Vit. Wilfridii.

† We have here ſubjoined plate XVII. which exhibits ſixteen different Saxon coins, which were ſtruck during the Heptarchy. This plate is fully explained in the appendix.

civilized Maæatæ and Calidonians to pounce their ſkins, and endure a great degree of torture, to bear the repreſentation of various figures upon it, that prevailed upon the inhabitants of more poliſhed nations to wear ſilks and gold embroidery; and perhaps the ſame paſſion, led the barbarous Germans to ſpinning and weaving, in order to appear at particular times, in ſuch garments as required ſome ſkill to make.

The Germans underſtood how to weave linen.

It it certain, that the Germans uſed, in very early times, to dreſs and ſpin flax, and weave linen cloths; but whether it was, they were jealous of their art being diſcovered, or whether they were aſhamed to have it known that they condeſcended to labour at the loom, cannot be determined; however all this work was ſecretly done in vaults and caverns, the manufacturers being buried as it were under ground.* As they were ſkilled in the art of making linen cloth, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that woollen garments, and other cloths of coarſer manufactory, were unknown to them. Their methods of bleaching and ſoftening their linen, as well as the different ſorts which they might make, cannot be diſcovered; nor do we know whether, like the Gauls, they were well acquainted with the arts of dying and colouring cloth, before it was made into garments.

The habit of the meaner Germans.

The meaner ſort of people amongſt the Germans, ſuch as their ſlaves and mere dependants, went almoſt naked, wearing only a cloak called a ſagum, which was faſtened round their ſhoulders upon their breaſts with a buckle, or if they could not procure that ornament, a ſharp thorn:† this garment hung down both before and behind, and reached nearly to the middle of their thighs.‡

The habit of the noble Germans.

The richer ſort of people and the princes, were diſtinguiſhed by their habit, which was a cloſe garment, covering all their bodies, their legs, and their thighs, but in ſuch a manner as to ſhow the whole ſhape of the wearer; beſides this part of his dreſs, another was adopted, namely, a kind of cloak or robe, made of the ſkins of beaſts; which ſkins they were very particular in the choice of, and ſuch as were the moſt difficult to obtain, were received with the greateſt approbation; theſe they ornamented with a variety of artificial ſpots, to make them more beautiful; and they were much pleaſed, if they could procure any foreign trinkets to adorn their perſons:§ their arms may alſo be ſaid to have conſtituted part of their dreſs, for they ſcarcely ever appeared without them from the time of their being firſt permitted to bear them.‖

* Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. lib. xix. cap. 1.

† Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

‡ See two figures of this kind repreſented at a little diſtance, plate XVIII. of this volume.

§ See the delineation of the noble German, plate XVIII. of this vol. the figure on the right-hand of the plate, holding a ſpear in one hand and pointing with the other.

‖ Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

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The habits of the women differed but little from thoſe of the men, except that they were uſually made of linen, which as it was finer and better woven, was the moſt eſteemed: their garments they would frequently ornament with purple borders, to make them more gaudy. Another peculiarity in the tunic of a woman, was its not having ſleeves, ſo that their arms were entirely bare, and their necks and breaſts left open:* but we muſt now conceive, that this is the deſcription of the garments of a woman of diſtinction, thoſe that were poor and of leſs conſequence, without doubt, were cloathed in a leſs elegant mannner.† The habit of a German woman.

What covering the Germans wore upon their heads is not recorded: long hair was not honourable amongſt the men, becauſe it was the ſign of cowardice; for they might not cut or trim it until they had done their country ſome ſervice by ſlaying an enemy: on the contrary, the women were fond of their long hair, inſomuch, that it was the higheſt diſgrace to have it cut off.‡ Neither have we any certain account concerning their ſhoes; but in the very ancient delineations of the Anglo-Saxons, we find the feet of the nobles covered with a ſort of ſhoes, which ſeem to be made of leather, and bound round the inſtep; but the commoner ſort of people are unſhod and conſtantly bare leged.§ Covering for the head: and ſhoes.

The habits we have already deſcribed, were ſuch as appertained to the ancient Germans; yet it is highly probable, ſome ſlight alterations might take place before the time of the Saxons arrival in Britain. The habit of thoſe piratical Saxons, who infeſted the Britiſh ſeas, conſiſted of a tunic, reaching down to their knees, and bound round the waiſt; their arms were a ſpear, a ſhield, and a ſword; the two laſt they uſually carried at their backs, when they travelled from place to place; but the moſt remarkable part of their dreſs was the adornment of their heads, for after they had ſhaved their temples and clipt the locks which hung round their necks, the hair upon the crown of the head was permitted to grow as long as it would, and being incloſed within a ring of copper, which raiſed it from the forehead, it hung down over the ring, reaching to their ſhoulders.‖ The habit of the ancient Saxons.

Now we have ſeen a faint gleam of light thrown upon the art of manufacturing cloth amongſt the ancient Germans, we ſhall naturally paſs on to the Saxons. It is certain, that after their converſion to Chriſtianity, ſpinning and weaving were greatly improved amongſt them; and it is by no means unlikely, that ſome of thoſe artiſts who came from Rome with Benedict Biſcop, might underſtand the cloath- The manufacturing of cloth improved by the Saxons.

* See the German woman delineated plate XVIII.

† Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

‡ Ibid.

§ See the plates vol. I. of the Hoɲda Anzel cynnan; or the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

‖ Paulus Diaconus Apol. Sidonii Epiſt. lib. viii. epiſt. 9. & Witchindus See this figure delineated, leaning on his ſpear, plate XVIII. of this vol.

ing art in greater perfection than it was known amongſt the Saxons, who inſtructed by thoſe artiſts, might proceed to the manufacturing of fine cloths of various kinds. It is certain, that they had ſilks in Britain at this period, of which the altar cloths were frequently made, and perhaps the garments of the nobility; but we have no evidence that it was manufactured by the Saxons themſelves; therefore we ſhall not place it amongſt their cloathing productions. What various kind of cloth they might make cannot be determined; but the price of wool, which was very high, may ſufficiently prove the attention which was paid to the manufacturing of this valuable article; nor can we diſcover the different degrees of fineneſs of their woollen cloths. As linen was the production of the looms of the ancient Germans, we can have little reaſon to believe that their deſcendants, the Saxons, ſhould neglect the fabrication of ſo valuable an article; on the contrary, a ſtriking proof that it conſtituted a great part of their cloth manufacture, is its being univerſally worn by them.

Variegated cloths wove by the Saxons.

Beſides the weaving of large pieces of cloth of uniform colours, they had the art of fabricating various cloths, for the garments of the nobility, the embelliſhment of altars, and other particular purpoſes, in ſuch a manner as to bear the repreſentation of various figures and images, all of which was manufactured in the loom, by the ſkilful diſpoſition of different threads, of different colours, and each of them uſed as occaſion required.*

The dying art.

The dyers art muſt have been well underſtood by the Saxons, for this was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to colour the threads wherewith they wove their variegated cloth; but what methods they made uſe of in the proceſs of this art at this period, or the materials which they procured, as well as the perfection of their colours, and their various ſorts, cannot be traced out; perhaps hereafter, we may be able to throw ſome clearer light upon all, or moſt of theſe curious particulars.

The habit of the Saxon kings deſcribed.

The habit of the Saxon ſoldiers we have already ſeen, which conſiſted chiefly of a tunic, fitting cloſely to their bodies, that they might not be hindered in their martial exerciſes, and brandiſhing their ſwords, by its largeneſs or looſeneſs. Sometimes beſides this tunic, they had a cloak or robe, which buckled on the right ſhoulder, and fell over the left arm, covering the trunk of the body before and behind.† The ſoldiers tunics, we are well aſſured, were moſt commonly made of li-

* Aldhelm, in his book on virginity, makes uſe of the following ſimily, which plainly proves the truth of this aſſertion: "It is not," ſays he, "the web of one "uniform colour and texture, without "any variety of figures, that can pleaſe "the eye and appear beautiful; but one "that is woven by ſhuttles, filled with "threads of purple and various other co-"lours, flying from ſide to ſide, and form-"ing a variety of figures and images in "different compartments, with admirable "art.

† Vide page 329 of this volume.

nen.

1



2



3



4





nen.* Not far diſtant from the habits above deſcribed, were thoſe worn by almoſt all the Saxons; ſome few inſtances we have of the cloak buckled on both ſhoulders, and this ſeems to be the diſtinction of ſome particular rank of men.† The habit of the kings we find much more ſuperb. We have already deſcribed the dreſs in which they went to war; at other times, we find them delineated in long tunics, ſometimes reaching down to the middle of their legs, and ſometimes to their ancles; theſe tunics, from their looſe and flowing appearance, ſeem to have been made of fine linen. A figure of a king, repreſented in a very ancient delineation, drawn by a Saxon artiſt, is habited in a fine long tunic, with cloſe ſleeves reaching to his wriſts; over this he wears a large looſe gown, which alſo has ſleeves that come a little below the elbows. This gown is not ſo long as the tunic, for it deſcends only to the middle of his legs, and at the bottom is ornamented with a broad welt, or border of ſome fine cloth, of a different colour.‡ Another figure we find habited in a cloſe tunic, not ſo long as that deſcribed before, but with ſleeves reaching to the wriſts; over this he wears a robe or cloak, which flows equally over either arm, and hangs down as low at the bottom of his ſtomach, on the fore part, but a great deal lower behind.§ A third figure is delineated in a tunic, exactly like that of the former, only at the end of the ſleeves, there appears a ſort of pleating like a ruffle: this figure has a large long robe, which buckles upon his right ſhoulder, and hangs over all his back and left ſide, like thoſe cloaks which we have already deſcribed.‖

Every figure deſigned to repreſent a king, whether he is in his court, or in the field of battle, has conſtantly a crown upon his head, by way of diſtinction: other perſonages are generally delineated without any covering for their heads; ſometimes indeed they wear a cap, which comes cloſe round their heads, gradually decreaſing to the top, where it bends a little forward. Their ſhoes, as has been declared before, ſeem to be made of leather, left with an opening on the top of the foot, and bound round the inſteps: their legs appear to be generally naked, which cuſtom of going bare-legged, was forbidden to the prieſts who miniſtered at the altar, by canon made in the council of Chalcuith, A. D. 785.** Head covering, and ſhoes of the Saxons.

We ſhall not here enter into any further particular deſcription of the dreſs of the Saxons, becauſe it is moſt likely, that but few, if any of our authorities, are ſo ancient as the period we are now treating of. Nor ſhall we here take any notice of the apparel of the ladies, becauſe, that will be more properly a ſubject for future conſideration, when we ſhall be able to produce our authority as we proceed in our diſcourſe. Deſcription of the Saxon habits broke off and why.

* Alcuini lib. de offic. divin.

† See this kind of cloak plate XV. of this vol.

‡ See plate XIX. No. 2. of this vol.

§ See plate XIX. No. 3. of this vol.

‖ See plate XIX. No. 4. of this vol.

** Johnſon's Canons.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Learned Men, and the ſtate of Learning amongſt the Saxons.

Germans unlearned.

WE muſt not look for learning amongſt the ancient Germans; all their knowledge was ſuch as was merely dictated by nature, and was in general bounded by their immediate neceſſities; it is true, they were improved, and brought from their barbarous ſtate, by a great chief, under the name of Woden, from whom they received the knowledge of letters, which are called Runic; but all theſe matters will be conſidered hereafter in the hiſtory of the ancient Danes, where proper ſpecimens of this kind of learning will be produced and explained.

The Saxons enemies to learning; and the life of Gildas.

Our Saxon anceſtors when they firſt reached Britain, were not only unlearned themſelves, but alſo great enemies to learning; their whole ſucceſs depended upon their ſwords, and the ſubſequent troubles kept them ſo fully employed, that had they been inclined to cultivate the knowledge of literature, they could ſcarcely have found leiſure to purſue their intentions for upwards of one hundred and fifty years from the time of their arrival: during which ſpace, there flouriſhed ſeveral learned men amongſt the Britons; the firſt in eſteem is Gildas Badonicus, ſurnamed the Wiſe: he was educated in the monaſtery of Banchor, and applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of the Scriptures: to him we owe the firſt lights which are caſt upon the troubleſome times of the Britons, and of the miſeries thoſe wretched people ſuffered by the encroachment of the Saxons. He has left behind him a ſhort hiſtory of Britain, and an epiſtle, in which he heavily accuſes the princes and clergy of the Britons, who were cotemporary with him. His ſtile is inflated, and abounds with continual metaphors, and frequent quotaions from the Scriptures; throughout the whole, he diſcovers the ſtrongeſt marks of zeal, and appears to have been of a gloomy and querulous diſpoſition, taking every occaſion to vilify his countrymen, and place their faults in the worſt and ſtrongeſt light; ſo that from his writings, we ſhould be apt to form but an unfavourable idea of the taſte of thoſe times; however his works are extremely valuable to the world, not only on account of their antiquity, but becauſe they give us ſuch information as we cannot meet with elſewhere. Gildas flouriſhed towards the latter end of the ſixth century.*

The life of Nennius.

Before we take our leave of the Britons, we will take notice of another learned man, who alſo received his education in the monaſtery of Banchor, this was Nennius, to whom we owe a ſhort hiſtory of the

* Vide Bale de Scriptor. cent. I. in vita Gildæ.

Britons,

Britons, and their wars with the Saxons; but the whole is ſo conciſe, and ſo many miracles are crouded into it, that it is no eaſy matter to ſeparate the truth from fiction: however, there are many very curious circumſtances, relative to the times in which this author lived, preſerved in his little work. Nennius flouriſhed in the beginning of the ſeventh century.*

Schools, when erected by the Saxons.

But to return to the Saxons. It would be in vain to endeavour to trace out the ſtate of learning, whatever it might be, before their converſion to Chriſtianity; ſome time after which important event, ſchools and ſeminaries of learning were eſtabliſhed in Kent; theſe were productive of good effect, which being obſerved by Sigebert, when he aſcended the throne of the Eaſt Angles, A. D. 635, he eſtabliſhed ſchools upon the ſelf-ſame plan in his own dominion. Thus was the door to erudition ſet open, and ſoon after this period there flouriſhed a great number of learned men.†

Theodore and Adrian advance the learning of the Saxons.

Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who came over into Britain in the year 669, contributed greatly to the improvement of learning; with this prelate came ſeveral profeſſors of ſcience, particularly Adrian, a monk, who aſſiſted him greatly in the inſtruction of the Engliſh youth. Theſe two men are ſaid to have excelled in all the various branches of ſacred and civil literature. Theodore alſo brought over with him into Britain a large collection of books, which were particularly ſerviceable to his diſciples. To the ſchools ſet up in Kent under the direction of Theodore, Adrian, and their aſſiſtants, reſorted a great number of ſcholars, whom they inſtructed in the ſciences, reading lectures to them on poetry, aſtronomy, and arithmetic, as well as on divinity, and the ſacred ſcriptures; beſides theſe, they alſo taught them the knowledge and application of medicine, and eſtabliſhed certain rules for the preſervation of health, with ſuch obſervations thereon as they thought neceſſary to be attended to.‡ Logic and rhetoric were alſo taught by theſe preceptors, and diligently ſtudied by the ſcholars.

Life of Adhelm.

Towards the latter end of the ſeventh century flouriſhed Adhelm, a near relation, if not nephew, to Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons; he received the firſt part of his education in the ſchool of one Macdulf, a learned Scot:§ after which he travelled into France and Italy for improvement, and at his return home completed his ſtudies under Adrian, the abbot of St. Auguſtine's monaſtery, who was at that time the moſt learned profeſſor of the ſciences that had been in England; by which in-

* Vide Bale de Scriptor. cent. I. in Vita Gildæ.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 18.

‡ But it plainly appears that their phyſical doctrines were ſpiced with the ſuperſtition of the times: one of the leſſons of Theodore is preſerved by Bede, and is as follows: "It is very dangerous to let "blood on the fourth day of the moon, "becauſe both the light of the moon and "the tides are upon the increaſe." Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 3.

§ This ſchool was eſtabliſhed where Malmſbury now ſtands. Angl. Sacra.

duſtry he acquired an uncommon ſtock of learning and uſeful knowledge, ſo that he became famous not only in England, his native country, but alſo abroad in foreign climates.* When he was made abbot of Malmſbury, which he himſelf had founded, he ſet about the inſtruction of the people with uncommon aſſiduity; and being an excellent poet, he compoſed a great number of little poems, which he would ſing to them after maſs; and as he had a remarkable fine voice, and great ſkill in muſic, he managed his little compoſitions with ſo much art, that he at once delighted and inſtructed his auditors. After Adhelm had been thirty years abbot of Malmſbury, he was made biſhop of Sherborn, where he died in the year of our Lord 709.† His chief works, beſides his little poems and homilies, are, the book on virginity, dedicated to St. Ethelburga, and his treatiſe on the celebration of Eaſter, written againſt the Britons, by the command of the ſynod of the Weſt Saxon church. He alſo left behind him a book of the proſodia of the Latin tongue, in which he was very expert, being the firſt Saxon that ever wrote in that language both in proſe and verſe.

The good effect of the ſchools of Theodore and Sigebert.

The ſchools eſtabliſhed by Theodore and Sigebert, produced ſeveral excellent ſcholars, and many of them of high rank; amongſt whom we may reckon Alcfrid, king of Northumberland, and Ina, king of Weſſex, both of them men of learning, eſpecially the former, who had been the diſciple of Wilfrid, and attained to great knowledge in the ſacred Scriptures, as well as in almoſt every part of moral literature. What contributed alſo greatly to the improvement of the ſtudious, was, the libraries of books, which began at the latter end of the ſeventh century to be common in the moſt noted monaſteries, though it is true they bore a great price.‡

St. Cuthbert's goſpels deſcribed.

About this time, that is, the latter end of the ſeventh century, Cuthbert, biſhop of Lindisfarn, prevailed upon Ealdfrith, a monk there, to compoſe an elegant copy of the four goſpels, which was done under his inſpection, in the moſt elegant manner that can be conceived; the whole of this book, which is yet extant, is written in Latin, with St. Jerome's preface, and interlined with a Saxon verſion. When Ealfrith had completed this valuable manuſcript, Bilfrith, a celebrated anchorite, was employed to ornament it in a ſuperb manner;§ before each goſpel is prefixed a painting of the evangeliſt who wrote it,‖ and the oppoſite page is full of beautiful ornaments, enriched with various colours; then fol-

* Bede draws the character of Adhelm in the following conciſe manner: "He "was a man of univerſal erudition, his ſtile "was elegant and flowing, and he was "wonderfully well acquainted with books, "both on philoſophy and religious ſubjects." Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. v. cap. 19.

† Anglia. Sacra.

‡ Ibid.

§ See a full account of this valuable MS. in the catalogue of the Cotton library, or in the preface to Caſley's catalogue of the royal library.

‖ Theſe figures, which have nothing to recommend them but their antiquity, are faithfully copied in the third volume of the Hoꝺa Anȝel cynnan, or Manners and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh.

lows



godspell
incipit euangelium secundum lucam
lucas
forðon
QUONIAM
QUIDEM
monigo
MULTI CONA
TI SUNT ORDINA
RE NARRATIONEM

lows the commencement of the goſpel, the firſt page of which is moſt elaborately ornamented with letters of a peculiar form, and very large, which diſplays at once the zeal of the performer, and the taſte of the times in which the book was written.*

Life of Tobias, biſhop of Rocheſter.

In the beginning of the eighth century flouriſhed Tobias, biſhop of Rocheſter, who in his younger years had begun his ſtudies at Glaſtonbury, but finiſhed his education at Canterbury, under Theodore and Adrian, where he became a great proficient in all the parts of learning, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical. He was alſo well verſed in the Greek and Latin tongues;† he wrote ſeveral books, though his works are now unhappily loſt.

The life of Bede.

But the moſt learned man of this age was Bede, a preſbyter, commonly called the venerable Bede; this great man was born at Weremouth, in Northumberland, A. D. 672, and received his education in the monaſtery of St. Peter, founded at that place, about two years after his birth, by Benedict Biſcop, who was one of the moſt learned men, and the greateſt traveller of that age.‡ Bede had the advantage of an excellent library, which was ſuperior to any exiſting in Britain at his time; and alſo the benefit of the beſt preceptors, as abbot Benedict, and his ſucceſſor, Ceolfrid, and St. John of Beverley; he made a rapid progreſs in all kinds of learning, ſo that at the age of nineteen he was ordained a deacon by John of Beverley, at that time biſhop of Hagulſtad, (or Hexham;) about which time he left Weremouth, and went to the monaſtery of St. Paul, at Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne, and then newly founded by Benedict; here he ſpent the remainder of his life in the offices of devotion, teaching, reading, and writing. At the age of thirty he was ordained prieſt, by John of Beverley, above which dignity he was not advanced: yet although he lived thus obſcurely, mured up in a little corner of the iſland, his fame was ſpread abroad, not only throughout all Britain, but in France and Italy, inſomuch, that pope Sergius ſent for him to conſult with him concerning a diſpute which had ariſen at Rome, about ſome eccleſiaſtical matters;§ however, he did not go to Rome, on account, perhaps, of the death of Sergius, which happened ſoon after he had written the above letter. Bede died at his cell at Jarrow, in a devout manner, May 26, A. D. 735, in the ſixty-third year of his age.‖ Both ancient and modern authors have beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon the learning of this great man; amongſt his cotemporaries he was called the learned Saxon, but by poſterity the venerable Bede. His works are many, making eight large volumes folio, the principal of which is his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the

* One of theſe curious pages, with the initial letters, is given plate XX. of this volume. The writing is explained in the deſcription of the plates given at the end of the volume.

† Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. v. cap 23.
‡ Biograph. Britan. in Vit. Bedæ.
§ Malmſbury, lib. i. cap. 3.
‖ Vide Biograph. Britan.

Anglo-Saxons, conſiſting of five books, from whence the more perfect part of our early hiſtory is formed; his other works are, the lives of ſaints, treatiſes on the holy ſcriptures, and philoſophical tracts.* The greateſt blemiſh that clouds the works of this learned man, is his credulity; for he eaſily gave into the popular ſtories of miracles and wonders, which at this time were propagated moſt plentifully in every part of the iſland; and though, it is true, they were no more than religious juggles, yet they were conformable to the taſte of the people, and ſincerely believed by them of almoſt every rank and denomination.

Other learned men amongſt the Saxons.

After the death of Bede, learning decayed in Britain; for a ſhort time, it is true, it was upheld by ſome few of his friends, who ſurvived him; amongſt whom was Acca, biſhop of Hagulſtad, (now Hexham) who excelled in church muſic, and his knowledge of eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies, which he acquired at Rome, to which place he went for improvement;† alſo Egbert, archbiſhop of York, who founded a noble library at York, and was a great encourager of learning.‡ Nor ought we here to forget Alcuinus, a Saxon, born in the northern parts of Britain, who received his education at York, under the direction of archbiſhop Egbert; he was ſent by Offa, king of Mercia, on an embaſſy to Charlemagne, and became the tutor of that great prince, inſtructing him in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity: in ſhort, ſuch was the love which the ſcholar bore to the preceptor, that Alcuinus never returned to Britain again, but remained at the court of Charlemagne,§ at whoſe deſire he wrote ſeveral books againſt the heretical opinions of Felix, biſhop of Argel, in Catalonia, in defence of the orthodox faith; which he performed ſo well, that he not only pleaſed his employer, but even convinced the heretic of his errors, who afterwards renounced them publicly, and returned to his former faith. Alcuinus died at the abbey of St. Martin, at Tours, A. D. 804.‖ Beſides his ſeveral epiſtles, Alcuinus left behind him a poetical hiſtory of the biſhops of York.** Several other learned men flouriſhed alſo during the eighth century; but as they were not ſo famous as thoſe we have already mentioned, we have no room to inſert their lives in this place, as we can only pretend to give a conciſe and general hiſtory of learning in each particular period.

The light but faint which is thrown upon the learning of the Saxons.

Thus we have ſeen the early dawn of literature amongſt our Saxon anceſtors; the hiſtory of which we ſhall purſue hereafter, with great care and circumſpection, through all its various ſtates, and endeavour to ſet in as clear a light as poſſible the extent of their knowledge in every particular ſcience. This cannot be done at preſent, leſt, as we are, in the

* A complete liſt of all the works of Bede is given by Dr. Henry, in the Appendix, vol. II of his Hiſtory of Britain.

† Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 20.

‡ Alcuinus de Pontific. Eboracen.

§ Another reaſon why he would not return to Britain, might be the troubles which followed in all the ſeveral kingdoms of the heptarchy, and the great decay of learning.

‖ Vide Leland de Scriptorib. Bale, &c.

** This poem is printed by Gale, in his Hiſt. Script. Britan. XV. printed A.D. 1691, in folio.

dark;


ARA
Pircis
Aquila
Delphi
Sagitta
Cygnus qui et Olor ec Ornin
Lyra
Corona
Hercules
Serpens
Caput
Cassiepea
Perseus
Pisces
Ariet
Taurus
Auriga
Gemini
Lepus
Canis
Procyon
Argo
Hydra
Crater
Corvus
Leo
Virgo
Libra
Scorpius
Ophiuchus
Caprea
Eridanus
Cetus
Lepus
Sirius
ISTA PROPRIO SUDORE NOMINA VNIQUOQUE
PROPRIA EGO INDIGNUS SACERDOS ET MONA
CHUS NOMINE GERUVLGUS REPPERI · AC
SCRIPSI PAX LEGENTIBUS

dark; but as we advance in the hiſtory, moſt of theſe intereſting particulars will be diſcovered, and then by compariſon we may be able to form ſome idea of the more early times.

Several philoſophical notions of the Saxons unknown.

It is impoſſible to diſcover all the phyſiological opinions of our anceſtors, and more eſpecially thoſe which they had imbibed at this diſtant period; nor ſhall we pretend to inveſtigate how far they were acquainted with the doctrine of atoms, and their properties, the laws of gravitation, or their ideas of light or colours, becauſe we have no certain guide to lead us through theſe abſtruſe ſtudies. As they received the greateſt part of their learning from France and Italy, we may very fairly ſuppoſe their opinions in philoſophy were nearly, if not exactly, the ſame with thoſe eſtabliſhed on the continent.

The celeſtial ſphere deſcribed, as drawn by a Saxon artiſt.

Their aſtronomical knowledge we may be better able to aſcertain, becauſe, in an old manuſcript on this ſubject, yet extant, written partly in Latin, and partly in Saxon, we meet with a great variety of delineations, repreſenting the figures depicted by the ancients in the celeſtial ſphere; and on each figure is marked the ſtars which were ſaid to belong to them. This curious production has unhappily been mutilated by ſome ſacrilegious hand, ſo that ſcarcely more than half the drawings now remain.* At the end of the book is preſerved a general view of the whole celeſtial ſphere, included in one large circle;† as this is extremely curious and valuable, we ſhall be the more particular in deſcribing of it:— In the middle is placed the leſſer bear, partly encompaſſed by a large ſerpent; below it, upon the tail of the ſerpent, the greater bear is delineated; above the ſerpent, is Hercules with the lion's ſkin, the crown, the harp, and the ſwan; on the right ſide of the ſerpent ſtands Cephus, and on the left ſide Bootes, or the herdſman; above the figure of Hercules is the dolphin, the arrow, and the eagle; immediately over the ſwan is the head of the Pegaſus, or winged horſe; under the Pegaſus, by the ſide of the ſwan, ſtands Andromeda naked; between Andromeda and Cephus ſits Caſſiope, with both her arms extended; a little lower down we ſee Perſeus holding the head of Meduſa, and under him, cloſe to the greater bear, is Erichtonius, having in his right hand a whip, or ſcourge, and in his left an animal, intended for a goat; near his left foot is another animal, like that he holds in his hand: all theſe figures are ſurrounded by a double circle, in which are repreſented the twelve ſigns of the zodiac. Here we find three things remarkable; virgo, or the virgin, is repreſented with wings; libra, or the balance, is held by a man in his right hand; and on the ſcorpion ſtands a man holding a ſerpent with both hands, which is twined round his body; without the ſecond circle of the zodiac we ſee the ſhip Argo; above that the hydra, repreſented as a large ſerpent, on whoſe back is placed the crater, or

* This curious manuſcript is preſerved in the Harleian library at the Britiſh Muſeum, and is marked 647.

† See plate XXI. of this volume, which is a faithful copy of the drawing here deſcribed.

goblet,

goblet, and the crow; towards the top is the centaur Chiron; at the top is the altar; paſſing round we come to the greater fiſh, the dragon, and Orion, whoſe left foot is placed upon a large urn, which Idanus empties, forming a long ſtream of water; near the right foot of Orion, is the hare; a little above, between Orion and the ſhip Argo, are the two dogs, the greater and the leſs; and directly under them is an inſcription, which informs us, that we owe the delineations contained in the book, and the diſcourſe which accompanies them, to the labour and induſtry of a preſbyter and monk, named Geruvigius; of what date the manuſcript itſelf is, cannot be determined; but from the hand in which it is written, and every outward appearance, it muſt have been very ancient; perhaps as early as the beginning of the ninth century.

The mundane ſyſtem of the Saxons.

In the ſelf-ſame manuſcript of Geruvigius is alſo preſerved a delineation of the mundane ſyſtem;* the earth is placed in the midſt, about which all the planets make their rotation at unequal diſtances, which are given as follow:—From the earth to the moon is 15,515 miles; from the moon to the planet Mercury is 7,757 miles and a half; from Mercury to Venus is the ſame diſtance as from the moon to Mercury; from Venus to the ſun is 23,272 miles and a half; from the ſun to Mars, 15,515 miles; from Mars to Jupiter is 7,757 miles and a half; from Jupiter to Saturn is the ſame diſtance as from Mars to Jupiter; from Saturn to the fixed ſtars is 23,272 miles and a half; ſo that the whole diſtance from the earth to the fixed ſtars is 108,605 miles.† It may not be unpleaſing to the reader to compare theſe ancient calculations with thoſe of the moderns, infinitely more certain, and nearer to truth.

CHAP. IX.

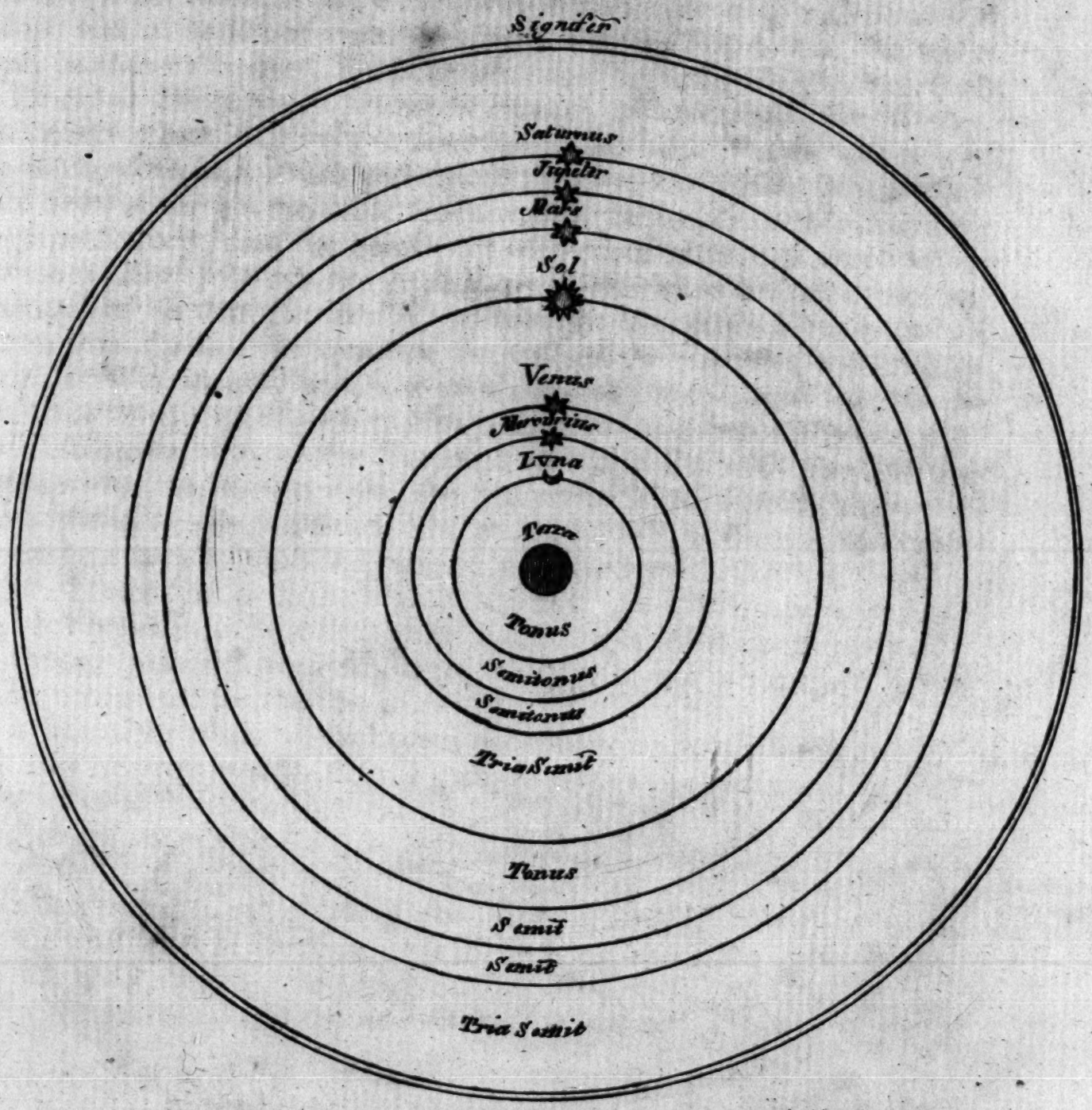
The State of the Polite Arts amongſt the Saxons.

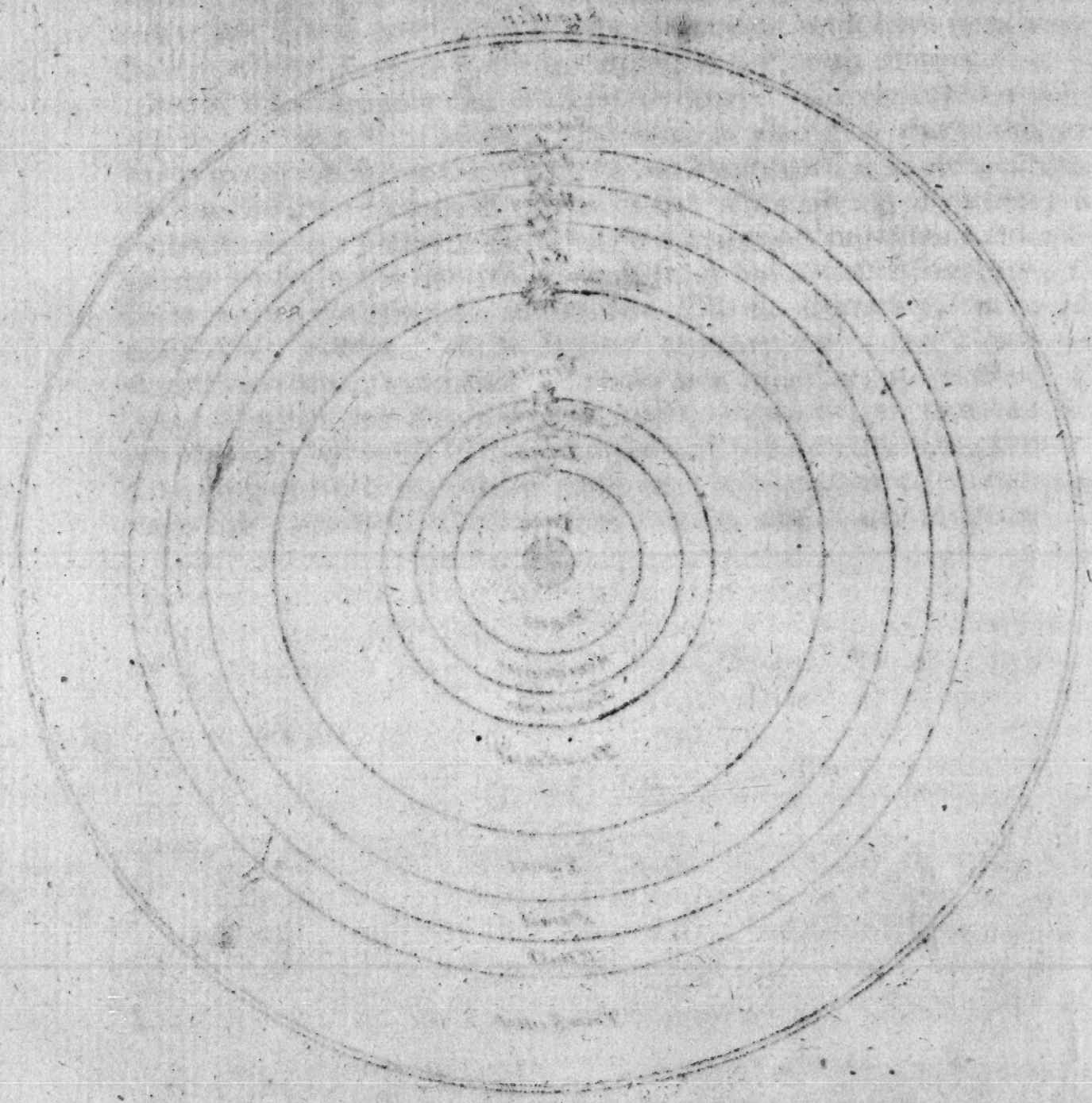
The Germans had ſome little notion of ſculpture.

THE polite arts, as well as learning, had ſcarcely entered the ideas of the ancient Germans; of courſe we can have little to ſay concerning them. Sculpture they ſeem to have had ſome faint ideas of, becauſe they are ſaid to have carried certain little images before them to battle, which they had taken from their conſecrated woods and ſacred

* See plate XXII. of this volume.

† We muſt here obſerve, the meaſures on the plate are as in the original plan, divided into the *tonus*, the *ſemi-tonus*, &c. One *tonus*, the author informs us, contained 135 *ſtadiorum*, or meaſures; and each *ſtadius*, or meaſure exactly 115 miles, ſo that it is eaſy to determine the number of miles, according to this ſcale, which we have done in the above deſcription.


Signifer
Saturnus
Jupiter
Mars
Sol
Venus
Mercurius
Luna
Terra
Tonus
Semitonus
Semitonus
Tria Semit
Tonus
Semit
Semit
Tria Semit



places:* and it is certain that their deſcendants, the Saxons, had images of the idols which they adored ſet up in their temples;† but in what manner they were executed is a circumſtance we can by no means determine. Sculpture was improved, without doubt, by thoſe artiſts who came over into Britain with Benedict Biſcop; for we ſoon hear of images, and variety of other ornaments, ſet up in churches, and admired for their elegance.

The art of painting.

Painting, and the arts of deſign, we hear not of amongſt the Saxons before, nor indeed until ſome time after their converſion to Chriſtianity. This art, if not introduced by the painters who came over with Benedict Biſcop, was at leaſt improved by them; and the Saxons did not want proper models to imitate, for Benedict, after he had built the church of St. Peter, at Weremouth, brought images and pictures from Rome, with variety of other curious ornaments, to adorn it. A picture of the Virgin Mary, together with pictures of the twelve apoſtles, he hung up in the body of the church; the ſouth wall he decorated with pictures of the goſpel hiſtory; and the north wall with other pictures, repreſenting the viſions of St. John, in the Apocalyps:‡ alſo when he had dedicated the church of St. Paul, at Jarrow, he brought over other ornaments and pictures from Rome. He covered the walls of the chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin, at Weremouth, with the whole goſpel hiſtory; and the church of St. Paul he decorated with pictures of the concordance of the Old and New Teſtaments, which were executed and diſpoſed with ſingular art and propriety; as, for example, the picture of Iſaac bearing the wood whereon he was to be ſacrificed, and another of Chriſt bearing the croſs whereon he was to be crucified, were placed cloſe to each other: in like manner, Moſes lifting up the brazen ſerpent in the wilderneſs, adjoining to another repreſenting the lifting up of the Son of Man upon the croſs.§ The earlieſt painters were employed chiefly, if not altogether, upon making ornaments for the church.

Drawings by way of ornaments to books.

In a little time after, we find them decorating books with pictures, on which they frequently beſtowed the greateſt pains and labour. The moſt ancient, and at the ſame time the moſt elegant, manuſcript of this ſort, is the four goſpels which we have before deſcribed;‖ but if we may judge of the taſte of the times from the figures of the evangeliſts which are therein delineated, we ſhall not think ſo favourably of it, becauſe they are by far the worſt part of the ornaments of the book, though, without doubt, much admired at the time in which they were done: theſe figures are out of all proportion, and drawn in a rude ſtile; the drapery is ſtiff and

* Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

† We find them particularly mentioned by Boniface, biſhop of Rome, to Edwine, king of Northumberland. Bede, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 10. Bede expreſsly ſays, that Coifa overturned the altars, and broke down the images in the great temple at Godmundham, near York. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.

‡ Bede Hiſt. Abb. Weremuthen.

§ Ibid.

‖ Vide page 346 of this volume.

unnatural,

unnatural, without the leaſt idea of grace in the diſpoſition of the folds; and the ſtools, or benches, on which they are ſeated, are falſely drawn, without any knowledge of perſpective.

The ancient MS. aſcribed to Cædman, at Oxford.

The next ſpecimen of the art of deſign amongſt the Saxons, is ſaid to be the paraphraſe on the book of Geneſis, preſerved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, which ſome have aſcribed to Cædman, and ſuppoſe it to have been written and ornamented towards the latter end of the eighth century; others again have imagined that it was not the work of Cædman, nor indeed quite ſo ancient as that time: as the date cannot be aſcertained, we ſhall defer the account of the delineations to the next volume, where we ſhall have occaſion of mentioning this manuſcript again. A very early ſpecimen of the ſtate of this art amongſt the Saxons is exhibited in the celeſtial ſphere, above-deſcribed.*

Poetry.

Poetry is thought to have been much cultivated by the Anglo-Saxon kings, who are ſaid to have had their poets attending upon them, to ſing their praiſes, and celebrate their actions. This we ſhall be eaſily led to believe, when we ſee hereafter the great reſpect in which the ſcalds, or poets, were held by the Danes. Adhelm, who flouriſhed (as we have ſeen before) towards the latter end of the ſixth century, was an admirable poet, and his works were much eſteemed, not only by his cotemporaries, but alſo in after times; for, upwards of two hundred years after his deceaſe, he was eſteemed the beſt Saxon poet, and a favourite ſong compoſed by him, was then ſung, and greatly admired.† After him, amongſt others, Cædman, a monk in the abbey of Streanſhalch, is particularly noticed, who was a man of obſcure birth, and but of little learning; yet the ſublime ſtrains of poetry were ſo natural to him, that he compoſed verſes in his ſleep, which he repeated when he awaked.‡ This happy genius for poetry he improved, and principally employed his talent on religious ſubjects, which, by theſe pleaſing decorations, became more ſtriking to the auditors, and were longer retained in their memories.

Muſic.

Amongſt the muſical inſtruments uſed by our Saxon anceſtors, the harp was the moſt admired; to which the poets uſually would ſing their poems, and by a happy mixture of the voice with the tones of the inſtrument, make them delightful to the auditors. They had alſo at this period, various other inſtruments of muſic, as the organ, the violin, the atola, the pſaltery, the trumpet, the tabor, the pipe, and the flute;§ but it is impoſſible to diſcover their ſhapes, or the manner in which they were played, not only becauſe the authors who have mentioned them have neglected to give any deſcription of them, but alſo becauſe we

* See page 349 of this volume.

† Anglia Sacra.

‡ Bede gives a Latin tranſlation of the exordium of one of theſe poems, which, he confeſſes, falls far ſhort of the beauty of the original, which is itſelf preſerved in the Saxon verſion of Bede, of Elfred; and is deſervedly admired by all who underſtand the Saxon tongue. This poem, with a literal tranſlation, as well as various ſpecimens of the Saxon language, will be given in the ſecond volume.

§ Bede de Arte Muſices.

have

have no drawings that can positively be declared to be so ancient as the eighth century, that contain the delineations of any musical instruments; however, this much we may assert, the organ, mentioned above, was composed of a certain number of pipes, of different lengths and sizes, and blown into by the mouth, something after the form and fashion of the Pan's pipe, made of reeds of unequal lengths.*

Church music.

Music and singing were introduced into the Saxon churches soon after their conversion to Christianity; for John, the archantor of St. Peter's, at Rome, and abbot of St. Martin's abbey in that city, was, at the request of Benedict Biscop, sent over into Britain by pope Agatha, about the year 678, to teach the monks of Weremouth, and others of the Saxon clergy, the art of singing the public service. This John, immediately on his arrival in Britain, taught the monks in Benedict's monastery; and also all other persons, who had any taste for music, came thither from every monastery in Northumberland, and put themselves under his care. Besides this, he taught in several other places, whither he was invited; he also left behind him written directions for singing the service throughout the whole year, which were preserved for a considerable time afterwards.† Church music soon after was publicly taught in the schools at Canterbury, from whence professors of music were sent to all the different parts of Britain; but such as were desirous of attaining this art in the highest perfection, went to Rome.‡

CHAP. X.

Particular Manners, &c. of the ancient Germans and the Saxons.

The face of the country.

THE face of the country in Britain suffered a material and a dreadful change after the departure of the Romans; the flourishing towns and villages which that people left behind them were ruinated and destroyed; their gardens, orchards, and cultivated lands, were left desolate and neglected; and every place exhibited the fury of merciless conquerors, and bore the horrid marks of war and rapine. The Scots and Picts were the first who began this ruin, and the stern uncivilized Saxons those who completed it.§ Long did the land continue in this wretched state, till the Saxon arms had completed the conquests, and then by degrees improvements and cultivation took place throughout all the kingdoms of the heptarchy. After the conversion of the Saxons to Christi-

* The figure of these organs, from ancient delineations, will be given in the second volume.

† Bede, lib. iv. cap. 18.
‡ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 20.
§ Gildæ Hist. & Epist.

anity, their minds became more open to the refinements of taſte, and cities, towns, palaces, monaſteries, and ſtately churches, roſe out of the ruins of thoſe deſerted by the hapleſs Britons.*

The perſons of the Saxons.

The perſons of the Saxons are deſcribed as very ſtrong and robuſt, yet they were ſtill more remarkable for the elegance of their ſhape, the fairneſs of their complexion, and the fineneſs of their hair; their ſtrength and ſtature they derived from their anceſtors, the Germans, who are univerſally ſaid to have been men of large limbs; the Germans had yellow hair, and grey fiery eyes, which might alſo be common amongſt the Saxons, their immediate deſcendants. They could not endure much labour; they were eaſily overcome by heat and thirſt, whilſt they could bear hunger and cold with great patience; to theſe they had been inured by the poverty of their country, and the ſharpneſs of the climate.† The Saxons were in general long-lived; this proceeded from ther ſimple living, and conſtant exerciſe.

The character of the Saxons.

Many of the Saxons have left undoubted proofs behind them of a great genius, and a ſtrong natural underſtanding; their character, it is true, as given by the monks in general, is very unpleaſing, and often ſhocking and barbarous; but we muſt conſider it as drawn by a ſet of gloomy bigots, who always laid hold of the failings of their cotemporaries, and overlooked their virtues, and who were too apt to cenſure the community for vices which prevailed amongſt a few individuals. Notwithſtanding all this religious outcry of the prieſts, we find them poſſeſſed of many excellent and amiable qualities.

The piety of the Saxons tinctured with ſuperſtition.

They were, in general, after their converſion, much inclined to piety; which, however, was ſtrongly tinctured with ſuperſtition: this frequently produced a fondneſs for the monaſtic life, by which means the community was deprived of ſeveral of its valuable and important members; and this prepoſterous zeal was conſtantly encouraged by the prieſts, eſpecially if the parties were rich, and any great benefits were likely to be the reſult. Another kind of enthuſiaſm prevailed amongſt them, which cauſed them to undertake extraordinary pilgrimages, in order to viſit the ſhrines of ſaints, and ſee remarkable places that were reputed holy: this blind zeal naturally produced a great love and veneration for the reliques of ſaints, ſo that rotten bones, old nails, bits of ruſty iron, tattered pieces of garments, and ſuch kind of traſh, were as highly prized by the Saxon devotees, as ſilver and gold are by the miſers of the preſent age; and, without doubt, they were frequently made the dupes of the more cunning prieſts, who vended this rubbiſh at an extraordinary price.‡

Love of liberty.

The great characteriſtic, both of the Germans, and their deſcendants, the Saxons, was their love of liberty. All thoſe brave warriors who came into Britain under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa, and the other

* Chap. II. part V. of this Chronicle.
† Tacit. de Morib. Germ.
‡ See pages 234, 236, & 237, of this volume.

Saxon

Saxon chiefs, were free and independent men; and though they permitted their generals to aſſume the name of kings, for their own honour and better ſecurity, yet they were jealous of their privileges, and retained to themſelves the right of making laws, impoſing taxes, and determining important queſtions relative to the ſtate, by common conſent, in the national aſſemblies.

The valour of the Germans and Saxons.

Valour was highly eſteemed amongſt the Germans and the Saxons; every ſtimulus was uſed to prevent cowardice, and every encouragement given to the brave and hardy warrior. Courage was eſteemed by them as the moſt noble attribute of mankind, and endeared them, as they thought, to the powers above, whom they ſuppoſed would never forſake the valiant man. After the converſion of the Saxons to Chriſtianity, valour decreaſed amongſt them, greatly owing to the fooliſh infatuation of many of their chiefs, and moſt powerful men, who ſuddenly quitted the world, as though it were impoſſible to ſerve their God and their country too.* This was one main reaſon, though another, and perhaps a ſtill more powerful one, might be the increaſe of luxury, and their fondneſs for idleneſs and diſſipation.

Their ſocial diſpoſitions.

The Saxons were famous for their ſocial diſpoſitions, and formed themſelves into fraternities and guilds of various kinds, having frequent convivial meetings with each other; nay, even by the Saxon laws every freeman, and head of a family, was obliged to be a member of the decennary, or neighbourhood, where he dwelt; and all the members of that neighbourhood were pledges for each other's good behaviour in public:† theſe prudent regulations kept up a cloſe connection in each community, which formed, as it were, a little ſtate of their own, under the laws and protection of the nation in general. They had alſo frequent voluntary meetings and ſocieties, ſome of the clergy, and ſome of the laity, which all tended to ſtrengthen the ties of love and friendſhip amongſt them; though, it is true, they often contributed to the promotion of exceſs and drunkenneſs, a vice they were all of them too apt to fall into.

Their curioſity and credulity.

Their curioſity was equal to their credulity; theſe were the palpable failings of the Germans and their deſcendants: as the former prompted them eagerly to enquire into all kinds of matters, the latter led them to a belief of all that was told them; this is abundantly evident in the various impoſtors and juggles which were put upon them by the prieſts, under the names of wonders and miraculous events. Before their converſion to Chriſtianity they uſed to practiſe a great variety of methods of ſoothſaying and augury;‡ nay, their ordeals, by which ſolemn appeals to

* Bede himſelf, though a prieſt, foreſaw the fatal conſequences of this ſuperſtitious folly, and accordingly inveighed againſt it.

† Wilkin's Leg. Sax.

‡ Soothſaying and lots (ſays Tacitus, ſpeaking of the Germans) they obſerve above all other nations; their cuſtom of caſting lots is as follows:—They cut a branch from a fruit-bearing tree, and divide

Heaven were made, were ſtill retained for a conſiderable time after they had embraced the true faith.

Their hoſpitality.

For hoſpitality the Germans are juſtly famous; they were not exceeded in the bountifulneſs of their diſpoſitions by any nation in the whole world; for amongſt them it was an act of the greateſt baſeneſs for any one to debar another his houſe, or refuſe to entertain him according to his ability. Their doors were conſtantly open, and a ſtranger was received with as hearty a welcome as if he were an intimate acquaintance; he was entertained by the perſon who firſt received him, until all his ſtore was conſumed, and then he was conducted to the next houſe, where, though uninvited, he was received with like welcome, and taken care of until he choſe to depart; and if before he went away he demanded any thing of them, it was freely beſtowed upon him.* Nor did the Saxons after their eſtabliſhment in Britain deviate from the rules of their venerable anceſtors; their kings ſpent a large part of their revenues in the entertainment of ſtrangers, and feaſting their own nobility and attendants; their hoſpitable diſpoſition was alſo increaſed, rather than diminiſhed, by their converſion to Chriſtianity; for the clergy were commanded by the canons to make ample proviſion for the needy, and to perſuade all other people who were able to do the like.†

Their chaſtity.

Amongſt all the virtues of the ancient German people, none are more conſpicuous than their chaſtity; fornication and adultery were crimes ſcarcely ever heard of amongſt them;‡ and in general, eſpecially at the early period we are treating of, the Saxons ſeem to have carefully ſupported the character, ſo juſtly attributed to their anceſtors. It cannot be denied, that ſome few inſtances of incontinency are ſet down in the annals of the heptarchy, but they are chiefly confined to the great and powerful; and for thoſe few examples we will not too haſtily condemn a whole people.

vide it into many pieces, all of them diſtinguiſhed by a ſeparate mark; theſe are caſt upon a white garment in a promiſcuous manner, and if it be a matter that concerns the general ſtate, the prieſts, or in private matters, the maſter of the family, having prayed to the gods, looks ſtedfaſtly towards Heaven, taking up every one of the lots ſeparately three times, and maketh his determination according to the marks as they ſucceed each other. If the lots fall not auſpiciouſly, they conſult no more that day about the ſame affair; but if they do, they will try other methods, for they obſerve the finging of birds, and their flight, by both which they conſult their gods. It is a thing peculiar to the country to make preſages from the neighing of horſes, bred and maintained in the woods, which were generally white, and unbroken to the reins; theſe being harneſſed, and put to a ſacred chariot, are permitted to go whither they will, and the prieſt, or the prince, follows them, carefully obſerving their noiſe and neighing. Of all preſages, this is of the greateſt credit with the prieſts, noblemen, and common people, thinking themſelves miniſters of the gods, and the horſes privy to their ſecrets, &c. Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

* Tacit. de Morib. German.

† Johnſon's Canons.

‡ Tacit. de Morib. German.

A peculiar fondneſs for their parents and love for their relations, ſeems to have prevailed amongſt the Saxons and their anceſtors: it was ever held a moſt atrocious crime to murder a relation, or even to hurt him wilfully. The brothers or ſiſters children were as much eſteemed and beloved in their uncle's houſe as that of their father's; for the greater number of relations a man had, the greater was the reſpect and honour which was paid to him; and ſo it was, if any perſon offended one of this little community, he was accounted an enemy to them all; ſo on the contrary, every one who did any one of them a kindneſs, was reſpected and beloved by them all.* Their fondneſs for their parents and relations.

One of the greateſt blemiſhes upon the character of theſe people, was their proneneſs to robbery and plunder, which they always encouraged rather than diſcountenanced, ſo it was done out of their own ſtate; by this means, (for they hated all rural labour) they frequently procured their food; nay, the Saxons ſeem chiefly to have ſupported themſelves by their piracies: the youth were permitted to tread the ſame ſteps with their fathers, becauſe they might be early inured to war, and kept out of ſloth and idleneſs, to which they were very much given, inſomuch, that when they were not engaged in any war, nor out at the chace, they would lie in their beds late, and ſit whole days over their fires, made on the hearth before them.† Their proneneſs to robbery.

Our Saxon anceſtors upon their firſt arrival, were rude and unpoliſhed in their addreſs; they were alſo choleric, and apt to revenge injuries, but by no means implacable in their diſpoſitions: this truth their very laws may prove; by which even murder was forgiven, on compenſation being made to the friends of the deceaſed. The reſpectable behaviour of the Saxons, as well as of their foreſathers, towards the fair-ſex, is deſervedly noted; the latter eſpecially, would conſult their wives upon any important occaſion, and liſten attentively to their advice, eſteeming ſomething ſacred to be in them, and a knowledge of future events.‡ Their addreſs & behaviour to the fair-ſex.

The marriage ceremonies amongſt the ancient Germans, were ſuch as well agreed with the Genius of the people: when the marriage was concluded upon amongſt the friends, the young couple were brought together; and the friends of the bridegroom preſented him with a pair of oxen yoaked together, a horſe with furniture, a ſhield, a ſword, and a lance; to the bride alſo arms were preſented; which they looked upon as the titular deities of matrimony; theſe arms the bride and bridegroom exchanged with each other: this done, a ſpeech was made to the bride, putting her in mind, that ſhe was now become the companion of her huſband, to ſhare with him in his labours and dan- Marriage ceremonies of the Germans.

* Tacit de Morib. Germ.
† Ibid. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal. lib. vi.
‡ Ibid.

gers,

gers, and that ſhe was alſo to ſuffer the ſame hadſhips with him, whether in peace or war, and run the ſame hazards; for that was the meaning of the two oxen yoaked together, as alſo the horſe with his furniture, and the reaſon why arms were reciprocally received on either ſide; thus ſhe was to live chaſtly and faithful to the day of her death, and deliver up her gifts unviolated to her children, which were afterwards again beſtowed upon their wives, and looked upon as ſacred reliques: the wife gave no dowry to the huſband, on the contrary, the huſband gave to the wife; and the parents and near kinſmen were always preſent whenever any gifts were made by the new couple, from the one to the other. The wife had always the care of her children, and ſuckled them from her own breaſt; for it was held diſgraceful amongſt them, for the mother to put her child away to be ſuckled by a nurſe or ſtrange woman.*

Funerals of the Germans.

The ancient Germans ſeldom made any very pompous funerals: the body of the deceaſed perſon was uſually taken and laid upon a pile of wood; and with the corps was conſtantly placed his arms, and ſometimes his horſe; the pile being ſet on fire, and the whole conſumed; the aſhes were uſually raked up in a heap, and over them was raiſed a mount of earth or turfs.† This, in the early ages, ſeems to have been all the monument they had; but in after times, their funerals were more magnificent, and the tombs were frequently ornamented with great ſtones. At the period above deſcribed, the only difference between the funeral of a nobleman and a common man, was, the pile of the former being made of a choicer ſort of wood. Tears and lamentations for the deceaſed, his relations ſoon forbore, though they might ſecretly mourn his loſs. It was thought becoming the women to weep for the dead, and for the men to remember them.‡

* Tacitus de Morib. Germ. & Cæſ. Bel. Gal lib. vi. The ceremonies of marriage, as uſed by the Anglo-Saxons, are deferred to the next volume, where as full an account as can be procured will be ſet down.

† In plate XV. the reader will find a repreſentation of four of theſe artificial tumuli or barrows, which are compoſed of earth, thrown up to a conſiderable height, and gradually decreaſing towards the top; the largeſt is about one hundred and twenty-four yards round and twenty-ſix high. Theſe barrows are in a field in Eſſex, near Bartlow, upon the borders of Cambridgeſhire. They are ſaid to have been erected by the ſoldiers in Canute's army, after the great battle fought between him and Edmund Ironſide, at Aſhendon; but there is great reaſon to believe that this is not true, becauſe in all probability, and indeed according to the authority of the Scala Chronicle, that battle was fought at Aſhendown, near Rochford, many miles diſtant from this place: theſe are likely very ancient; Holingſhead mentions one of them being opened, and there were found "two bodies in a ſtone coffin, one "lying with his head towards the others "feet; and many chains of iron, like "the water-chins of the bits of horſes, "were found in the ſame hill." See his Chronicle, vol. I. page 256.

‡ The funerals of the Saxons after their converſion to Chriſtianity, are purpoſely omitted here, becauſe a full account of them will be given in the ſecond volume.

As

As amongſt the ancient Germans it was counted honourable for a prince to have a great number of followers ;* ſo amongſt the Saxons, ſervants and retainers added greatly to the ſtate and magnificence of their kings, and were beſides a proper guard for his perſon. Great trains honourable.

The diet of the Germans was plain and ſimple; it conſiſted chiefly of wild apples, freſh meats, and curds or cream.† As to the diet of the Saxons, particularly in their more improved ſtate, towards the latter end of the Heptarchy, we need not ſay much; for as they were at that period well acquainted with all the various arts of hunting, hawking, fiſhing, paſturage, and agriculture, they were well provided with all the variety of food which thoſe arts could procure, and which may be as eaſily conceived as deſcribed. The tables of the kings and noblemen abounded with the greateſt plenty of all kinds of proviſions. Their diet.

Their cookery conſiſted chiefly in three kinds, roaſting, broiling, and boiling; and all theſe appear to have been done in a plain, ſimple way; for they do not ſeem to have any idea of rich ſauces and gravies, the bane of the conſtitution; by way of ſauce, perhaps, they had herbs and all the kinds of garden ſtuff, known at that time. Their cookery.

Their drinks were chiefly ale or mead; theſe they received their knowledge of from their anceſtors the Germans: they had but little wine, and the greateſt part of what they got was imported from the continent; but of all theſe liquors they were extremely fond, and would frequently drink to great exceſs; ſo that their convivial meetings were ſeldom cloſed without a quarrel, in which ſome of the parties were often hurt, and indeed frequently ſlain.‡ Their drinks; & exceſs in drinking.

Before they ſat down to meat, it was uſual with the ancient Germans to waſh, and generally in warm water,§ which was eſteemed a kind of luxury; and was afterwards improved by their deſcendants, who were fond of hot baths, and frequently uſed them; on the contrary, the cold bath was extremely diſagreeable, inſomuch, that it was often enjoined them by the prieſts as a ſevere penance.‖ When the Germans had waſhed, they inſtantly ſat down to the table, and every man had his own ſtool, and a ſeparate diſh containing part of whatever the banquet might conſiſt of. Some traces of this cuſtom we ſhall evidently diſcover hereafter, in the moſt ancient Saxon delineations.** Manner of ſitting at meat.

The diverſions of the Saxons were of three kinds; as martial exerciſes, the ſports of the field, and domeſtic amuſements, all of which they received from their anceſtors: the firſt of theſe was the practice of arms, which every one was early taught: amongſt the Germans, young men were uſed to ſtrip themſelves naked, and dance and leap between ſwords and lances, ſet up round about; and this they Their diverſions

* Tacic. de Morib. Germ.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid.
‖ Johnſon's Canons.
** Tacit. ut ſup.

would

would do with the greateſt dexterity: the ſecond kind were the ſports of the field, as hunting, hawking, and the like; to which a great part of their leiſure time was conſtantly dedicated: the laſt conſiſted chiefly of gaming, for which the Germans had ſuch an irreſiſtible paſſion, and would play at dice ſo eagerly, that when they had loſt their all, they would lay their perſons and liberty upon the laſt throw; and he who was overcome, entered into a voluntary ſervitude, though he were both older and more powerful than the winner,* and ſuffer himſelf to be ſold like a ſlave. It is true, the Saxons, their deſcendants, do not ſeem in general to have gone ſuch great lengths in gaming, yet we have evident traces in ancient hiſtory of their fondneſs for this pernicious amuſement.

* Tacit. ut ſupr.

END OF THE FIFTH PART OF THE CHRONICLE.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PLATES.

I. A Map repreſenting all the Britiſh nations, and where they were ſituated, according to Ptolomy's Geography rectified.

II. The north-eaſt view of Stone-Henge, repreſenting the grand entrance.

III. Rolrich in Oxfordſhire, a large circle of ſtones, with a ruined cromlech near to it. Alſo a view of the cromlech, called Kets Coity-Houſe, near Aylesford in Kent, the monument of Catigern, the Britiſh prince, the brother of Vortimer, ſlain by the Saxons, A. D. 455. See page 66 of this vol. and a large cromlech at Lanyon,* in Cornwall, taken from Borlaſs's hiſtory of that county.

IV. Coins of Cunobelinus, divided into ſix claſſes: ſee the note, page 270.

V. Figures of the ancient Britons, as deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Julius Cæſar, Dion Caſſius, and Herodian.

VI. A Roman encampment, according to Polybius; and a Roman camp at Pluſhey in Eſſex.

VII. A perſpective view of part of the ſouth angle of the wall of the Roman city of Silcheſter, with ſome Roman ſoldiers in the fore-ground, from the Antonine column.

VIII. Plan of Silcheſter, with a perſpective view of the ampitheatre, and a piece of the ſouth wall upon a larger ſcale.

IX. A map of the Roman ſtations in Britain, according to the itinerary of Antoninus. Note, the nine forts erected by the Romans on the ſouth-eaſt ſhore againſt the Saxons (ſee page 268) are repreſented by ſtars.

X. The plan of Caſtle Bavord, an entrenchment thrown up by Elfred the Great, about a quarter of a mile from Sittenbourne, in Kent. On the ſame plate is repreſented another entrenchment, called Caſtle Ruff, made by Haſtings, the Dane, barely half a mile from the former.

XI. A view of a Saxon entrenchment, with the appearance of the face of the country during the Heptarchy, according to the ideas of

* Vide Borlaſs's Hiſt of Cornwall.

the author. The tents within the entrenchment, and the figure on horſeback, are from a Saxon manuſcript in the Cottonian library, at the Britiſh Muſeum.* The figure leaning on the ſhield is from an ancient manuſcript in the Harleian library, alſo at the Britiſh Muſeum.† The figure walking forward with a ſpear, is from a very ancient Saxon book (ſuppoſed by ſome to be the work of Cœdman, the poet: ſee page 352) preſerved in the Bodleian library at Oxford.‡

XII. Tong Caſtle in Kent, built by Hengiſt, or his ſon Æſc.

XIII. Plan of the ſame caſtle.

XIV. Six Saxon ſoldiers; the firſt five are from an ancient Saxon MS. in the Cottonian library,§ and the ſixth holding his ſhield upon the ground, is from another Saxon MS. in the ſame library.‖

XV. Saxon huſbandmen at work, with a view of the large artificial hills or barrows, near Bartlow, on the borders of Eſſex. The plough and figures attending it are from the MS. of Cœdman, at Oxford, mentioned above; the harrow and the man attending upon it, is from the tapeſtry at Bayeux.** The two front figures are from a Cottonian MS. before mentioned; of theſe, the elderly man bears a ſhort ſtaff in his hand of a very peculiar form; this figure in the original is deſigned to repreſent the ſteward of a nobleman's houſhold.

XVI. Saxon ſhips; the middle one ſeen entire, is from a MS. in the Harleian library; and the other two from a MS. in the Cottonian library:†† both theſe MSS. are mentioned before.

XVII. A plate of Saxon pennies; the firſt ſix were coined in Kent: No. 1. is a coin of Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of the Saxons, and to whom the firſt coinage of Saxon money is attributed. No. 2. a coin of Edbald. No. 3. one of Egbert. No. 4. one of Ethelbert the Second. No. 5. one of Cuthred. No. 6. one of Balred. The two next numbers were coined in Weſſex; No. 7. is a coin of Ethelheard; and No. 8. one of Cuſhred. The two next following were ſtruck in Eaſtſex; No. 9. is a coin by Speed, attributed to Sighere: No. 10. is one of Offa. No. 11. is a coin of Adulf, king of the Eaſt-Angles. All the reſt were coined in Mercia: No. 12. is a penny ſtruck by Offa. No. 13. a coin of Cynethrith (or as ſhe is oftener called by hiſtorians Quendrida) Offa's queen. No. 14. is a penny of Ceolwulf. No. 15. one of Beornwulf. No. 16. one of Ludecan.

XVIII. Ancient Germans, as deſcribed by Tacitus. An ancient Saxon (the figure leaning on his ſpear) as repreſented by Sidonius, Apollinaris, Paulus Diaconus, &c.

* Marked Claudius B. IV.
† No. 603. ſee the Harleian catalogue.
‡ Marked Junius XI.
§ Claud. B. IV.
‖ Marked Vitellius C. 3.
** Vide Monarch. François par Monfaucon.
†† No. 603. Claud. B. IV.

XIX. Fi-

XIX. Figures of Saxon kings: No. 1. a monarch in a warlike habit from an old MS. in the Cottonian library;* the other three kings are from another MS. in the ſame library, mentioned before.†

XX. A curious page in an old Saxon MS. of the Goſpels, preſerved in the Cottonian library:‡ at the top is written, *Incipit evangelium ſecundam lucam.* The following writing is thus: *Quoniam quidem multi conati ſunt ordinare narrationem.* It is interlined with the Saxon tranſlation of the ſame, and may be thus Engliſhed: *The beginning of the goſpel according to St. Luke.* Then follows: *Foraſmuch as many have taken in hand to ſet forth in order a declaration,* &c.

XXI. The celeſtial ſphere, according to the ideas of the Saxons, taken from a curious MS. in the Harleian library.§

XXII. The Mundane ſyſtem of the Saxons, preſerved in the ſame MS. as the preceding number.‖

* Marked Tiberius B. V.
† Claud, B. IV.
‡ This MS. is marked Nero D. IV.
§ No. 647.
‖ Ibid.

A TABLE, containing a general Reference to all the Kings of the Heptarchy.

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1	HENGIST —	68	11	Wycherd and Webhard, two tyrants —	81
2	Æsc —	72	12	Wihtred —	82
3	Octa —	ibid.	13	Edbert —	ibid.
4	Hermenric —	73	14	Ethelbert the Second	83
5	Ethelbert —	ibid.	15	Alric —	ibid.
6	Edbald —	77	16	Ethelbert Pren —	84
7	Ercombert —	78	17	Cuthred —	ibid.
8	Egbert —	79	18	Balred —	85
9	Lothair —	ibid.			
10	Edric —	80			

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1	Ælla —	87	3	Athelwald or Edelwalch	90
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1	Cerdic —	93	10	Centwine —	108
2	Cenric —	98	11	Ceadwalla —	109
3	Ceawlin —	99	12	Ina —	111
4	Ceolric —	103	13	Ethelheard —	113
5	Ceolwulf —	ibid.	14	Cuthred —	114
6	Cynegils —	104	15	Sigebryght —	115
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2	Sledda —	122	8	Sighere and Sebba	ibid.
3	Sebert —	ibid.	9	Sigehard and Senfred	ibid.
4	Serred, Seward and Sigebert	ib.	10	Offa —	124
5	Sigebert the Little	ibid.	11	Selred —	ibid.
6	Sigebert the Second	ibid.	12	Swithed —	ibid.

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1	Ida —	127	12	Ofred —	144
2	Adda, Glappa, Theodwald, Frethulf and Theoderic	129	13	Cenred —	145
3	Æla —	ibid.	14	Ofric —	ibid.
4	Ethelric —	ibid.	15	Ceolwulf —	ibid.
5	Ethelfrith —	130	16	Egbert —	146
6	Edwine —	132	17	Ofwulf —	147
7	Eanfrid and Ofric	136	18	Edilwald or Mollo	ibid.
8	Ofwald —	ibid	19	Alured —	ibid.
9	Ofweo and Ofwin	139	20	Ethelred —	148
10	Egfrid —	142	21	Alfwold —	ibid.
11	Ealdferth or Alcfrid	144	22	Ofred —	149
			23	Ethelred —	ibid.

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1	Uffa —	152	7	Anna —	155
2	Titulus —	ibid.	8	Æthelhere —	156
3	Redwald —	ibid.	9	Ethelwald —	157
4	Eorpwald —	153	10	Adulf, Elfwulf, and Beorn	ib.
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9	Ceolred or Celred	ibid.	18	Ludecan —	ibid.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ERRATA.

Page 1. line 10. leave out the word *now*.
3. line 18. for *Cæſar's ſhip* read *Cæſar's ſhips*.
6. line 15. for *battles* read *bodies*.
17. line 24. for *names* read *manes*.
21. the firſt marginal note, for *Aulus Didius* read *Verannius*.
33. line 1. for *wander* read *wandered*.
Ibid. for *are* read *were*.
35. Note * for *into the Genounia* read *into Genounia*.
59. line 10. for *Acremorica* read *Aremorica*.
80. line 10. from the bottom, for *he was ſhot* read *Lothair was ſhot*.
Ibid. line 5. from the bottom, leave out the word *thus*.
83. line 6. after the word *ETHELBERT* add *(the Second.)*
92. line 7. for *part of the Ciſſas* read *part of Ciſſas*.
102. line 25. for 593 read 592.
121. line 24. for *Herefordſhire* read *Hertfordſhire*.
122. line the laſt, for *Oſwy* read *Oſweo*.
125. marginal note, for *A. D.* 746. read *A. D.* 823.
142. line 15. for 653 read 633.
Ibid. line the laſt, for *and had* read *who had*.
Ibid. for *Oſtrida* read *Oſtrid*.
143. line 3. for *the biſhop* read *archbiſhop of Canterbury*.
169. line 15. for *Eaſt-Angles* read *Eaſt-Saxons*.
191. line 23. for *Paids* read *Faids*.
269. line 26. for *that* read *which*.

DIRECTIONS for the BINDER to place the PLATES.

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